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A HISTORY OF
EUROPE

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*The Church in the Middle Ages. The Tomb of Archbishop Juan de Aragón in Tarragona Cathedral
(fourteenth century)*

Photograph by Mr. J. R. H. Weaver

P74

A HISTORY OF EUROPE

The Middle Ages

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&c.

Europe and the Modern World

1492 to 1914

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH a number of grand civilizations have existed in various Ages, it is the civilization of Europe which has made the deepest and the widest impression, and which now (as developed on both sides of the Atlantic) sets the standard for all the peoples of the Earth. Therefore, in spite of divisions of states and nationalities, it is right to regard the story of Europe as one whole ; and to write the history of this rich civilization is a legitimate object of historians' ambition. Differences of nationality will probably never cease to exist ; but a proper understanding of the unity of Europe's civilization, of the history of its peoples, of their contacts on the Continent, in the adjacent isles, and on the distant continents and oceans, should help to soften the exaggeration of national feeling, and to promote mutual understanding.

While recognizing to the full that Europe's civilization begins with Greece and Rome, we have, in order to have scope in the space at our disposal, confined our view, chiefly though not entirely, to the years from 800 onwards, from the time when Charlemagne rescued Europe from the Dark Ages and restored the basis of the ancient culture. To the history of Europe after 1494, from the close of the Middle Ages, we have added the extension necessitated by the Age of Discovery and the opening of the New World. Finally, as modern means of communication have made the world shrink, we have extended our narrative from the New World to Asia, and so ended with some approach

to a history of the Modern World. It is our hope that those who read will be able in some degree to regard with intelligence and a feeling of pride not only the achievements of their own people but those of all the races which are responsible for the morality, the culture, and the science of to-day.

The selection of the illustrations is due to Mr. John Johnson, Printer to the University.

I. L. P.

R. B. M.

OXFORD, 1927.

ERRATUM

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EUROPE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

I

THE GREATNESS OF ROME

Ave, Roma Immortalis!, 'Hail, Immortal Rome!' This cry, breaking from the lips of a race that had carried the imperial eagles from the northern shores of Europe to Asia and Africa, was no mere patriotic catchword. It was the expression of a belief that, though humanity must die and personal ambitions fade away, yet Rome herself was eternal and unconquerable, and what was wrought in her name would outlast the ages.

In the modern world it is sometimes necessary to remind people of their citizenship, but the Roman never forgot the greatness of his inheritance. When St. Paul, bound with thongs and condemned to be scourged, declared, 'I am Roman born,' the Captain of the Guard, who had only gained his citizenship by paying a large sum of money, was afraid of the prisoner on whom he had laid hands without a trial.

To be a Roman, however apparently poor and defenceless, was to walk the earth protected by a shield that none might set aside save at great peril. Not to be a Roman, however rich and of high standing, was to pass in Roman eyes as a 'barbarian', a creature of altogether inferior quality and repute.

'Be it thine, O Roman,' says Virgil, the greatest of Latin poets, 'to govern the nations with thy imperial rule': and such indeed was felt by Romans to be the destiny of their race.

Stretching on the west through Spain and Gaul to the Atlantic, that vast 'Sea of Darkness' beyond which according to popular belief the earth dropped suddenly into nothingness, the outposts of the Empire in the east looked across the plains of Mesopotamia towards Persia and the kingdoms of central Asia. Babylon 'the Wondrous', Syria, and Palestine with its

turbulent Jewish population, Egypt, the Kingdom of the Pharaohs long ere Romulus the City-builder slew his brother, Carthage, the Queen of Mediterranean commerce, all were now Roman provinces, their lustre dimmed by a glory greater than they had ever known.

The Mediterranean, once the battle-ground of rival Powers, had become an imperial lake, the high road of the grain ships that sailed perpetually from Spain and Egypt to feed the central market of the world ; for Rome, like England to-day, was quite unable to satisfy her population from home cornfields. The fleets that brought the necessaries of life convoyed also shiploads of oriental luxuries, silks, jewels, and perfumes, transported from Ceylon and India in trading-sloops to the shores of the Red Sea, and thence by caravans of camels to the port of Alexandria.

Other trade routes than the Mediterranean were the vast network of roads that, like the threads of a spider's web, kept every part of the Empire, however remote, in touch with the centre from which their common fate was spun. At intervals of six miles were 'post-houses', provided each with forty or more horses, that imperial messengers, speeding to or from the capital with important news, might dismount and mount again at the different stages, hastening on their way with undiminished speed.

How firm and well made were their roads we know to-day, when, after the lapse of nearly nineteen centuries of traffic, we use and praise them still. They hold in their strong foundations one secret of their maker's greatness, that the Roman brought to his handiwork the thoroughness inspired by a vision not merely of something that should last a few years or even his lifetime, but that should endure like the city he believed eternal.

It was the boast of Augustus, 27 B.C.—A.D. 14, the first of the Roman Emperors, that he had found his capital built of brick and had left it marble ; and his tradition as an architect passed to his successors. There are few parts of what was once the Roman Empire that possess no trace to-day of massive aqueduct or Forum, of public baths or stately colonnades. In Rome itself, the Colosseum, the scene of many a martyr's death and gladiator's

struggle ; elsewhere, as at Nîmes in southern France, a provincial amphitheatre ; the aqueduct of Segovia in Spain, the baths in England that have made and named a town ; the walls that mark the outposts of empire—all are the witnesses of a genius that dared to plan greatly, nor spared expense or labour in carrying out its designs.

Those who have visited the Border Country between England and Scotland know the Emperor Hadrian's wall, twenty feet high by seven feet broad, constructed to keep out the fierce Picts and Scots from this the most northern of his possessions. Those of the enemy that scaled the top would find themselves faced by a ditch and further wall, bristling with spears ; while the legions flashed their summons for reinforcements from guardhouse to guardhouse along the seventy miles of massive barrier. All that human labour could do had made the position impregnable.

A scheme of fortifications was also attempted in central Europe along the lines of the Rhine and Danube. These rivers provided the third of the imperial trade routes, and it is well to remember them in this connexion, for their importance as high-ways lasted right through Roman and mediaeval into modern times. Railways have altered the face of Europe : they have cut through her waste places and turned them into thriving centres of industry : they have looped up her mines and ports and tunnelled her mountains : there is hardly a corner of any land where they have not penetrated ; and the change they have made is so vast that it is often difficult to imagine the world before their invention. In Roman times, in neighbourhoods where the sea was remote and road traffic slow and inconvenient, there only remained the earliest of all means of transport, the rivers. The Rhine and Danube, one flowing north-west, the other south-east, both neither too swift nor too sluggish for navigation, were the natural main high roads of central Europe : they were also an obvious barrier between the Empire and barbarian tribes.

To connect the Rhine and Danube at their sources by a massive wall, to establish forts with strong garrisons at every point where these rivers could be easily forded, such were the precautions by which wise Emperors planned to shut in Rome's

civilization, and to keep out all who would lay violent hands upon it.

The Emperor Augustus left a warning to his successors that they should be content with these natural boundaries, lest in pushing forward to increase their territory they should in reality weaken their position. It is easy to agree with his views centuries afterwards, when we know that the defences of the Empire, pushed ever forward, snapped at the finish like an elastic band ; but the average Roman of imperial days believed his nation equal to any strain.

It was a boast of the army that ' Roman banners never retreat '. If then a tribe of barbarians were to succeed in fording the Danube and in surprising some outpost fort, the legions sent to punish them would clamour not merely to exact vengeance and return home, but to conquer and add the territory to the Empire. In the case of swamps or forest land the clamour might be checked ; but where there was pasturage or good agricultural soil, it would be almost irresistible. Emigrants from crowded Italy would demand leave to form a colony, traders would hasten in their footsteps, and soon another responsibility of land and lives, perhaps with no natural protection of river, sea, or mountains, would be added to Rome's burden of government. Such was the fertile province of Dacia, north of the Danube, a notable gain in territory, but yet a future source of weakness.

At the head of the Empire stood the Emperor, ' Caesar Augustus ', the commander-in-chief of the army, the supreme authority in the state, the fountain of justice, a god before whose altar every loyal Roman must burn incense and bow the knee in reverence.

It was a great change from the old days, when Rome was a republic, and her Senate, or council of leading citizens, had been responsible to the rest of the people for their good or bad government. The historian Tacitus, looking back from imperial days with a sigh of regret, says that in that happy age man could speak what was in his mind without fear of his neighbours, and draws the contrast with his own time when the Emperor's spies wormed their way into house and tavern, paid to betray



' Emperor Hadrian's wall, constructed to keep out the fierce Picts and Scots '

Photograph by Mr. S. Casson



A Pompeian shop with its counter. A political manifesto is painted on the wall to the left



A reconstruction by the architect I. Gismondi of a block of Roman flats at Ostia

Government of the Roman Empire 5

those about them to prison or death for some chance word or incautious action. Yet Rome by her conquests had brought on herself the tyranny of the Empire.

It is comparatively easy to rule a small city well, where fraud and self-seeking can be quickly detected ; but when Rome began to extend her boundaries and to employ more people in the work of government, unscrupulous politicians appeared. These built up private fortunes during their term of office : they became senators, and the Senate ceased to represent the will of the people and began to govern in the interests of a small group of wealthy men. Members of their families became governors of provinces, first in Italy, and then as conquests continued, across the mountains in Gaul and Spain, and beyond the seas in Egypt and Asia Minor. Except in name, senators and governors ceased to be simple citizens and lived as princes, with officials and servants ready to carry out their slightest wish.

Perhaps it may seem odd that the Roman people, once so fond of liberty that they had driven into exile the kings who oppressed them, should afterwards let themselves be bullied or neglected by a hundred petty tyrants ; but in truth the people had changed even more than the class of ' patricians ' to whom they found themselves in bondage.

No longer pure Roman or Latin, but through conquest and intermarriage of every race from the stalwart Teuton to the supple Oriental or swarthy Egyptian, few amongst the men and women crowding the streets of Rome remembered or revered the traditions of her early days. Rome stood for military glory, luxury, culture, at her best for even-handed justice, but no longer for an ideal of liberty. If national pride was satisfied, and adequate food and amusement provided, the Roman populace was content to be ruled from above and to hail rival senators as masters, according to the extent of their promises and success. A failure to fulfil such promises, resulting in a lost campaign or a dearth of corn, would throw the military tyrant of the moment from his pedestal, but only to set up another in his place.

It was an easy transition from the rule of a corrupt Senate to

that of an autocrat. 'Better one tyrant than many' was the attitude of mind of the average citizen towards Octavius Caesar, when under the title of Augustus he gathered to himself the supreme command over army and state and so became the first of the Emperors. Had he been a tactless man and shouted his triumph to the Seven Hills he would probably have fallen a victim to an assassin's knife; but he skilfully disguised his authority and posed as being only the first magistrate of the state.

Under his guiding hand the Senate was reformed, and its outward dignity rather increased than shorn. Augustus could issue his own 'edicts' or commands independently of the Senate's consent; but he more frequently preferred to lay his measures before it, and to let them reach the public as a senatorial decree. In this he ran no risk, for the senators, impressive figures in the eyes of the ordinary citizen, were really puppets of his creation. At any minute he could cast them away.

His fellowmagistrates were equally at his mercy, for in his hands alone rested the supreme military command, the *imperium*, from which the title of *imperator*, or 'emperor', was derived. At first he accepted the office only for ten years, but at the end of that time, resigning it to a submissive Senate, he received it again amid shouts of popular joy. The tyranny of Augustus had proved a blessing.

Instead of corps of troops raised here and there in different provinces by governors at war with one another, and thus divided in their allegiance, there had begun to develop a disciplined army, whose 'legions' were enrolled, paid, and dismissed in the name of the all-powerful Caesar, and who therefore obeyed his commands rather than those of their immediate captains.

The same system of centring all authority in one absolute ruler was followed in the civil government. Governors of provinces, once petty rulers, became merely servants of the state. Caesar sent them from Rome: he appointed the officials under them: he paid them their salaries: and to him they must give an

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account of their stewardship. 'If thou let this man go thou art not Caesar's friend.' Such was the threat that induced Pontius Pilate, Governor of Judea in the reign of Tiberius, to condemn to death a man he knew to be innocent of crime.

This is but one of many stories that show the dread of the Emperor's name in Rome's far-distant provinces. Governors, military commanders, judges, tax-collectors, all the vast army of officials who bore the responsibility of government on their shoulders, had an ultimate appeal from their decisions to Caesar, and were exalted by his smile or trembled at his frown.

It is not a modern notion of good government, this complete power vested in one man, but Rome nearly two thousand years ago was content that a master should rule her, so long as he would guarantee prosperity and peace at home. This under the early Caesars was at least secured.

Two fleets patrolled the Mediterranean, but their vigilance was not needed, save for an occasional brush with pirates. Naught but storms disturbed her waters. The legions on the frontiers, whether in Syria or Egypt, or along the Rhine and Danube, kept the barbarians at bay until Romans ceased to think of war as a trade to which every man might one day be called. It was a profession left to the few, the 'many' content to pay the taxes required by the state and to devote themselves to a civilian's life.

To one would fall the management of a large estate, another would stand for election to a government office, a third would become a lawyer or a judge. Others would keep shops or taverns or work as hired labourers, while below these again would be the class of slaves, whether prisoners of war sold in the market-place or citizens deprived of their freedom for crime or debt.

In Rome itself was a large population, living in uncomfortable lodging-houses very like the slum tenements of a modern city. Some of the inhabitants would be engaged in casual labour, some idle; but when the Empire was at its zenith lavish gifts of corn from the government stood between this otherwise destitute population and starvation. It crowded the streets to see Caesar pass, threw flowers on his chariot, and hailed him

as Emperor and God, and in return he bestowed on it food and amusements.

The huge amphitheatres of Rome and her provinces were built to satisfy the public desire for pageantry and sport; and, because life was held cheap, and for all his boasted civilization the Roman was often a savage at heart, he would spend his holidays watching the despised sect of Christians thrown to the lions, or hired gladiators fall in mortal struggle. 'We, about to die, salute thee.' With these words the victims of an emperor's lust of bloodshed bent the knee before the imperial throne, and at Caesar's nod passed to slay or be slain. The emperor's sceptre did not bring mercy, but order, justice, and prosperity above the ordinary standard of the age.



Rome the roadmaker. A coin of Augustus, struck in Spain, representing a statue of the Emperor in a chariot of elephants, crowned by Victory, the whole standing on a viaduct. Inscription: Quod viae mun(ita)e sunt. 'Since the roads have been repaired'



II. THE DECLINE OF ROME

THE years of Rome's greatness seemed to her sons an age of gold, but even at the height of her prosperity there were traces of the evils that brought about her downfall. An autocracy, that is, the rule of one man, might be a perfect form of government were the autocrat not a man but a god, thus combining super-human goodness and understanding with absolute power. Unfortunately, Roman emperors were representatives of human nature in all its phases. Some, like Augustus, were great rulers ; others, though good men, incompetent in the management of public affairs ; whilst not a few led evil lives and regarded their office as a means of gratifying their own desires.

The Emperor Nero (54-68), for instance, was cruel and profligate, guilty of the murder of his half-brother, mother, and wife, and also of the deaths of numberless senators and citizens whose wealth he coveted. Because he was an absolute ruler his corrupt officials were able to bribe and oppress his subjects as they wished until he was fortunately assassinated. He was the last of his line, the famous House of Julius to which Augustus had belonged, and the period that followed his death was known as 'the year of the four Emperors', because during that time no less than four rivals claimed and struggled for the honour.

Nominally, the right of election lay with the Senate, but the final champion, Vespasian (69-79), was not even a Roman nor an aristocrat, but a soldier from the provinces. He had climbed the ladder of fame by sheer endurance and his power of managing others, and his accession was a triumph not for the Senate but the legions who had supported him and who now learned their

power. Henceforward it would be the soldier with his naked sword who could make and unmake emperors, and especially the Praetorian Guard whose right it was to maintain order in Rome.

The gradual recognition of this idea had a disastrous effect on the government of the Empire. Too often the successful general of a campaign on the frontier would remember Vespasian and become obsessed with the thought that he also might be a Caesar. Led by ambition he would hold out to his legions hopes of the rewards they would receive were he crowned in Rome, and some sort of bargain would be struck, lowering the tone of the army by corrupting its loyalty and making its soldiers insolent and grasping.

The Senate attempted to deal with this difficulty of the succession by passing a law that every Emperor should, during his lifetime, name his successor, and that the latter should at once be hailed as Caesar, take a secondary share in the government, and have his effigy printed on coins. In this way he would become known to the whole Roman world, and when the Emperor died would at once be acknowledged in his place. Thus the Romans hoped to establish the theory that England expresses to-day in the phrase 'The King never dies'.

Though to a certain extent successful in their efforts to avoid civil war, they failed to arrest other evils that were undermining the prosperity of the government. One of these was the imperial expenditure. It was only natural that the Emperor should assume a magnificence and liberality in excess of his wealthiest subjects, but in addition he found it necessary to buy the allegiance of the Praetorian Guard and to keep the Roman populace satisfied in its demands for free corn and expensive amusements.

The standard of luxury had grown, and Romans no longer admired, except in books, the simple life of their forefathers. Instead the fashionable ideal was that of the East they had enslaved, and the Emperor was gradually shut off from the mass of his subjects by a host of court officials who thronged his ante-chambers and exacted heavy bribes for admission. In this unhealthy atmosphere suspicion and plots grew apace like weeds,

and money dripped through the imperial fingers as through a sieve, now into the pockets of one favourite, now of another.

'I have lost a day,' was said by the Emperor Titus (A.D. 79-81), whenever twenty-four hours had passed without his having made some valuable present to those about him. His courtiers were ready to fall on their knees and hail him for his liberality as 'Darling of the human race'; but he only reigned for two years. Had he lived to exhaust his treasury it is probable that the greedy throng would have passed a different verdict.

Extravagance is as catching as the plague, and the Roman aristocracy did not fail to copy the imperial example. Just as the Emperor was surrounded by a court, so every noble of importance had his following of 'clients' who would wait submissively on his doorstep in the morning and attend him when he walked abroad to the Forum or the Public Baths. Some would be idle gentlemen, the penniless younger sons of noble houses, others professional poets ready to write flattering verses to order, others again famous gladiators whose long death-roll of victims had made them as popular in Rome as a champion tennis-player or footballer in England to-day. All were united in the one hope of gaining something from their patron, perhaps a gift of money, or his influence to secure them a coveted office, at the least an invitation to a banquet or feast.

The class of senators to which most of these aristocrats belonged had grown steadily richer as the years of empire increased, building up immense landed properties something like the feudal estates of a later date. These 'villas', as they were called, were miniature kingdoms over which their owners had secured absolute power. Their affairs were administered by an agent, probably a favoured slave who had gained his freedom, assisted by a small army of officials. The principal subjects of the landlord would be the small proprietors of farms who paid a rent or did various services in return for their houses, while below these again would be a larger number of actual slaves, employed as household servants, bakers, shoe-makers, shepherds, &c.

The most striking thing about the Roman 'villa' was that it was absolutely self-contained. All that was needed for the life

of its inhabitants, whether food or clothing, could be grown and manufactured on the estate. The crimes that were committed there would be judged by the master or his agent, and from the former's decision there would be little hope of appeal. Where the proprietor was harsh or selfish, miserable indeed was the condition of those condemned to live on his 'villa'.

The income of the average senator in the fourth century A. D. was about £60,000, a very large sum when money was not as plentiful as it is to-day. Aurelius Symmachus, a young senator typical of this time, possessed no less than fifteen country seats, besides large estates in different parts of Italy and three town houses in Rome or her suburbs. It was his object to become Praetor of Rome, one of the highest offices in the city; and in order to gain popularity he and his father organized public games that cost them some £90,000. Lions and crocodiles were fetched from Africa, dogs from Scotland, a special breed of horses from Spain; while captured warriors were brought from Germany, whom he destined to fight with one another in the arena.

The life of this young senator, according to his letters, was controlled by purely selfish considerations. He did not want the praetorship in order to be of use to the Empire, but merely that the Empire might crown his career with a coveted honour. The same narrow outlook and lack of public spirit was common to the majority of the other men and women of his class, and so great was their blindness that they could not even see that they were undermining Rome's power, far less avail to save her.

More fatal even than the corruption of the aristocracy was the decline of the middle classes, usually called the backbone of a nation's greatness. 'The name of Roman citizen,' says a native of Marseilles in the fifth century, 'formerly so highly valued and even bought with a great price, is now . . . shunned, nay it is regarded with abomination.'

This change from the days of St. Paul may be traced back long before the time when Symmachus wasted his patrimony in bringing crocodiles from Africa and horses from Spain. Its cause was the gradual but constant increase of taxation required to

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fill the imperial treasury, and the unequal scale according to which such taxation was levied.

Rome's main source of revenue was an impost on land, and ought by rights to have been exacted from the senatorial class that owned the majority of the large estates. Unfortunately, it was left to the local municipal councils, the *curias*, to collect this tax, and if it fell short of the amount required from the locality by the imperial treasury, the *curiales*, or class compelled as a duty to attend the councils, were held responsible for the deficit.

Here was a problem for Roman citizens of medium wealth, members of their *curia* by birth, quite unable to divest themselves of this more than doubtful honour, and conscious that their sons at eighteen must also accept the dignity and put their shoulders to the burden. It was one thing to assess the chief landlords of the neighbourhood at a sum that matched their revenues, it was another to obtain the money from them. In England to-day the man who refuses to pay his taxes is punished; in imperial Rome it was the tax-collector.

Possessed of money and influence, it was not hard for a senator to outwit mere *curiales*, either by obtaining an exemption from the Emperor, or by bribing the occasional inspectors sent by the central government to condone his refusal to pay. The imperial court set an example of corruption, and those who could imitate this example did so.

The *curiales*, faced by ruin, sought relief in various ways. Those with most wealth tried to raise themselves to senatorial rank: others, unable to achieve this, yet conscious that they must obtain the money required at all costs, demanded the heaviest taxes from those who could not resist them, so that the phrase spread abroad, 'So many *curiales* just so many robbers.'

Less important members of the middle classes, unable to pay their share of taxation or to force others to do so instead, tried in every way to divest themselves of an honour grown intolerable, and the legislation of the later Empire shows their efforts to escape out of the net in which the government tried to hold them enmeshed. Some sought the protection of the nearest land-

owners, and joined the dependants of their 'villas': others, though forbidden by law, entered the army: while others again sold themselves into slavery, since a master's self-interest would at least secure them food and clothing.

More desperate and adventurous spirits saw in brigandage a means both of livelihood and of revenge. Joining themselves to bands of criminals and escaped slaves, they infested the high roads, waylaid and robbed travellers, and carried off their spoils to mountain fastnesses. Thus, through fraud or violence, the ranks of the *curiales* diminished, and taxation fell with still heavier pressure on those who remained to support its burdens.

This evil state of affairs was intensified by the widespread system of slavery that, besides its bad influence on the character of both master and slave, had other economic defects. When forced labour and free work side by side, the former will nearly always drive the latter out of the market, because it can be provided more cheaply. A master need not pay his slaves wages; he can make them work as many hours as he chooses, and lodge and feed them just as he pleases. From his point of view it is more convenient to employ men who cannot leave his service however much they dislike the work and conditions. For these reasons business and trade tended to fall into the hands of wealthy slave-owners who could undersell the employers of free labour, and as the number of slaves increased the number of free workmen grew less.

In Rome, and the large towns also, free labourers who remained were corrupted like men and women of a higher rank by the general extravagance and love of pleasure. They did not agitate so much for a reform of taxation or the abolition of slavery, but for larger supplies of free corn and more frequent public games and spectacles.

An extravagant court, a corrupt government, slavery, class selfishness, these were some of the principal causes of Rome's decline; but in recording them it must be remembered that the taint was only gradual, like some corroding acid eating away good metal. Not all *curiales*, in spite of popular assertions, were robbers, not every taxpayer on the verge of starvation,



A slave or secretary reading to his master. From a Pompeian fresco now in the National Museum, Naples



The Roman auction of a slave, who stands in the centre with the auctioneer on one side and a bidder on the other. Relief from Capua



*A German in Claudius's
Squadron. From a tomb*



*A Roman Magistrate of the late
Republic (Sion House)*

Barbarian and Roman : a study in racial types

not every dependant of a 'villa' cowed and miserable. In many houses masters would free or help their slaves, slaves be found ready to die for their masters. The canker lay in the indifference of individual Roman citizens to evils that did not touch them personally, in the refusal to cure with radical reform even those that did, in the foolish confidence of the majority in the glory of the past as a safeguard for the present. 'Faith in Rome killed all faith in a wider future for humanity.'

This lack of vision has ruined many an empire and kingdom, and Rome only half-opened her eyes even when the despised barbarians who were to expose her weakness were already knocking at the imperial gates.

'Barbarian', we have noticed, was the epithet used by the Roman of the early Empire to describe and condemn the person not fortunate enough to share his citizenship.

At this time the most formidable of the barbarians were the German tribes who inhabited large stretches of forest and mountain land to the north of the Danube and east of the Rhine—a tall, powerfully built race for the most part with ruddy hair and fierce blue eyes, whose business was warfare, and the occupation of their leisure hours the chase or gambling.

In his book, the *Germania*, Tacitus, a famous Roman historian of the first century, describes these Teutons, and besides drawing attention to their primitive customs and lack of culture, he made copy of their simplicity to lash the vices of his own countrymen.

The Germans, he said, did not live in walled towns but in straggling villages standing amid fields. These were either shared as common pasturage or tilled in allotments, parcelled out annually amongst the inhabitants. A number of villages would form a *pagus* or canton, a number of *pagi* a *civitas* or state. At the head of the state was more usually a king, but sometimes only a number of important chiefs, or dukes, who would be treated with the utmost reverence.

It was their place to preside over the small councils that dealt with the less important affairs of the state, and to lay before the

larger meeting of the tribe measures that seemed to require public discussion. Lying round their camp fire in the moonlight the younger men would listen to the advice of the more experienced and clash their weapons as a sign of approval when some suggestion pleased them.

At the councils were chosen the *principes*, or magistrates, whose duty it was to administer justice in the various cantons and villages. Tribal law was very primitive in comparison with the Roman code that required highly trained lawyers to interpret it. Had a man betrayed his fellow villagers to their enemies, let him be hung from the nearest tree that all might learn the fitting reward of treachery. Had he turned coward and fled from the battle, let him be buried in a morass out of sight beneath a hurdle, that such shame should be quickly forgotten. Had he in a rage or by accident slain or injured a neighbour, let him pay a fine in compensation, half to his victim's nearest relations, half to the state. If the decision did not satisfy those concerned, the family of the injured person could itself exact vengeance, but since it would probably meet with opposition in so doing, more bloodshed would almost certainly result, and a feud, like the later Corsican *vendetta*, be handed down from generation to generation.

Such a state of unrest had no horror for the German tribesman. From his earliest days he looked forward to the moment when, receiving from his kinsmen the gift of a shield and sword, he might leave boyhood behind him and assume a man's responsibilities and dangers. With his comrades he would at once hasten to offer his services to some great leader of his tribe, and as a member of the latter's *comitatus*, or following, go joyfully out to battle.

Like the Spartan of old he went with the cry ringing in his ears, 'With your shield or on your shield!'

'It is a disgrace', says Tacitus, 'for the chief to be surpassed in battle . . . and it is an infamy and a reproach for life to have survived the chief and returned from the field.'

This statement explains the reckless daring with which the scattered groups of Germans would fling themselves time after

time against the disciplined Roman phalanxes. The women shared the hardihood of the race, bringing and receiving as wedding-gifts not ornaments or beautiful clothes but a warrior's horse, a lance, or sword.

'Lest a woman should think herself to stand apart from aspirations after noble deeds and from the perils of war, she is reminded by the ceremony that inaugurates marriage that she is her husband's partner in toil and danger, destined to suffer and die with him alike both in peace and war.'

Chaste, industrious, devoted to the interests of husband and children, yet so patriotic that, watching the battle, she would urge them rather to perish than retreat, the barbarian woman struck Tacitus as a living reproach to the many faithless, idle, pleasure-seeking wives and mothers of Rome in his own day. The German tribes might be uncouth, their armies without discipline, even their nobles ignorant of culture, but they were brave, hospitable, and loyal. Above all they held a distinction between right and wrong: they did not 'laugh at vice'.

It is probable that in the days of Tacitus his views were received throughout the Roman Empire with an amused shrug of the shoulders, for to many the Germans were merely good fighters, whose giant build added considerably to the glory of a triumphal procession, when they walked sullenly in their shackles behind the Victor's car. With the passing of the years into centuries, however, intercourse changed this attitude, and much of the contempt on one side and hatred on the other vanished.

Germans captured in childhood were brought up in Roman households and grew invaluable to their masters: numbers were freed and remained as citizens in the land of their captivity. The tribes along the borders became more civilized: they exchanged raw produce or furs in the nearest Roman markets for luxuries and comforts, and as their hatred of Rome disappeared admiration took its place. Something of the greatness of the Empire touched their imagination: they realized for the first time the possibilities of peace under an ordered government; and whole tribes offered their allegiance to a power that knew not only how to conquer but to rule.

Emperors, nothing loath, gathered these new forces under their standards as auxiliaries or allies (*foederati*), and Franks from Flanders, at the imperial bidding, drove back fellow barbarians from the left bank of the Rhine; while fair-haired Alemanni and Saxons fell in Caesar's service on the plains of Mesopotamia or on the arid sands of Africa. From auxiliary forces to the ranks of the regular army was an easy stage, the more so as the Roman legions were every year in greater need of recruits as the boundaries of the Empire spread.

It is at first sight surprising to find that the military profession was unpopular when we recall that it rested in the hands of the legions to make or dispossess their rulers; but such opportunities of acquiring bribes and plunder did not often fall to the lot of the ordinary soldier, while the disadvantages of his career were many.

A very small proportion of the army was kept in the large towns of the south, save in Rome that had its own Praetorian Guards: the majority of the legions defended the Rhine and Danube frontiers, or still worse were quartered in cold and foggy Britain, shut up in fortress outposts like York or Chester. English regiments to-day think little of service in far-distant countries like Egypt or India, indeed men are often glad to have the experience of seeing other lands; but the Roman soldier as he said farewell to his Italian village knew in his heart that it had practically passed out of his life. The shortest period of military service was sixteen years, the longest twenty-five; and when we remember that, owing to the slow and difficult means of transport, leave was impossible we see the Roman legionary was little more than the serf of his government, bound to spend all the best years of his life defending less warlike countrymen.

Moving with his family from outpost to outpost, the memories of his old home would grow blurred, and the legion to which he belonged would occupy the chief place in his thoughts. As he grew older his sons, bred in the atmosphere of war, would enlist in their turn, and so the military profession would tend to become a caste, handed down from father to son.

The soldier could have little sympathy with fellow citizens whose interests he did not share, but would despise them because they did not know how to use arms. The civilians, on their side, would think the soldier rough and ignorant, and forget how much they were dependent on his protection for their trade and pleasure. Instead of trying to bridge this gulf, the government, in their terror of losing taxpayers, widened it by refusing to let *curiales* enlist. At the same time they filled up the gaps in the legions with corps of Franks, Germans, or Goths ; because they were good fighting material, and others of their tribe had proved brave and loyal.

In the same way, when land in Italy fell out of cultivation, the Emperor would send numbers of barbarians as *coloni* or settlers to till the fields and build themselves homes. At first they might be looked on with suspicion by their neighbours, but gradually they would intermarry and their sons adopt Roman habits, until in time their descendants would sit in municipal councils, and even rise to become Praetors or Consuls.

When it is said that the Roman Empire fell because of the inroads of barbarians, the impression sometimes left on people's minds is that hordes of uncivilized tribes, filled with contempt for Rome's luxury and corruption, suddenly swept across the Alps in the fifth century, laying waste the whole of North Italy. This is far from the truth. The peaceful invasion of the Empire by barbarians, whether as slaves, traders, soldiers, or colonists, was a continuous movement from early imperial days. There is no doubt that, as it increased, it weakened the Roman power of resistance to the actually hostile raids along the frontiers that began in the second and third centuries and culminated in the collapse of the imperial government in the West in the fifth. An army partly composed of half-civilized barbarian troops could not prove so trustworthy as the well-disciplined and seasoned Romans of an earlier age ; for the foreign element was liable in some gust of passion to join forces with those of its own blood against its oath of allegiance.

As to the main cause of the raids, it was rather love of Rome's wealth than a sturdy contempt of luxury that led these barbarians

The Decline of Rome

to assault the dreaded legions. Had it been mere love of fighting, the Alemanni would as soon have slain their Saxon neighbours as the imperial troops; but nowhere save in Spain, or southern Gaul, or on the plains of Italy could they hope to find opulent cities or herds of cattle. Plunder was their earliest rallying cry; but in the third century the pressure of other tribes on their flank forced them to redouble in self-defence efforts begun for very different reasons.

This movement of the barbarians has been called 'the Wandering of the Nations'. Gradually but surely, like a stream released from some mountain cavern, Goths from the North and Huns and Vandals from the East descended in irresistible numbers on southern Germany, driving the tribes who were already in possession there up against the barriers, first of the Danube and then of the Alps and Rhine.

Italy and Gaul ceased to be merely a paradise for looters, but were sought by barbarians, who had learned something of Rome's civilization, as a refuge from other barbarians who trod women and children underfoot, leaving a track wherever their cruel hordes passed red with blood and fire. With their coming, Europe passed from the brightness of Rome into the 'Dark Ages'.



The German danger in the North. On the left is a coin of the reign of Augustus, stamped VAR for Varus, the commander whose legions were annihilated in Germany; on the right, the back and front of a coin commemorating a triumph over the Germans and the recovery of the standards of Varus under Germanicus

III

THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY

WHEN Augustus became Emperor of Rome, Jesus Christ was not yet born. With the exception of the Jews, who believed in the one Almighty 'Jehovah', most of the races within the boundaries of the Empire worshipped a number of gods; and these, according to popular tales, were no better than the men and women who burned incense at their altars, but differed from them only in being immortal, and because they could yield to their passions and desires with greater success.

The Roman god 'Juppiter', who was the same as the Greek 'Zeus', was often described as 'King of gods and men'; but far from proving himself an impartial judge and ruler, the legends in which he appears show him cruel, faithless, and revengeful. 'Juno', the Greek 'Hera', 'Queen of Heaven', was jealous and implacable in her wrath, as the 'much-enduring' hero, Ulysses, found when time after time her spite drove him from his homeward course from Troy. 'Mercury', the messenger of the gods, was merely a cunning thief.

Most of the thoughtful Greeks and Romans, it is true, came to regard the old mythology as a series of tales invented by their primitive ancestors to explain mysterious facts of nature like fire, thunder, earthquakes. Because, however, this form of worship had played so great a part in national history, patriotism dictated that it should not be forgotten entirely; and therefore emperors were raised to the number of the gods; and citizens of Rome, whether they believed in their hearts or no, continued to burn incense before the altars of Juppiter, Juno, or Augustus in token of their loyalty to the Empire.

The human race has found it almost impossible to believe in

nothing, for man is always seeking theories to explain his higher nature and why it is he recognizes so early the difference between right and wrong. Far back in the third and fourth centuries before Christ, Greek philosophers had discussed the problem of the human soul, and some of them had laid down rules for leading the best life possible.

Epicurus taught that since our present life is the only one, man must make it his object to gain the greatest amount of pleasure that he can. Of course this doctrine gave an opening to people who wished to live only for themselves ; but Epicurus himself had been simple, almost ascetic in his habits, and had clearly stated that although pleasure was his object, yet ' we can not live pleasantly without living wisely, nobly, and righteously '. The self-indulgent man will defeat his own ends by ruining his health and character until he closes his days not in pleasure but in misery.

Another Greek philosopher was Zeno, whose followers were called ' Stoics ' from the *stoa* or porch of the house in Athens in which he taught his first disciples. Zeno believed that man's fortune was settled by destiny, and that he could only find true happiness by hardening himself until he grew indifferent to his fate. Death, pain, loss of friends, defeated ambitions, all these the Stoic must face without yielding to fear, grief, or passion. Brutus, the leader of the conspirators who slew Julius Caesar, was a Stoic, and Shakespeare in his tragedy shows the self-control that Brutus exerted when he learned that his wife Portia whom he loved had killed herself.

The teaching of Epicurus and Zeno did something during the Roman Empire to provide ideals after which men could strive, but neither could hold out hopes of a happiness without end or blemish. The ' Hades ' of the old mythology was no heaven but a world of shades beyond the river Styx, gloomy alike for good and bad. At the gates stood the three-headed monster Cerberus, ready to prevent souls from escaping once more to light and sunshine.

Paganism was thus a sad religion for all who thought of the future : and this is one of the reasons why the tidings of



Paganism ; dedications to the Moon-God in Pisidian Antioch

Photograph by Mr. W. M. Calder



Paganism ; a relief showing Mithras or the Sun-God sacrificing the bull. Around, the signs of the Zodiac

Photograph by Mr. Bernard Ashmole



'The Christians to the Lions.' A Roman mosaic from the 'Villa di Dar Buk Amméra'

By permission of Signor Ojetti



The Christian catacombs at Naples

Christianity were received so joyfully. When St. Paul went to Athens he found an altar set up to 'the unknown God', showing that men and women were out of sympathy with their old beliefs and seeking an answer to their doubts and questions. He tried to tell the Greeks that the Christ he preached was the God they sought; but those who heard him ridiculed the idea that a Jewish peasant who had suffered the shameful death of the cross could possibly be divine.

The earliest followers of Christianity were not as a rule cultured people like the Athenians, but those who were poor and ignorant. To them Christ's message was one of brotherhood and love overriding all differences between classes and nations. Yet it did not merely attract because it promised immortality and happiness; it also set up a definite standard of right and wrong. The Jewish religion had laid down the Ten Commandments as the rule of life, but the Jews had never tried to persuade other nations to obey them—rather they had jealously guarded their beliefs from the Gentiles. The Christians on the other hand had received the direct command 'to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature'; and even the slave, when he felt within himself the certainty of his new faith, would be sure to talk about it to others in his household. In time the strange story would reach the ears of his master and mistress, and they would begin to wonder if what this fellow believed so earnestly could possibly be true.

In a brutal age, when the world was largely ruled by physical force, Christianity made a special appeal to women and to the higher type of men who hated violence. One argument in its favour amongst the observant was the life led by the early Christians—their gentleness, their meekness, and their constancy. It is one thing to suffer an insult through cowardice, quite another to bear it patiently and yet be brave enough to face torture and death rather than surrender convictions. Christian martyrs taught the world that their faith had nothing in it mean or spiritless.

Perhaps it may seem strange that men and women whose conduct was so quiet and inoffensive should meet with persecution

at all. Christ had told His disciples to 'render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's', and the strength of Christianity lay not in rebellion to the civil government but in submission. This is true, yet the Christian who paid his taxes and took care to avoid breaking the laws of his province would find it hard all the same to live at peace with pagan fellow citizens. Like the Jew he could not pretend to worship gods whom he considered idols : he could not offer incense at the altars of Juppiter and Augustus : he could not go to a pagan feast and pour out a libation of wine to some deity, nor hang laurel branches sacred to the nymph Daphne over his door on occasions of public rejoicing.

Such neglect of ordinary customs made him an object of suspicion and dislike amongst neighbours who did not share his faith. A hint was given here and there by mischief makers, and confirmed with nods and whisperings, that his quietness was only a cloak for evil practices in secret ; and this grew into a rumour throughout the Empire that the murder of newborn babies was part of the Christian rites.

Had the Christians proved more pliant the imperial government might have cleared their name from such imputations and given them protection, but it also distrusted their refusal to share in public worship. Lax themselves, the emperors were ready to permit the god of the Jews or Christians a place amongst their own deities ; and they could not understand the attitude of mind that objected to a like toleration of Juppiter or Juno. The commandment 'Thou shalt have none other gods but me' found no place in their faith, and they therefore accused the Christians and Jews of want of patriotism, and used them as scapegoats for the popular fury when occasion required.

In the reign of Nero a tremendous fire broke out in Rome that reduced more than half the city to ruins. The Emperor, who was already unpopular because of his cruelty and extravagance, fearing that he would be held responsible for the calamity, declared hastily that he had evidence that the fire was planned by Christians ; and so the first serious persecution of the new faith began.

Here is part of an account given by Tacitus, whose history of the German tribes we have already noticed :

‘ He, Nero, inflicted the most exquisite tortures on those men who under the vulgar appellation of Christians were already branded with deserved infamy. . . . They died in torments, and their torments were embittered by insult and derision. Some were nailed on crosses ; others sewn up in the skins of wild beasts and exposed to the fury of dogs ; others again, smeared over with combustible materials, were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. The gardens of Nero were destined for this melancholy spectacle, which was accompanied with a horse race and honoured with the presence of the Emperor.’

Tacitus was himself a pagan and hostile to the Christians, yet he admits that this cruelty aroused sympathy. Nevertheless the persecutions continued under different emperors, some of them, unlike Nero, wise rulers and good men.

‘ These people ’, wrote the Spanish Emperor Trajan (98-117), referring to the Christians, ‘ should not be searched for, but if they are informed against and convicted they should be punished.’

Marcus Aurelius (161-180) declared that those who acknowledged that they were Christians should be beaten to death ; and during his reign men and women were tortured and killed on account of their faith in every part of the Empire. The test required by the magistrates was nearly always the same, that the accused must offer wine and incense before the statue of the Emperor and revile the name of Christ.

The motive that inspired these later emperors was not Nero’s innate love of cruelty or desire of finding a scapegoat, but genuine fear of a sect that grew steadily in numbers and wealth, and that threatened to interfere with the ordinary worship of the temples, so bound up with the national life.

In the reign of Trajan the Governor of Bithynia wrote to the Emperor complaining that on account of the spread of Christian teaching little money was now spent in buying sacrificial beasts. ‘ Nor ’, he added, ‘ are cities alone permeated by the contagion of this superstition, but villages and country parts as well.’

Emperors and magistrates were at first confident that, if only

they were severe enough in their punishments, the new religion could be crushed out of existence. Instead it was the imperial government that collapsed while Christianity conquered Europe.

Very early in the history of Christianity the Apostles had found it necessary to introduce some form of government into the Church; and later, as the faith spread from country to country, there arose in each province men who from their goodness, influence, or learning, were chosen by their fellow Christians to control the religious affairs of the neighbourhood. These were called 'Episcopi', or bishops, from the Latin word *Episcopus*, 'an overseer'. Tradition claims that Peter was the first bishop of the Church in Rome, and that during the reign of Nero he was crucified for loyalty to the Christ he had formerly denied.

To help the bishops a number of 'presbyters' or 'priests' were appointed, and below these again 'deacons' who should undertake the less responsible work. The first deacons had been employed in distributing the alms of the wealthier members of the congregation amongst the poor; and though in early days the sums received were not large, yet as men of every rank accepted Christianity regardless of scorn or danger and made offerings of their goods, the revenues of the Church began to grow. The bishops also became persons of importance in the world around them.

In time emperors and magistrates whose predecessors had believed in persecution came to recognize that it was not an advantage to the government, even a danger, and instead they began to consult and honour the men who were so much trusted by their fellow citizens. At last, in the fourth century, there succeeded to the throne an emperor who looked on Christianity not with hatred or dread, but with friendly eyes as a more valuable ally than the paganism of his fathers. This was the Emperor Constantine the Great.

IV

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

CONSTANTINE the Great was born at a time when the Empire was divided up between different emperors. His father, Constantius Chlorus, ruled over Spain, Gaul, and Britain ; and when he died at York in A.D. 306, Constantine his eldest son succeeded to the government of these provinces. The new Emperor, who was thirty-two years old, had been bred in the school of war. He was handsome, brave, and capable, and knew how to make himself popular with the legions under his command without losing his dignity or letting them become undisciplined.

When he had reigned a few years he quarrelled with his brother-in-law Maxentius who was Emperor at Rome, and determined to cross the Alps and drive him from his throne. The task was difficult ; for the Roman army, consisting of picked Praetorian Guards, and regiments of Sicilians, Moors, and Carthaginians, was quite four times as large as the invading forces. Yet Constantine, once he had made his decision, did not hesitate. He knew his rival had little military experience, and that the corruption and luxury of the Roman court had not increased either his energy or valour.

It is said also that Constantine believed that the God of the Christians was on his side, for as he prepared for a battle on the plains of Italy against vastly superior forces, he saw before him in the sky a shining cross and underneath the words ' By this conquer ! ' At once he gave orders that his legions should place on their shields the sign of the cross, and with this same sign as his banner he advanced to the attack. It was completely successful, the Roman army fled in confusion, Maxentius was

slain, and Constantine entered the capital almost unopposed. The arch in Rome that bears his name celebrates this triumph.

Constantine was now Emperor of the whole of Western Europe, and some years later, after a furious struggle with Licinius the Emperor of the East, he succeeded in uniting all the provinces of the Empire under his rule.

This was a joyful day for Christians, for though Constantine was not actually baptized until just before his death, yet,



throughout his reign, he showed his sympathy with the Christian religion and did all in his power to help those who professed it. He used his influence to prevent gladiatorial shows, abolished the horrible punishment of crucifixion, and made it easier than ever before for slaves to free themselves. When he could, he avoided pagan rites, though as Emperor he still retained the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, or 'High Priest', and attended services in the temples.

His mother, the Empress Helena, to whom he was devoted, was a Christian; and one of the old legends describes her

pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and how she found and brought back with her some wood from the cross on which Christ had been crucified.

Soon after Constantine conquered Rome he published the famous 'Edict of Milan' that allowed liberty of worship to all inhabitants of the Empire, whether pagans, Jews, or Christians. The latter were no longer to be treated as criminals but as citizens with full civil rights, while the places of worship and lands that had been taken from them were to be restored.

Later, as Constantine's interest in the Christians deepened, he departed from this impartial attitude and showed them special favours, confiscating some of the treasures of the temples and giving them to the Church, as well as handing over to it sums of money out of the public revenues. He also tried to free the clergy from taxation, and allowed bishops to interfere with the civil law-courts.

Many of these measures were unwise. For one thing, Christianity when it was persecuted or placed on a level with other religions only attracted those who really believed in Christ's teaching. When it received material advantages, on the other hand, the ambitious at once saw a way to royal favour and their own success by professing the new beliefs. A false element was thus introduced into the Church.

For another thing, few even of the sincere Christians could be trusted not to abuse their privileges. The fourth century did not understand toleration; and those who had suffered persecution were quite ready as a rule to use compulsion in their turn towards men and women who disagreed with them, whether pagans or those of their own faith. Quite early in its history the Church was torn by disputes, since much of its teaching had been handed down by 'tradition', or word of mouth, and this led to disagreement as to what Christ had really said or meant by many of his words. At length the Church decided that it would gather the principal doctrines of the 'Catholic' or 'universal' faith into a form of belief that men could learn and recite. Thus the 'Apostles' Creed' came into existence.

In spite of this definition of the faith controversy continued.

At the beginning of the fourth century a dispute as to the exact relationship of God the Father to God the Son in the doctrine of the Trinity broke out between Arius, a presbyter of the Church in Egypt, and the Bishop of Alexandria, the latter declaring that Arius had denied the divinity of Christ. Partisans defended either side, and the quarrel grew so embittered that an appeal was made to the Emperor to give his decision.

Constantine was reluctant to interfere. 'They demand my judgement,' he said, 'who myself expect the judgement of Christ. What audacity of madness!' When he found, however, that some steps must be taken if there was to be any order in the Church at all, he summoned a Council to meet at Nicea and consider the question, and thither came bishops and clergy from all parts of the Christian world. The meetings were prolonged and stormy; but the eloquence of a young Egyptian deacon called Athanasius decided the case against Arius; and the latter, refusing to submit to the decrees of the Council, was proclaimed a heretic, or outlaw. The orthodox Catholics, that is, the majority of bishops who were present, then drew up a new creed to express their exact views, and this took its name from the Council, and was called the 'Nicene Creed'. In a revised form it is still recited in all the Catholic churches of Christendom.

Arius, though defeated at the Council, succeeded in winning the Emperor over to his views, and Constantine tried to persuade the Catholics to receive him back into the Church. When this suggestion met with refusal the Emperor, who now believed that he had a right to settle ecclesiastical matters, was so angry that he tried to install Arius in one of the churches of his new city of Constantinople by force of arms. The orthodox bishop promptly closed and barred the gates, and riots ensued that were only ended by the death of Arius himself.

The schism, however, continued, and it may be claimed that its bitterness had a considerable influence in deciding the future of Europe by raising barriers between races that might otherwise have become friends. Arianism, like orthodox Catholicism, was full of the missionary spirit, and from its priests the half-civilized tribes of Goths and Vandals learned the new faith.

A Gothic bishop was present at the Council of Nicea, while another, Ulfilas, who had studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at Constantinople, afterwards translated a great part of the Bible into his own tongue. This is the first-known missionary Bible; and, though the original has disappeared, a copy made about a century later is in a museum at Upsala, written in Gothic characters in silver and gold on purple vellum.

The Goths regarded their Bible with deep awe, and carried it with them on their wanderings, consulting it before they went into battle. Like the Vandals, who had also been converted by the Arians, they considered themselves true Christians; but the orthodox Catholics disliked them as heretics almost more than the pagans.

Constantine himself imbibed the spirit of fanaticism; and when he became the champion of Arius, persecuted Athanasius, who had been made Bishop of Alexandria, and compelled him to go into exile. Athanasius went to Rome, where it is said that he was at first ridiculed because he was accompanied by two Egyptian monks in hoods and cowls. Western Europe had heard little as yet of monasticism, though the Eastern Church had adopted it for some time.

To the early Christians with their high ideals the world around them seemed a wicked place, in which it was difficult for them to lead a Christ-like life. They thought that by withdrawing from an atmosphere of brutality and material pleasure, and by giving themselves up to fasting and prayer, they would be able more easily to fix their minds on God and so fit themselves for Heaven. Sometimes they would go to desert places and live as hermits in caves, perhaps without talking to a living person for months or even years. Others who could not face such loneliness would join a community of monks, dwelling together under special rules of discipline. At fixed hours of the day and night they would recite the services of the Church, and in between whiles they would work or pray and study the Scriptures.

Many of the austerities they practised sound to us absurd, for it is hard to feel in sympathy with a Simon Stylites who spent the best days of his manhood crouched on a high pillar at the

mercy of sun, wind, and rain, until his limbs stiffened and withered away. Yet the hermits and monks were an arresting witness to Christianity in an age that had not fully realized what Christ's teaching meant. 'He that will serve me let him take up his cross and follow me.' This ideal of sacrifice was brought home for the first time to hundreds of thoughtless men and women when they saw some one whom they knew give up his worldly prospects and the joy of a home and children in order to lead a life of perpetual discomfort until death should come to him as a blessing not a curse. The majority of the leading clergy in the early Church, the 'Fathers of the Church', as they are usually called, were monks.

Two of them, St. Gregory and St. Basil, studied together at the University of Athens in the fourth century. St. Basil founded a community of monks in Asia Minor, where his reputation for holiness soon drew together a large number of disciples. He did not try to win them by fair words or the promise of ease and comfort, for his monks were allowed little to eat and spent their days in prayer and manual labour of the hardest kind. The Arians, who hated St. Basil as an orthodox Catholic, once threatened that they would confiscate his belongings, torture him, and put him to death. 'My sole wealth is a ragged cloak and some books,' replied the hermit calmly. 'My days on earth are but a pilgrimage, and my body is so feeble that it will expire at the first torment. Death will be a relief.' It came when he was only fifty, but not at the hands of his enemies, for he died exhausted by the penances and privations of his customary life. He left many letters and theological works that throw light on the religious questions of his day.

St. Gregory had lived for a time with St. Basil and his monks in Asia Minor but was not strong enough to submit to the same harsh discipline. Indeed he declared that but for the kindness of St. Basil's mother he would have died of starvation. Afterwards he returned home and was ordained a priest. He was a gentler type of man than St. Basil, a poet of no little merit and an eloquent preacher.

Yet another of the Catholic 'Fathers of the Church' was



*Ruins of the great church of Kala'at Siman. In the centre stood the pillar on which
Simon Stylites crouched*

Photograph by Sir Aurel Stein



Constantinople and the Golden Horn to-day. The Mosque (formerly the Church) of Santa Sophia is in the foreground

Photograph by Sir Aurel Stein

St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. He was elected to this see against his own will by the people of the town, who respected him because he was strong and fearless. St. Ambrose did not hesitate to use the wealth of the Church, even melting down some of the altar-vessels, to ransom Christians who had been carried away captive during one of the barbarian invasions. 'The Church,' he declared, 'possesses gold and silver not to hoard, but to spend on the welfare and happiness of men.'

The impetuosity and vigour that made him a born leader he also employed to express his intolerance of those who disagreed with him. When some Christians in Milan burned a Jewish synagogue and the Emperor Theodosius ordered them to rebuild it, St. Ambrose advised them not to do so. 'I myself,' he said, 'would have burned the synagogue. . . . What has been done is but a trifling retaliation for acts of plunder and destruction committed by Jews and heretics against the Catholics.' This was not the spirit of the Founder of Christianity: it was too often the spirit of the mediaeval Church.

A man of even greater influence than St. Ambrose of Milan was St. Jerome, a monk of the fifth century, who is chiefly remembered to-day because of his Latin translation of the Bible, 'the Vulgate' as it is called, that is still the recognized edition of the Roman Catholic Church.

St. Jerome was born in Italy, but in his extreme asceticism he followed the practices of the Eastern rather than the Western Church. As a youth he had led a wild life, but, suddenly repenting, he disappeared to live as a hermit in the desert, starving and mortifying himself. So strongly did he believe that this was the only road to Heaven that when he went to Rome he preached continually in favour of celibacy, urging men and women not to marry, as if marriage had been a sin. He was afraid that if they became happy and contented in their home life they would forget God.

Many of the leading families, and especially their women, came under St. Jerome's influence, but such exaggerated views could never be really popular and, instead of being chosen Bishop of Rome as he had expected, he was forced, by the

many enemies he had aroused, to leave the town, and returned once more to the desert. Of his sincerity there can be little doubt, but his outlook on life was warped because, like so many good and earnest contemporary Christians, he believed that human nature and this earth were entirely bad and that only by the suppression of any enjoyment in them could the soul obtain salvation.

Several centuries were to pass before St. Francis of Assisi taught his fellow men the beauty and value of what is human.

Constantinople (the *Polis* or city of Constantine) had been a Greek colony under the name of Byzantium long before Rome existed. Built on the headland of the Golden Horn, its walls were lapped by an inland sea whose depth and smoothness made a splendid harbour from the rougher waters of the Mediterranean. Almost impregnable in its fortifications, it frowned on Asia across the narrow straits of the Hellespont and completely commanded the entrance to the Black Sea, with its rich ports, markets then as now for the corn and grain of southern Russia.

Constantine, when he decided that Byzantium should be his capital, was well aware of these advantages. He had been born in the Balkans, had spent a great part of his life as a soldier in Asia, had assumed the imperial crown in Britain, and ruled Gaul for his first kingdom. This medley of experience left little place in his heart for Italy, and the name of Rome had no power to stir his blood. Rome to him was a corrupt town in one of the outlying limbs of his Empire: it had no harbour nor special military value on land, while the Alps were a barrier preventing news from passing quickly to and fro. Byzantium, on the other hand, near the mouth of the Danube, was easy of access and yet could be rendered almost impregnable to his foes. It had the great military advantage also of serving as an admirable headquarters for keeping watch over the northern frontier and an outlook towards the East.

The walls of the original town could not embrace the Emperor's ambitions, and he himself, wand in hand, designed the boundaries. His court, following him, gasped with dismay. 'It is enough,' they urged; 'no imperial city was ever so great

before.' 'I shall go on,' replied Constantine, 'until he, the invisible guide who marches before me, thinks fit to stop.'

Not until the seven hills outside Byzantium were enclosed within his circuit was the Emperor satisfied; and then the great work of building began, and the white marble of Forum and Baths, of Palaces and Colonnades, arose to adorn the Constantinople that has ever since this time played so large a part in the history of Europe. In the new market-place, just beyond the original walls, was placed the 'Golden Milestone', a marble column within a small temple, bearing the proud inscription that here was the 'central point of the world'. Inside were statues of Constantine and Queen Helena his mother, while Rome herself and the cities of Greece were robbed of their masterpieces of sculpture to embellish the buildings of the new capital.

In May A.D. 330 Constantinople was solemnly consecrated, and the Empire kept high festival in honour of an event that few of the revellers recognized would alter the whole course of her destiny. The new capital, through her splendid strategic position, was to preserve the imperial throne with one short lapse for more than a thousand years, but this advantage was obtained at the expense of Rome, and the complete severance of the interests of the Empire in the East and West.

The Romans had never loved the Greeks, even when they most admired their art and subtle intellect, and now in the fourth century this persistent distrust was intensified when Greece usurped the glory that had been her conqueror's. In the absence of an Emperor and of the many high officials who had gone to swell the triumph of his new court, Rome set up another idol. The symbols of material glory might vanish, but the Christian faith had supplied men with fresh ideals through the teaching of the Apostles and their representatives, the Bishops.

Roman bishops claimed that the gift of grace they received at their consecration had been passed down to them by the successive laying-on of hands from St. Peter himself. 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church . . . and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'

These words of Christ seemed to grant to his apostle complete authority over the souls of men ; and Christians at Rome began to ask if the power of St. Peter to ' bind and loose ' had not been handed down to his successors ? If so *Il Papa*, that is, ' their father ', the Pope, was undoubtedly the first bishop in Christendom, for on no other apostle had Christ bestowed a like authority.

It must not be imagined that this reasoning came like a flash of inspiration or was willingly received by all Christians. Many generations of Popes, from the days of St. Peter onwards, were regarded merely as Bishops of Rome, that is, as ' overseers ' of the Church in the chief city of the Empire. They were loved and esteemed by their flock not on account of special divine authority but because they stood neither for self-interest nor for faction, but for principles of justice, mercy, and brotherhood.

Had a Roman been robbed by a fellow citizen, were there a plague or famine, was the city threatened by enemies without her walls, it was to her bishop Rome turned, demanding help and protection. Afterwards it was only natural that the one power that could and did afford these things when Emperors and Senators were far away should in time take the Emperor's place, and that the Pope should appear to Rome, and gradually as we shall see to Western Europe, God's very viceroy on earth.

To the Church in Greece, Egypt, and Asia Minor he never assumed this halo of glory. Byzantium, the great Constantinople, was the pivot on which the eastern world turned, and the Bishop of Rome with his tradition of St. Peter made no authoritative appeal. Thus far back in the fourth century the cleft had already opened between the Churches of the East and West that was to widen into a veritable chasm.

Constantine ' the Great ' died in 337, and if greatness be measured by achievement he well deserves his title. Where men of higher genius and originality had failed he had succeeded, beating down with calm perseverance every object that threatened his ambitions, until at last the Christian ruler of a united empire, feared and respected by subjects and enemies alike, he passed to his rest.

V

THE INVASIONS OF THE BARBARIANS

INSTEAD of endeavouring to maintain a united empire, Constantine in his will divided up his dominions between three sons and two nephews. Before thirty years were over, however, a series of murders and civil wars had exterminated his family; and two brothers, Valentian and Valens, men of humble birth but capable soldiers, were elected as joint emperors. Valens ruled at Constantinople, his brother at Milan; and it was during this reign that the Empire received one of the worst blows that had ever befallen her.

We have already mentioned the Goths, a race of barbarians half-civilized by Roman influence and converted to Christianity by followers of Arius. One of their tribes, the Visigoths, had settled in large numbers in the country to the north of the Danube. On the whole their relations with the Empire were friendly, and it was hardly their fault that the peace was finally broken, but rather of a strange Tartar race the Huns, that, massing in the plains of Asia, had suddenly swept over Europe. Here is a description given of the Huns by a Gothic writer: 'Men with faces that can scarcely be called faces, rather shapeless black collops of flesh with tiny points instead of eyes: little in stature but lithe and active, skilful in riding, broad-shouldered, hiding under a barely human form the ferocity of a wild beast.'

Tradition says that these monsters, mounted on their shaggy ponies, rode women and children under foot and feasted on human flesh. Whether this be true or no, their name became a terror to the civilized world, and after a few encounters with them the Visigoths crowded on the edge of the Danube and implored the Emperor to allow them to shelter behind the line of Roman forts.

Valens, to whom the petition was made, hesitated. There was

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obvious danger to his dominions in this sudden influx of a whole tribe; but on the other hand fear might madden the Visigoths into trying to cross even if he refused, and if so could he withstand them?

‘All the multitude that had escaped from the murderous savagery of the Huns,’ says a writer of the day, ‘no less than 200,000 fighting men besides women and old men and children, were there on the river bank, stretching out their hands with loud lamentations . . . and promising that they would ever faithfully adhere to the imperial alliance, if only the boon was granted them.’

Reluctantly Valens yielded; and soon the province of Dacia was crowded with refugees; but here the real trouble began. Food must be found for this multitude, and it was evident that the local crops would not suffice. In vain the Emperor commanded that corn should be imported: the greed of officials who were responsible for carrying out this order led them to hold up large consignments, and to sell what little they allowed to pass at wholly extortionate rates. Their unwelcome guests, half-starved and fleeced of the small savings they had been able to bring with them, complained, plotted, and broke at last into open rebellion.

This treatment of the Visigoths in Dacia is one of the worst pages in the history of the Roman Empire, but it brought its own speedy punishment. The suspicion and hatred engendered by misery spread like a flame, and the barbarian forces were joined by deserters of their own race from the imperial legions and by runaway slaves until they had grown into a formidable army. Valens, forced to take steps to preserve his throne, met them on the battle-field of Adrianople, but only to suffer crushing defeat. He himself was slain, and some 40,000 of those who had served under his banner.

Never before had the imperial eagles met with such a reverse at barbarian hands, and the Visigoths after the first moment of triumph were almost alarmed at the extent of their own success. Before the frowning walls of Constantinople their courage faltered, and without attempting a siege they retreated northwards into Thrace. Gladly they came to terms with Theodosius,

Valens's successor, who, not content with regranteeing them the lands to the south of the Danube that they so much desired, increased his army by taking whole regiments of their best warriors into his pay.

'Lover of peace and of the Goths' is the character with which Theodosius has passed down to posterity, and during his reign the Visigoths and other northern tribes received continual marks of his favour.

One of the Gothic kings, the old chief Athanaric, went to visit him at Constantinople, and was overwhelmed by the magnificence and luxury he saw around him. 'Now do I at last behold,' he exclaimed, 'what I have often heard but deemed incredible. . . . Doubtless the Emperor is a God on earth, and he who raises a hand against him is guilty of his own blood.'

The alliance between Goth and Greek served its purpose at the moment, for by the aid of his new troops Theodosius was able to defeat the rival Emperor of Rome and to conquer Italy. When he died he left Constantinople and the East to his eldest son Arcadius, a youth of eighteen, and Rome and the West to the younger, Honorius, who was only eleven. True to his belief in barbarian ability, Theodosius selected a Vandal chief, Stilicho, to whom he had given his niece in marriage, that he might act as the boy's adviser and command the imperial forces.

Under a wise regent a nation may wait in patience for their child ruler to mature. Unfortunately, Honorius, as he grew up, belied any promise of manliness he had ever shown, languidly refusing to continue his boyish sports of riding or archery, and taking no interest save in some cocks and hens that it was his daily pleasure to feed himself. He had no affection or reverence for Rome, and finally settled in Ravenna on the Adriatic as the safest fortress in his dominions. From here he consented to sign the orders that dispatched the legions to protect his frontiers, or issued haughty manifestoes to his enemies.

So long as Stilicho lived such feebleness passed comparatively unnoticed; for the Vandal, a man of giant build and strength, possessed to the full the tireless energy and daring that the dangers of the time demanded.

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Theodosius had made the Visigoths his friends ; but on his death they began to chafe at the restrictions laid upon them by the imperial alliance. Arcadius was nearly as poor a creature as his younger brother, 'so inactive that he seldom spoke and always looked as though he were about to fall asleep.' The barbarians bore him no hatred, but on the other hand he could scarcely inspire their affection or fear, and so they chose a king of their own, Alaric, one of their most famous generals, and from this moment they began to think of fresh conquests and pillage.

The suggestion of sacking Constantinople was put on one side. Those massive walls against their background of sea would make it a difficult task ; besides, the Visigoths argued, were there not other towns equally rich and more vulnerable ? With an exultant shout that answered this question they set out on their march first towards Illyricum on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and then to the fertile plains of Italy.

Alaric and Stilicho were well matched as generals, and for years, through arduous campaigns of battles and sieges, the Vandal kept the Goth at bay. When at last death forced him to resign the challenge, it was no enemy's sword but the weapon of treachery that robbed Rome of her best defender.

Honorius, lacking in gratitude as in other virtues, had been ill pleased at the success of his armies ; for wily courtiers, hoping to plant their fortunes amid another's ruin, told him that Stilicho intended to secure the imperial throne for himself and that in order to do so he would think little of murdering his royal master. Suspicion made the timid Emperor writhe with terror through sleepless nights. It seemed to him that he would never know peace of mind again until he had rid himself of his formidable commander-in-chief ; and so by his orders Stilicho was put to death and Italy lay at the mercy of Alaric and his followers.

Sweeping across the Alps, the Visigoths paused at last before the gates of Rome. 'We are many in number and prepared to fight,' boldly began the ambassadors sent out from the city. 'Thick grass is easier to mow than thin,' replied Alaric.

Dropping their lofty tone, the ambassadors demanded the price of peace, and on the answer, 'Your gold and silver, your

treasures, all that you have,' they exclaimed in horror, 'What then do you leave us?' 'Your souls,' was the mocking rejoinder.

After much argument the Visigoths consented to be bought off and retreated northwards, but it was only to return in the summer of the year 410, when Rome after a feeble resistance opened her gates. Her enemies poured in triumph through the streets; but Alaric was no Hun loving slaughter for its own sake, and ordered his troops to respect human life and to spare the churches and the gold and silver vessels that rested on their altars.

He spent only a few days in sacking the city and then marched southwards, intending to invade Africa. While his army was embarking, however, he fell ill and died, and so great was his loss that all thought of the campaign was surrendered. Alaric was mourned by his people as a national hero, and, unable to bear the thought that his enemies might one day desecrate his tomb, they dammed up a river in the neighbourhood, and dug a grave for their general deep in its bed. When they had laid his body there, they released the stream into its old course, and so left their hero safe from insult beneath the waters.

The sack of Rome that moved the civilized world profoundly made little impression upon the young Emperor. He had named one of his favourite hens after the capital; and when a messenger, haggard with the news he had brought, fell on his knees, gasping, 'Sire, Rome has perished,' Honorius only frowned, and replied, 'Impossible! I fed her myself this morning.'

St. Jerome, in his hermit's cell at Bethlehem, was stupefied at the fate of the 'Eternal City'. 'The world crumbles,' he said. 'There is no created work that rust or age does not consume: but Rome! Who could have believed that, raised by her victories above the universe, she would one day fall?'

Why had Rome fallen? This was the question on everybody's lips. We know to-day that the process of her corruption had been working for centuries; but men and women rarely see what is going on around them, and some began to murmur that

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the old gods of Olympus were angry because their religion had been forsaken. It was affirmed that Christ would save the world, but what had He done to save Rome?

Christianity was not long in finding a champion to defend her cause—an African monk, Augustine, to mediaeval minds the greatest of all the 'Fathers of the Church'. Augustine was the son of a pagan father and a Christian mother and grew up a wild and undisciplined boy. After some years at the University of Carthage, spent in casual study and habitual dissipation, he determined to go to Rome, and from there passed to Milan, where he went out of curiosity to listen to the preaching of St. Ambrose. It was obvious that he would either hate or be strongly influenced by this fiery old man; and in truth Augustine, who secretly repented of the way he had wasted his life, was in a ripe mood to receive the message that he had refused to hear from the lips of Monica his mother. Soon he was converted and baptized, and later he was made Bishop of Hippo, a place not far from Carthage.

It is difficult to give a picture of Augustine in a few words. Like St. Ambrose and others of the early 'Fathers' he was quite intolerant of heresy and believed that ordinary human love and the simplest pleasures of the world were snares set by the devil to catch the unwary; but against these unbalanced views, largely the product of the age in which he lived, must be set his burning enthusiasm for God, and the services that he rendered to Christianity.

A modern writer says of him, 'As the supreme man of his time he summed up the past as it still lived, remoulded it, added to it from himself, and gave it a new unity and form wherein it was to live on. . . . The great heart, the great mind, the mind led by the heart's inspiration, the heart guided by the mind—this is Augustine.'

Superior in intellect to other men of his day, his whole being filled with the love of God and fired by the desire to make the world share his worship, he preached, worked, and wrote only to this end. In his *Confessions* he describes his youth and repentance; but his most famous work is his *Civitas Dei*.

Here was the answer to those who declared that Rome had fallen because she neglected her pagan deities. Rome, he maintained, was not and never could be eternal; for the one eternal kingdom was the *Civitas Dei*, or 'City of God', towards whose reign of triumph the human race had been tending since earliest times. Before her glory the kingdoms of this world, and all the culture and civilization of which men boasted, must fade away. Thus God had destined; and St. Augustine exerted all his eloquence and powers of reasoning to prove from history the magnitude and sureness of the divine purpose.

The author of the *Civitas Dei* was to have his faith severely tested, for he died amid scenes of desolation and horror that held out no hope of happiness for man on earth. Rome stood at the mercy of barbarians, and Christian Africa was also fast falling under their yoke. These new invaders, the Vandals, were also a German tribe, who, as soon as Stilicho withdrew legions from the Rhine to defend Italy from the Visigoths, broke over the weakened frontier into Gaul, and from there crossed the Pyrenees and marched southwards.

Spain had been one of the richest of Rome's provinces, and besides her minerals and corn had provided the Empire with not a few rulers as well as famous authors and poets. In her commercial prosperity she had grown, like her neighbours, corrupt and unwarlike, so that the Vandals met with little resistance and plundered and pillaged at their will. Instead of settling down amid their conquests they were driven by the promise of further loot and the pressure of other barbarian tribes following hard on their heels to cross the narrow Strait of Gibraltar and to pursue their way due east along the African coast. In Spain they have left the memory of their presence in the name of one of her fairest provinces, Andalusia.

The chief of the Vandals at this time was Genseric, who not only conquered all the coast-line of North Africa, but also built a fleet that became the terror of the Mediterranean. Like the Goths the Vandals were Christians, but they held the views of Arius and there could be little hope that they would tolerate the

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orthodox Catholics. Though hardly as inhuman and ruthless as their opponents would have had the world believe, they pillaged and laid waste as they passed; and posterity has since applied the word *vandal* to the man who wilfully destroys.

The name 'Hun' is of even more sinister repute. In the first half of the fifth century the Huns in their triumphant march across Europe were led by their king, Attila, 'the Scourge of God', whose boast it was that never grass grew again where his horse's hoofs had once trod. So short and squat as to be almost deformed, flat-nosed, with a swarthy skin and deep-set eyes, that he would roll hideously when angered, the King loved to inspire terror not only amongst his enemies but in the chieftains under his command. Pity, gentleness, civilization, such words were either unknown or abhorrent to him; and in the towns whose walls were stormed by his troops, old men, women, priests, and children fell alike victims to his sword.

It was his ambition that the name of 'Attila' should become a terror to the whole earth, but the extent to which he succeeded in realizing this aim brought a serious check to his arms; for when he reached the boundaries of Gaul, he found that fear had gathered into a single hostile force of formidable size races that had warred for centuries amongst themselves. Here were not only 'Provincials', descendants of the Romanized inhabitants of Gaul, but Goths, Franks, Burgundians, and other tribes who, like the Vandals, had forced the passage of the Rhine as soon as the imperial garrisons were weakened or withdrawn. They had little in common save hatred of the Hun, a passion so strong that in a desperate battle on the plain of Chalons they hurled back the Tartar hordes for ever from the lands of Western Europe.

Shaken by his defeat, but sullen and vindictive, Attila turned his thoughts to Italy; and he and his warriors swept across the passes of the Alps and descended on the fertile country lying to the north-west of the Adriatic. The Italians made but a feeble resistance, and the palaces, baths, and amphitheatres of once wealthy towns vanished in smoking ruins.

One important work of construction Attila unconsciously



The quiet routine of Roman life into which Attila and his Huns broke. A Roman lady, seated and holding her order-book, is giving instructions to her butcher

Relief in the Albertinum, Dresden



Constantinople. The interior of the great Mosque of Santa Sophia, which was once a Christian Church

assisted, for the inhabitants of Aquileia, seeking a refuge from their cruel foe, fled to the coast, and there amid the desolate lagoons they and their descendants built for themselves in the course of centuries a new city, Venice, the future 'Queen of the Adriatic'. Aquileia had been a city of repute, but it can be safely guessed that she would never have attained the world-wide glory that Venice, safe behind her barrier of marshes and with every incentive to naval enterprise, was to establish in the Middle Ages.

From the Adriatic provinces Attila passed to Rome, but refrained from sacking the city. It is said that he was uneasy because the armies of Gaul that had defeated him at Chalons still hung on his rear, threatening to cut off his retreat across the Alps. At any rate, he consented to make terms negotiated by the Pope on behalf of the citizens of Rome. Contemporary accounts declare that the Hun was awed by the sight of Leo I in his priestly robes and by the fearlessness of his bearing, and certainly for his mediation he well deserved the title of 'Great' that the people in their gratitude bestowed on him.

Attila, when he left Rome, turned northwards, but died quite shortly after some drunken orgy. The kingdom of massacre and fire that he had built on the terror of his name fell rapidly to pieces, and only the remembrance of that terror remained; while Huns merged themselves in the armies of other tribes or fought together in petty rivalry.

Rome had been taken by Alaric the Visigoth and spared by Attila, but her trials were not yet at an end. Genseric, the Vandal king, who had established himself at Carthage, was only awaiting his opportunity to plunder a city that was still a world-famous treasure house. His fleet, that had cut off Italy entirely from the cornfields of Egypt, blockaded the mouth of the Tiber, and the Romans, weakened by famine and the warfare of the past few years, quickly sued for peace.

Once more Pope Leo went as mediator to the camp of his enemies; but the Arian Vandal, unlike the pagan Hun, was adamant. He was willing to forgo a general massacre but nothing further, and for a fortnight the city was ruthlessly

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pillaged. Then Genseric sailed away, carrying with him thousands of prisoners besides all the treasures of money and art on which he could lay hands. Nearly four hundred years before, the Emperor Titus, when he sacked Jerusalem, brought to Rome the golden altar and candlesticks of the Jewish Temple, and now Rome in her turn was despoiled of these trophies of her former victories.

It was little wonder if the Western emperors, who had systematically failed to save their capital, became discredited at last among their own troops, and Rome, that had begun life according to tradition under a 'Romulus', was to end her Empire under another, a handsome boy, nicknamed in derision of his helplessness 'Augustulus', or 'little Augustus'.

The pretext of his deposition was his refusal to grant Italian lands to the German troops who formed the main part of the imperial army, on which their captain, Odoacer, compelled him to abdicate. So low had the imperial dignity sunk in public estimation that Odoacer, instead of claiming the once-coveted honour, sent the diadem and purple robe to the Emperor at Constantinople. 'We disclaim the necessity or even the wish', wrote Augustulus, 'of continuing any longer the imperial succession in Italy. . . . The majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect at the same time both East and West.'

The writer, so fortunate in his insignificance that no one wished to assassinate him, spent the rest of his days in a castle by the Mediterranean, supported by a revenue from the state; while Odoacer, with the title of 'Patrician', ruled the land with statesmanlike moderation for fourteen years.

Two more waves of invasion were yet to break across the Alps and hinder all attempts at restoration and unity. The first was that of the 'Ostrogoths', or 'Eastern' Goths, a tribe of the same race as the Visigoths that, meeting the first onslaught of the Huns in their advance from Asia, had only just on the death of Attila freed themselves from this terrible yoke. They sought now an independent kingdom, and under the leadership of their prince, Theodoric, chafed on the boundaries of the Eastern Empire, with which they had formed an alliance.

Theodoric had been educated in Constantinople, and though brave and warlike did not share the reckless love of battle that animated his followers. He realized, however, that he must lead the Ostrogoths to a new land of plenty or incur their hatred and suspicion, so he appealed to the Emperor Zeno for leave to go to Italy as his general and depose Odoacer. 'Direct me with the soldiers of my nation,' he wrote, 'to march against the tyrant. If I fall you will be relieved from an expensive and troublesome friend; if, with divine permission, I succeed, I shall govern in your name and to your glory.'

Zeno had not been sufficiently powerful to prevent Odoacer from taking the title of 'Patrician', but he had never liked the 'barbarian upstart' who had dared to depose an emperor. He had also begun to dread the presence of the restless Ostrogoths so close to Constantinople, and warmly appreciated Theodoric's arguments in favour of their exodus. If the two barbarian kings destroyed one another, it would be all the better for the Empire, and so with the imperial blessing Theodoric started on his great adventure.

He took with him not only his warriors but the women and children of his tribe and all their possessions; and after several battles succeeded in defeating and slaying his opponent. Rome, that looked upon him as the Emperor's representative, joyfully opened her gates, but Theodoric preferred to make Ravenna his capital, and here he settled and planted an orchard with his own hands.

It was his hope that he might win the trust and affection of his new subjects, and, though he ruled exactly as he liked, he remained outwardly submissive to the Emperor, writing him humble letters and marking the coinage with the imperial stamp. He frequently consulted the Senate at Rome that, though it had long ago lost any real power, had never ceased to take a nominal share in the government; and when he gave a third of the Italian lands to his own countrymen he allowed Roman officials to make the division.

Theodoric also maintained the laws and customs of Italy and forced the Ostrogoths to respect them too; but his army

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remained a national bodyguard, and in spite of his efforts at conciliation the two peoples did not mingle. Between them stood the barrier of religious bitterness, for the Ostrogoths were Arians, and, though their ruler was very tolerant in his attitude, the Catholics were always suspicious of his intentions.

On one occasion there had been a riot against the Jews and several synagogues had been burned. Theodoric ordered a collection of money to be made amongst the orthodox Catholics who were responsible, that the buildings might be restored. This command was disobeyed, and when the ring-leaders of the strike were whipped through the streets, popular anger against the Gothic king grew to white heat. He himself changed in character as he became older and showed himself morose and tyrannical. Towards the end of his reign he put to death Boethius, a Roman senator, who had been one of his favourite advisers, but who had dared to defend openly a man whom he himself had condemned.

Boethius was not only a fearless champion of his friends—he was a great scholar who had kept alight the torch of classical learning amid the darkness and horror of invasion. Besides translating some of the works of Aristotle he wrote treatises on logic, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, and made an able defence of the Nicene Creed against Arian attacks. The last and most famous of his works, that for ten centuries men have remembered and loved, was his *Consolations of Philosophy*, written when death in a most horrible form was already drawing close. Tortured by a cord drawn closely round his forehead, and then beaten with clubs, the philosopher escaped from a life where fortune had dealt with him cruelly. His master survived him by two years, repenting on his death-bed in an agony of remorse the brutal sentence he had meted out.

It is scarcely fair to judge Theodoric by the tyranny of his last days. It is better to recall the glory of his prime, and how 'in the Western part of the Empire there was no people who refused him homage'. Allied by family ties with the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Franks, he was undoubtedly the greatest of all the barbarians of his age. Had his successors

shown a little of his statesmanlike qualities, Ostrogoth and Italian, in spite of their religious differences, might have united to form a single nation, but unfortunately, before twenty years had passed, the kingdom he had founded was destined to disappear.

Theodoric was succeeded by his grandson, a boy who lived only a few years, and then by a worthless nephew, without either royal or statesmanlike qualities. In contrast to this weak dynasty, there ruled at Constantinople an Emperor who possessed in the highest degree the ability and steadfastness of purpose that the times required.

Justinian was only a peasant by birth, but he had been well educated and took a keen interest not only in questions of law and finance that concerned the government but in theology, music, and architecture. In his manner to his subjects he was friendly though dignified, but there was something unsympathetic in his nature that prevented him from becoming popular. His courtiers regarded his industry with awe, but some professed to believe that he could not spend so many midnight hours at work unless he were an evil spirit not requiring sleep. One writer says that 'no one ever remembered him young': yet this serious prince married for love a beautiful actress, Theodora, and dared, in the face of general indignation, to make her his empress. An historian of the time says of Theodora, 'it were impossible for mere man to describe her comeliness in words or imitate it in art'; yet she was no doll, but took a very definite share in the government, extorting admiration by her dignity even from those who had pretended to despise her.

Justinian's chief passion was for building, and he spent a great part of his revenue in erecting bridges, baths, forts, and palaces. Most famous of all the architecture of his time was Saint Sophia, 'the Church of the Holy Wisdom', that after Constantinople passed into the hands of the Turks became a mosque.

It is not, however, for Saint Sophia that Justinian is chiefly remembered but for the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, literally 'the body of Civil Law', that he published in order that his subjects might know what the Roman law really was. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* consisted of three parts—the 'Code', a collection

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of decrees made by various emperors; next the 'Digest', the decisions of eminent lawyers; and thirdly the 'Institutes', an explanation of the principles of Roman law. 'After thirteen centuries,' says a modern writer, 'it stands unsurpassed as a treasury of legal knowledge;' and all through the Middle Ages men were to look to it for inspiration. Thus it was on the *Corpus Juris Civilis* that ecclesiastical lawyers based the Canon law that gave to the Pope an emperor's power over the Church.

Justinian worked for the progress of the world when he codified Roman law. It was unfortunate that military ambition led him to exhaust his treasury and overtax his subjects, in order that he might establish his rule over the whole of Europe like Theodosius and Constantine. Besides carrying on an almost continuous war with the King of Persia, he sent an army and fleet under an able general, Belisarius, to fight against the Vandals in North Africa; and so successful was this campaign that Justinian became master of the whole coast-line, and even of a part of southern Spain. This gave him command of the Mediterranean, and he at once determined to overthrow the feeble descendants of Theodoric, and to restore the imperial dominion over Italy in deed, not as it had been from the time of Odoacer merely in name.

The task was not easy, for the Italians, as we have noticed, did not love the Greeks, while the Goths fought bravely for independence. At length, in the year 555, after nineteen campaigns, Narses, an Armenian who was at the head of Justinian's forces, succeeded in crushing the Barbarians and established his rule at Ravenna, from which city, under the title of *Exarch*, he controlled the whole peninsula.

Narses' triumph had been in a great measure due to a German tribe, 'The Lombards', whose hosts he had enrolled under the imperial banner. These Lombards, *Longobardi* or 'Long Beards' as the name originally stood, had migrated from the banks of the Elbe to the basin of the Danube, and there, looking about them for a warlike outlet for their energies, were quite as willing to invade Italy at Justinian's command as to go on any other campaign that promised to be profitable.

Narses, as soon as he was assured of success, paid them liberally for their services and sent them back to their own people ; but the Lombards had learned to love the sunny climate and the vines growing out of doors, and were soon discontented with their bleaker homeland. They waited therefore until Narses, whom they knew and feared, was dead ; and then, under the leadership of Alboin, their king, crossed over the Alps and invaded North Italy. They did not come in such tremendous strength as the Ostrogoths in the past, nor were the imperial troops powerless to stand against them : indeed, the two forces were so balanced that, while the Lombards succeeded in establishing themselves in the province of Lombardy, to which they gave their name, with Pavia as its capital, the representatives of the Emperor still held the coast-line on both sides, also Ravenna, Naples, Rome, and other principal towns.

This Lombard inroad, the last of the great Barbarian invasions of Italy, was by far the most important in its effects. For one thing, two hundred years were to pass before the power of the new settlers was seriously shaken ; and therefore, even the fact that they were pagans and imposed their own laws ruthlessly on the Italians could not keep the races from gradually intermingling. In time the higher civilization conquered, and the fair-haired Teutons learned to worship the Christian God, forgot their own tongue, and adopted the customs and habits they saw around them. The Italians, on their part, in the course of their struggles with the Lombards became trained in the art of war they had almost forgotten. By the eighth century the fusion was complete.

Another very interesting and important result of the Lombard invasion was that the prolonged duel between Barbarians and Greeks prevented the development of any common form of government. There might in time emerge an Italian race, but there could be no Italian nation so long as towns and provinces were dominated by rulers whose policy and ambitions were utterly opposed. The *Exarch* of Ravenna claimed, in the name of the Emperor at Constantinople, to collect taxes from and administer the whole peninsula, but in practice he often ruled

merely the strip of land round his city cut off from other Greek officials by Lombard dukes. He would be able to communicate by sea with the important towns on or near the coast, such as Naples, but so irregularly that their governments would tend to grow every year more independent of his control. In Rome, for instance, there was not only the Senate with its traditions of government, but the Pope, who even more than the Senate had become the protector and adviser of his fellow citizens.

We have seen how Leo 'the Great' persuaded Attila the Hun to withdraw when his armies threatened the very gates of Rome, while later he went on a like though unavailing mission to Genseric the Vandal. It was acts like these that won recognition for the Papacy amongst other rulers; and more than any of the Popes before him, Gregory 'the Great', who ascended the chair of Peter in A.D. 590, built up the foundations of this authority.

A Roman of position and wealth, Gregory had become in middle age a poor monk, giving all his money to the poor and disciplining himself by fasting and penance. He is remembered best in England to-day for the interest he showed in the fair-haired Angles in the Roman slave-market. 'They have Angels' faces, they should be fellow-heirs of the Angels in Heaven.' His comment he followed up by a petition that he might sail as a missionary to the northern island from which these slaves came; and, when instead he was sent on an embassy to Constantinople, he did not forget England in the years that passed, but after he became Pope, chose St. Augustine to go and convert the heathen King of Kent. In this way southern England was christianized and brought into touch with the life of Western Europe.

'A great Pope,' it has been said, 'is always a missionary Pope.' Gregory had the true missionary's enthusiasm, and his writings, all of them theological, bear the stamp of St. Augustine of Hippo's ardent spirit enforced with a faith absolutely assured and unbending. Besides being instrumental in converting England, Gregory during his pontificate saw the Arian Church in Spain reconciled to the Catholic, while he succeeded in winning the Lombard king to Christianity and friendship.

It was little wonder that the people of Rome, who had been at war with these invaders for long years, looked up to the peace-maker not only as their spiritual father but also as a temporal ruler. Had he not fed them when they were starving, declaring that it was thus the Church should use her wealth? Had he not raised soldiers to guard the walls and sent out envoys to plead the city's cause against her enemies? There was no such practical help to be obtained from the Exarchs of Ravenna, talk as they might about the glories of Constantinople. Thus Romans argued, and Gregory, who knew the real weakness of Constantinople, was able to disregard the imperial viceroys when he chose, a policy of independence followed by his successors.

Since the Lombard kingdom had split up into a number of duchies each with its own capital, Italy, in the early Middle Ages, tended to become a group of city states, each jealous of its neighbours and ambitious only for local interests. This provincial influence was so strong that it has lasted into modern times. An Englishman or a Frenchman will claim his country before thinking of the particular part from which he comes, but it is more natural for an Italian to say first 'I am Roman,' or 'Neapolitan,' or 'Florentine,' as the case may be. It is only by remembering this difference that Italian history can be read aright.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

	A. D.
The Emperors Valentinian and Valens	364
Battle of Adrianople	378
The Emperor Theodosius	379 95
Vandal Invasion of Africa	441
Battle of Chalons	451
Huns invade Italy	452
Pope Leo I 'the Great'	440

VI

THE RISE OF THE FRANKS

THE historian Tacitus, whose description of the German tribes we have already quoted, had told the people of Gaul that, unless these same Germans were kept at bay by the Roman armies on the Rhine frontier, they would 'exchange the solitude of their woods and morasses for the wealth and fertility of Gaul'. 'The fall of Rome,' he added, 'would be fatal to the provinces, and you would be buried in the ruins of that mighty fabric.'

This prophetic warning proved only too true when Vandal and Visigoth, Burgundian, Hun, and Frank forced the passage of the Rhine, and swept in irresistible masses across vineyards and cornfields, setting fire to those towns and fortresses that dared to offer resistance. The Vandal migration was but a meteor flash on the road to Spain and North Africa; while on the battle-field of Chalons the Huns were beaten back and carried their campaign of bloodshed to Italy: but the other three tribes succeeded in establishing formidable kingdoms in Gaul during the fifth and sixth centuries.

At the head of the Visigoths rode Athaulf, brother-in-law of Alaric, unanimously chosen king by the tribe on the death of that mighty warrior.¹ Instead of continuing the campaign in South Italy, Athaulf had made peace with the Emperor Honorius and married his sister, thus gaining a semi-royal position in the eyes of Roman citizens.

'I once aspired,' he said frankly, 'to obliterate the name of Rome and to erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths, but . . . I was gradually convinced that laws are essentially necessary to maintain and regulate a well-constituted state. . . . From that moment, I proposed to myself a different object of

¹ See p. 41.

glory and ambition; and it is now my sincere wish that the gratitude of future ages should acknowledge the merits of a stranger, who employed the sword of the Goths, not to subvert, but to restore and maintain the prosperity of the Roman Empire.'

Fortified by such sentiments and the benediction of the Emperor, who was glad to free Italy from his brother-in-law's presence, Athaulf succeeded, after a short struggle, in establishing a Visigothic kingdom in southern Gaul, stretching from the Mediterranean to the Bay of Biscay. This, under his successors, was enlarged until it embraced the whole of the province of Aquitania, with Toulouse as its capital, as well as both slopes of the Pyrenees.

The Burgundians, another German tribe, had, in the meanwhile, built up a middle kingdom along the banks of the Rhone. Years of intercourse with the Romans had done much to civilize both their manners and thoughts, and they were quite prepared to respect the laws and customs that they found in Gaul so long as they met with no serious opposition to their rule. The fact that both Burgundians and Visigoths were Arians raised, however, a fatal barrier between conquerors and conquered, and did more than anything else to determine that ultimate dominion over the whole of Gaul should be the prize of neither of these races, but of a third Teutonic tribe, the Salian Franks, whom good fortune placed beyond the influence of heresy.

The Franks were a tall, fair-haired, loose-limbed people, who, emerging from Germany, had settled for a time in the country we now call Belgium. Like their ancestors, they worshipped Woden and other heathen gods of the Teutons, while in their Salic law we see much to recall the German customs described by Tacitus five centuries before.

The king was no longer elected by his people, for his office had become hereditary in the House of Meroveus, one of the heroes of the race. No woman, even of the Merovingian line, might succeed to the throne, nor prince whose hair had been shorn, since with the Franks flowing locks were a sign of royalty. Yet, in spite of the king's new position, the old spirit of equality

had not entirely disappeared. The assembly of freemen, still held once a year, had degenerated into a military review: but the warriors thus collected could demand that the coming campaign should meet with their approval. When a battle was over and victory obtained, the lion's share of the booty did not fall to the king, but the whole was divided by lot.

A great part of the Salic law was really a tariff of violent acts, with the fine that those who had committed them must pay, so much for shooting a poisoned arrow, even if it missed its mark; so much for wounding another in the head, or for cutting off his nose, or his great toe, or, worst of all, for damaging his second finger, so that he could no longer draw the bowstring.

The underlying principle of this code was different from that of the Roman law, which set up a certain standard of right, inflicting penalties on those who fell short of it. Thus the Roman citizen who murdered or maimed his neighbour would be punished because he had dared to do what the state condemned as a crime. The Frank, in a similar case, would be fined by the judges of his tribe, and the money paid as compensation to the person, or the relations of the person, whom he had wronged: the idea being, not to appease the anger of the state, but to remove the resentment of the injured party.

For this purpose each Frank had his *wergeld*, literally his 'worth-gold' or the sum of money at which, according to his rank, his life was valued, beginning with the nobles of the king's palace and descending in a scale to the lowest freeman. When the Franks left Belgium and advanced, conquering, into northern Gaul, they also fixed *wergelds* for their Roman subjects; but rated them at only half the value of their own race. The *wergeld* of a Frankish freeman was two hundred gold pieces, of a Roman only one hundred.

By the beginning of the sixth century, when the Franks were well established in Gaul, the management of their important tribal affairs had passed entirely into the hands of the nobles surrounding the king. These bore such titles as *Major Domus* or 'Mayor of the Palace', at first only a steward, but later the chief minister of the crown; the 'Seneschal' or head of the

royal household; the 'Marshal' or Master of the Stables; the 'Chamberlain' or chief servant of the bedchamber.

The most famous of the Merovingian kings, as the descendants of Merovius were called, was Clovis, who established the Frankish capital at Paris. He and his tribe, though pagans, were on friendly terms with the Roman inhabitants of northern Gaul, and especially with some of the Catholic clergy. When Clovis sacked the town of Soissons he tried to save the church plate, and especially a vase of great beauty that he knew St. Remi, Bishop of Reims, highly valued. 'Let it be put amongst my booty,' he said to his soldiers, intending to give it to the bishop later; but one of them answered him insolently, 'Only that is thine which falls to thy share by lot,' and with his axe he shivered the vase into a thousand pieces.

Clovis concealed his fury at the moment, but he did not forget, and a year afterwards, when he was reviewing his troops, he noticed the same man who had opposed his will. Stepping forward, he tore the fellow's weapons from his grasp and threw them on the ground, saying, 'No arms are worse cared for than thine!' The soldier stooped to pick them up, and Clovis, raising his battle-axe high in the air, brought it down on the bent head before him with the comment, 'Thus didst thou to the vase at Soissons!'

Clovis married a Christian princess, Clotilda, a niece of the Burgundian king, and, at her request, he allowed their eldest child to be baptized, but for a long time he refused to become a Christian himself. One day, however, when in the midst of a battle in which his warriors were so hard pressed that they had almost taken to flight, he cried aloud—'Jesus Christ, thou whom Clotilda doth call the Son of the Living God . . . I now devoutly beseech thy aid, and I promise if thou dost give me victory over these my enemies . . . that I will believe in thee and be baptized in thy name, for I have called on my own gods and they have failed to help me.'

Shortly afterwards the tide of battle turned, the Franks rallied, and Clovis obtained a complete victory. Remembering his promise, he went to Reims, and there he and three thousand of

his warriors were received into the Catholic Church. 'Bow thy head low,' said St. Remi who baptized the King, 'henceforth adore that which thou hast burned and burn that which thou didst formerly adore.'

When he became a Catholic, Clovis had no idea that he had altered the whole future of his race, for to him it seemed merely that he had fulfilled the bargain he had made with the Christian God. He did not change his ways, but pursued his ambitions as before, now by treachery and now by force. It was his determination to make himself supreme ruler over all the Franks, and in the case of another branch, the Ripuarians, he began by secretly persuading their heir to the kingly title, the young prince Chlodéric, to kill his father and seize the royal coffers.

Chlodéric, fired by the idea of becoming powerful, did so and wrote exultingly to Clovis, 'My father is dead and his wealth is mine. Let some of thy men come hither, and that of his treasure which pleaseth them I will send thee.'

Ambassadors from the Salians duly arrived, and Chlodéric led them secretly apart and showed them his money, running his hand through the pieces of gold that lay on the surface of the coffer. The men begged him to thrust his arm in deep that they might judge how great his wealth really was, and as he bent to do so, one of them struck him a mortal wound from behind. Then they fled. Thus by treachery died both father and son; but Clovis unblushingly denied to the Ripuarian Franks that he had been in any way responsible.

'Chlodéric murdered his father, and he hath been assassinated by I know not whom. I am no partner in such deeds, for it is against the law to take the life of relations. Nevertheless, since it has happened, I offer you this advice, that you should put yourselves under my protection.'

The Ripuarian Franks were without a leader, and like all barbarians they worshipped success; so, believing that Clovis would surely lead them to victory, they raised him on their shields and hailed him as king.

'Each day God struck down the enemies of Clovis under his

hand,' says Bishop Gregory of Tours, describing these events, 'and enlarged his kingdom, because he went with an upright heart before the Lord and did the things that were pleasing in His sight.' It is startling to find a bishop pass such a verdict on a career of treachery and murder, the more that Gregory of Tours was no cringing court-flatterer but a priest with a high sense of duty who dared, when he believed it right, to oppose some of the later Frankish kings even at the risk of his life. Yet it must be remembered that a sense of honour was not understood by barbarians, except in a very crude form. They believed it was clever to outwit their neighbours, while to murder them was so ordinary as to excite little or no comment, save the infliction of a *wergeld* if the crime could be brought home. Centuries of the civilizing influence of Christianity were needed before the men and women of these fierce tribes could accept the Christian principles of truth, justice, and mercy in anything like their real spirit.

The Romans in Gaul had almost given up expecting anything but brutality from their invaders if they aroused their enmity, and therefore welcomed even the smallest sign of grace. Thus the protection that Clovis afforded to the Catholic Church, after her years of persecution, blinded their eyes to many of his vices.

When Clovis had made himself master of the greater part of northern Gaul, he determined to strike a blow at the Visigoths in the south. 'It pains me,' he said to his followers, 'to see Arians in a part of Gaul. Let us march against these heretics with God's aid and gain their country for ourselves.'

Probably he was sincere in his dislike of heresy, but it was a politic attitude to adopt, for it meant that wherever he and his warriors marched they would find help against the Burgundians and Visigoths amongst the orthodox Roman population. It seemed to the latter that Clovis brought with him something of the glory of the vanished Roman Empire, kept alive by the Catholic Church and now revived through her in this her latest champion.

In a fierce battle near Poitiers, Clovis defeated the Visigoths and drove them out of Aquitaine, leaving them merely narrow

strips of territory along the Mediterranean seaboard and on either slope of the Pyrenees. He also fought against the Burgundians and, though he was not so successful, reduced them temporarily to submission. When he died, at the age of forty-five, he was master of three-quarters of Gaul, and had stamped the name of his race for ever on the land he had invaded.

His work of conquest was continued by his successors and reached its zenith in the time of King Dagobert, who lived at the beginning of the seventh century. Dagobert has been called 'the French Solomon', because, like the Jewish king, he was world-famed for his wisdom and riches. Not content with maintaining his power over Gaul to the west of the Rhine, he fought against the Saxon and Frisian tribes in Germany and forced them to pay tribute. At last his Empire stretched from the Atlantic to the mountains of Bohemia; the Duke of Brittany, who had hitherto remained independent of the Franks, came to offer his allegiance, while the Emperor of Constantinople sought a Frankish alliance.

A chronicler of the day, speaking of Dagobert, says, 'He was a prince terrible in his wrath towards traitors and rebels. He held the royal sceptre firmly in his grasp, and like a lion he sprang upon those who would foment discord.'

Another account describes his journeys through his kingdom, and how he administered justice with an even hand, not altogether to the joy of tyrannical landowners. 'His judgements struck terror into the hearts of the bishops and of the great men, but it overwhelmed the poor with joy.'

In the troublous years that were to come his reign stood out in people's minds as an age of prosperity, but already, before the death of the king, this prosperity had begun to wane. Luxury sapped the vigour of a once-powerful mind and body, and the authority that 'the French Solomon' relaxed in his later years through self-indulgence was never regained by his successors.

With the contemptuous title 'The Sluggard Kings' the last rulers of the Merovingian line have passed down to posterity. Few were endowed with any ability or even ambition to govern, the majority died before they had reached manhood looking

already like senile old men; and the power that should have been theirs passed into the hands of the Mayors of the Palace who administered their demesnes. On state occasions, indeed, they were still shown to their subjects, as they jolted to the place of assembly in a rough cart drawn by oxen; but the ceremony over, they returned to their royal villas and insignificance. 'Nothing was left to the king save the name of king, the flowing locks, the long beard. He sat on his throne and played at government, gave audiences to envoys, and dismissed them with the answers with which he had been schooled.'

It was a situation that could only last so long as the name 'Meroveus' retained its spell over the Franks; but the day came when the spell was broken, and a race of stronger fibre, the Carolingians, usurped the royal title. The heads of this family had for generations held the office of 'Mayor of the Palace' in the part of Gaul between the Meuse and the Lower Rhine, then called Austrasia. It was their duty to administer the royal demesnes in this large district, that is, to see that the laws were obeyed, to superintend the cultivation of the soil, and to collect a share of the various harvests as a revenue for the king.

This was more important work than it may sound to modern ears; for in the early Middle Ages the majority of people, unlike men and women to-day, lived in the country. Ever since the decay of the Roman Empire, when the making of roads was neglected and the imperial grain-fleets disappeared from the Mediterranean, the problem of carrying merchandise and food from one part of Europe to another had grown steadily more acute. As commerce and industry languished, towns ceased to be centres of population and became merely strongholds where the neighbourhood could find refuge when attacked by its enemies. People preferred to spend their ordinary life in villages in the midst of fields, where they could grow corn and barley, or keep their own sheep and oxen, and if the crops failed or their beasts were smitten by disease a whole province might suffer starvation.

The Mayor of the Palace must guard the royal demesnes,

as far as possible, from the ravages of weather, wolves, or lawless men, for the King of the Franks, as much as any of his subjects, depended on the harvests and herds for his prosperity rather than on commerce or manufactures. By the end of the seventh century the Mayors of Austrasia had ceased to interest themselves merely in local affairs and had begun to extend their authority over the whole of France. Nominally, they acted in the name of the Merovingian kings, but once when the throne fell vacant they did not trouble to fill it for two years. The Franks made no protest: it was to their mayors, not to their kings, that they now turned whether in search of good government or daring national exploits.

The Carolingian Charles 'Martel', Charles 'the Hammer', was a warrior calculated to arouse their profound admiration. 'He was a Herculean warrior,' says an old chronicle, 'an ever-victorious prince . . . who triumphed gloriously over other princes, and kings, and peoples, and barbarous nations: in so much that, from the Slavs to the Frisians and even to the Spaniards and Saracens, there were none who rose up against him that escaped from his hand, without prostrating themselves in the dust before his empire.'

It was Charles Martel who saved France from falling under the yoke of the Saracens, a race of Arabian warriors who, crossing from Africa at the Strait of Gibraltar, subdued in one short campaign three-quarters of Spain. Describing the first great victory over the Gothic King Rodrigo at Guadalete, the Governor of Africa wrote to his master the Caliph, 'O Commander of the Faithful, these are no common conquests; they are like the meeting of the nations on the Day of Judgement.'

Puffed up with the glory they had gained, the Saracens, who were followers of the Prophet Mahomet, believed that they had only to advance for Christian armies to run away; and over the Pyrenees they swept in large bands, seizing first one stronghold on the Mediterranean coast and then another. Before this invasion Charles Martel had been engaged in a quarrel with the Duke of Aquitaine, but now they hastily made friends and on the field of Poitiers joined their forces to stem the

Saracen tide. So terrible was the battle, we are told, that over three hundred thousand Saracens fell before the Frankish warriors 'inflexible as a block of ice'. The number is almost certainly an exaggeration, and so also is the claim that the victors, by forcing the remnant of the Mahometan army to retreat towards the Pyrenees in hasty flight, saved Europe for Christianity. Even had the decision of the battle been reversed, the Moors would have found the task of holding Spain in the years to come quite sufficient to absorb all their energies. Indeed, their attacks on Gaul were, from the first, more in the nature of gigantic raids than of invasions with a view to settlement, though at the time their ferocity made them seem of world-wide importance.

Thus it was only natural that the Mayor of the Palace, to whom the victory was mainly due, became the hero of Christendom. The Pope, who was at that time trying to defend Rome from the King of the Lombards, sent to implore his aid; but Charles knew that his forces had been weakened by their struggle with the Saracens and dared not undertake so big a campaign.

Some years later his son, Pepin 'the Short' (751-68), who had succeeded him, received the suggestion with a different answer. Pepin, as his nickname shows, was short in stature, but he was powerfully built and so strong that with a single blow of his axe he once cut off the head of a lion. Energetic and shrewd, he saw a way of turning the Pope's need of support against the Lombards to his own advantage. He therefore sent Frankish ambassadors to Rome to inquire whether it was not shameful for a land to be governed by kings who had no authority. The Pope, who was anxious to please Pepin, replied discreetly, 'He who possesses the authority should doubtless possess the title also.'

This was exactly what the Mayor of the Palace had expected and wished, and the rest of the story may be told in the words of the old Frankish annals for the year 751: 'In this year Pepin was named king of the Franks with the sanction of the Popes, and in the city of Soissons he was anointed with the holy oil . . . and was raised to the throne after the custom of the Franks. But Childeric, who had the name of king, was shorn of his locks and sent into a monastery.'

The last of the Merovingians had vanished into the oblivion of a cloister, and Pepin the Carolingian was ruler of France. With the Pope's blessing he had achieved his ambition, and fortune soon enabled him to repay his debt, mainly, as it happened, at another's expense.

In the last chapter we described the effect of the Lombard invasion of Italy, and how that Teutonic race sank its roots deep in the heart of the peninsula, leaving a Greek fringe along the coasts that still considered itself part of the Eastern Empire. Rome in theory belonged to this fringe, but in reality the Popes hated the imperial authority almost as much as the aggressions of Lombard king and dukes, and struggled to free themselves from its yoke.

When Pepin, his own ambition satisfied, turned his attention to the Pope's affairs, the Lombards had just succeeded in over-running the Exarchate of Ravenna, the seat of the imperial government in Italy. Collecting an army, the King of the Franks crossed the Alps without encountering any opposition, marched on Pavia, the Lombard capital, and struck such terror into his enemies that, almost without fighting, they agreed to the terms that he dictated.

Legally, he should have at once commanded the restoration of the Exarchate to the Empire, but there was no particular reason why Pepin should gratify Constantinople, while he had a very strong inclination to please Rome. He therefore told the Lombards to give the Exarchate to Stephen II, who was Pope at that time, and this they faithfully promised to do; but, as he turned homewards, they began instead to oppress the country round Rome, preventing food from entering the city and pillaging churches.

Pepin was very angry when he heard the news. Once more he descended on Italy, and this time the Lombards were compelled to keep their word, and the Papacy received the first of its temporal possessions, ratified by a formal treaty that declared the exact extent of the territory and the Papal rights over it. This was an important event in mediaeval history, for it meant that henceforward the Pope, who claimed to be the spiritual

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head of Christendom, would be also an Italian prince with recognized lands and revenues, and therefore with private ambitions concerning these. It would be his instinct to distrust any other ruler in the peninsula who might become powerful enough to deprive him of these lands; while he would always be faced, when in difficulties, by the temptation to use his spiritual power to further purely worldly ends. On the way in which Popes dealt with this problem of their temporal and spiritual power, much of the future history of Europe was to depend.

Pepin, in spite of his shrewdness, had no idea of the troubles he had sown by his donation. Well pleased with the generosity he had found so easy, with the title of 'Patrician' bestowed on him by the Pope, and perhaps still more by the spoils that he and his Franks had collected in Lombardy, he left Italy, and was soon engaged in other campaigns nearer home against the Saracens and rebellious German tribes. In these he continued until his death in 768.

VII

MAHOMET

CHRISTIANITY, first preached by humble fishermen in Palestine, had become the foundation of life in mediaeval Europe. Some three hundred years after Constantine the Great had made this possible another religion, 'Islam', destined to be the rival of Christianity, was also born in the East, in Arabia, a narrow strip of territory lying between the Red Sea and miles of uninhabitable desert.

On the sea-coast of Arabia were some harbours, inland a few fertile oases, where towns of low, white stone houses and mud hovels had sprung into being ; but from the very nature of the soil and climate the Arabs were not drawn to manufacture goods or grow corn. Instead they preferred a wanderer's life, to tend the herds of horses or sheep that ranged the peninsula in search of water and pasturage, or if more adventurous to guard the caravans of camels that carried the silks and spices of India to Mediterranean seaports. These caravans had their regular routes, and every merchant a band of armed men to protect his goods and drive off robbers along the way. Only in the 'Sacred Months', the time of the sowing of seeds in the spring and at the autumn harvest, were such convoys of goods safe from attack ; for then, and then only, every Arab believed, according to the traditions of his forefathers, that peace was a duty, and that a curse would fall on him who dared to break it.

The Arab, like all Orientals, was superstitious. He worshipped 'Allah', the all supreme God, but he accepted also a variety of other gods, heavenly bodies, spirits and devils, stones and idols. One of the most famous Arabian sanctuaries was a temple at Mecca called the 'Ka'bah', where a black stone had been built into the wall that pilgrims would come from long

distances to kiss and worship. Amongst the youths of the town who saw this ceremony and himself took part in the religious processions was an orphan lad, Mahomet (576-632), brought up in the house of his uncle, Abu Talib.

Mahomet was handsome and strong: he had looked after sheep on the edge of the desert, taken part in tribal fights, and from the age of twelve wandered with caravans as far as the sea-coast. What distinguished him from his companions was not his education, nor any special skill as a warrior, but his quickness of observation, his tenacious memory, and his gift for bending others to his will. Unable to read, he could only gain knowledge by word of mouth, and wherever he went, amongst the colonies of the Jews who were the chief manufacturers in the towns, or lying beside the camp fires of the caravans at night, he would keep his ears open and store up in his mind all the tales that he heard. In this way he learned of the Jewish religion and a garbled version of Christianity. Soon he knew the stories of Joseph and of Abraham and some of the sayings of Christ, and the more he thought over them the more he grew to hate the idol worship of the Arabs round him.

When he was twenty-five Mahomet married a rich widow, Khadijah, whose caravan he had successfully steered across the desert; and in this way he became a man of independent means, possessing camels and horses of his own. Khadijah was some years older than Mahomet, but she was a very good wife to him, and brought him not only a fortune but a trust and belief in his mission that he was to need sorely in the coming years. To her he confided his hatred of idol-worship, and also to Abu Bakr, the wealthy son of a cloth merchant of Mecca, who had fallen under his influence. Mahomet declared that God, and later the Angel Gabriel, had appeared to him in visions and had given him messages condemning the superstitions of the Arabs.

‘There is but one God, Allah . . . and Mahomet is His Prophet.’

This was the chief message, received at first with contempt but destined to be carried triumphant in the centuries to come right to the Pyrenees and the gates of Vienna.

The visions, or trances, during which Mahomet received his

messages, afterwards collected in the sacred book, the Koran, are thought by many to have been epileptic fits. His face would turn livid and he would cover himself with a blanket, emerging at last exhausted to deliver some command or exhortation. Later it would seem that he could produce this state of insensibility at will and without much effort, whenever questions were asked, indeed, in answering which he required divine guidance. Much of the teaching in the Koran was based, like Judaism or Christianity, on far higher ideals than the fetish worship of the Arabs: it emphasized such things as the duty of almsgiving, the discipline that comes of fasting, the necessity of personal cleanliness, while it forbade the use of wine, declaring drunkenness a crime.

With regard to the position of women the Koran could show nothing of the chivalry that was to develop in Christendom through the respect felt by Christians for the mother of Christ and for the many women martyrs and saints who suffered during the early persecutions. Moslems were allowed by the Koran to have four wives (Mahomet permitted himself ten), and these might be divorced at their husband's pleasure without any corresponding right on their part. On the other hand the power of holding property before denied was now secured to women, and the murder of female children that had been a practice in the peninsula was sternly abolished.

As the years passed more and more 'Surahs', or chapters, were added to the Koran, but at first the Prophet's messages were few and appealed only to the poor and humble. When the Meccans, told by Abu Bakr that Mahomet was a prophet, came to demand a miracle as proof, he declared that there could be no greater miracle than the words he uttered; but this to the prosperous merchants seemed merely crazy nonsense. When he went farther, and, acting on what he declared was Allah's revelation, destroyed some of the local idols, contempt changed to anger; for the inhabitants argued that if 'Ka'bah' ceased to be a sanctuary their trade with the pilgrims who usually came to Mecca would cease.

For more than eight years, while the Prophet maintained his

unpopular mission, his poorer followers were stoned and beaten, and he himself shunned. Perhaps it seems odd that in such a barbarous community he was not killed; but though Arabia possessed no government in any modern sense, yet a system of tribal law existed that went far towards preventing promiscuous murder. Each man of any importance belonged to a tribe that he was bound to support with his sword, and that in turn was responsible for his life. If he were slain the tribe would exact vengeance or demand 'blood money' from the murderer. Now the head of Mahomet's tribe was Abu Talib, his uncle, and, though the old man refused to accept his nephew as a prophet, he would not allow him to be molested.

In spite of persecution the number of believers in Mahomet's doctrines grew, and when some of those who had been driven out of the city took refuge with the Christian King of Abyssinia and were treated by him with greater kindness than the pagan Arabs, the Meccans at home became so much alarmed that they adopted a new policy of aggression. Henceforward both Mahomet and his followers, the hated 'Moslems', or 'heathen' as they were nicknamed in the Syriac tongue, were to be outlaws, and no one might trade with them or give them food.

In an undisciplined community like an Arabian town such an order would not be strictly kept, and for three years Mahomet was able to defy the ban, but every day his position grew more precarious and the sufferings of his followers from hunger and poverty increased. During this time too both Khadijah and Abu Talib died, and the Prophet, almost overwhelmed with his misfortunes, was only kept from doubting his mission by the faith and loyalty of those who would not desert him.

Weary of trying to convert Mecca he sent messengers through Arabia to find if there were any tribe that would welcome a prophet, and at last he received an invitation to go to Yathrib. This was a larger town than Mecca, farther to the north, and was populated mainly by Jewish tribes who hated the Arabian idol-worshippers and welcomed the idea of a teacher whose views were based largely on Jewish traditions.

In 622, therefore, Mahomet and his followers fled secretly from

Mecca to Yathrib, later called Medinah or 'the city of the Prophet'; and this date of the 'Hijrah' or 'Flight', when the new religion broke definitely with old Arab traditions, was taken as the first year of the Moslem calendar, just as Christians reckon their time from the birth of Christ. Here in Medinah was built the first mosque, or temple of the new faith, a faith christened by its believers Islam, a word meaning 'surrender', for in surrender to Allah and to the will of his Prophet lay the way of salvation to the Moslem Garden of Paradise.

So beautiful to the Arab mind were the very material luxuries and pleasures with which Mahomet entranced the imagination of believers that in later years his soldiers would fling themselves recklessly against their enemies' spears in order to gain Paradise the quicker. The alternative for the unbeliever was Hell, the everlasting fires of the Old Testament that so terrified the minds of mediaeval Christians; and between Paradise and Hell there was no middle way.

The Jews in Medinah were, like Mahomet, worshippers of one God, but they soon showed that they were not prepared to accept this wandering Arab as Jehovah's final revelation to man. They demanded miracles, sneered at the Koran, which they declared was a parody of their own Scriptures, and took advantage of the poverty of the refugees to drive hard bargains with them. At length it became obvious that the Moslems must find some means of livelihood or else Medinah, like Mecca, must be left for more friendly soil.

Pressed by circumstances Mahomet evolved a policy that was destined to overthrow the tribal system of government in Arabia. Mention has been made already of the caravans of camels that journeyed regularly from south to north of the peninsula, bearing merchandise. Many of these caravans were owned by wealthy Meccans, whose chief trade route passed quite close by the town of Medinah, and they were protected and guarded by members of the tribe of Abu Talib and of other families whose relations were serving with the Prophet.

At first, when Mahomet commanded that these caravans should be attacked and looted, his followers looked aghast, for the



A Persian caravan coming over the passes

Photograph by Mr. R. Gorboid



Moslem Architecture. The great mosque in Kairouan, North Africa

Photograph by Mr. A. J. Cobham

sacredness of tribes from attack by kinsmen was a tradition they had inherited for generations. Their Prophet at once proved to them by a message from Allah that a new relationship had been formed stronger than the ties of blood, namely, the bond of faith, and that to the believer the unbeliever, whether father or son, was accursed. In the same way, when the first marauding expeditions were unsuccessful because the caravans attacked were too well guarded, Mahomet explained away the 'Sacred Months' and chose in future that very time for his warriors to descend upon unsuspecting merchants.

The Meccans, outraged by what they somewhat naturally considered treachery, soon dispatched some thousand men, determined to make an end of the Prophet and his followers; and at Badr, not very far from the coast on the trade route between the two towns, this large force encountered three hundred Moslems commanded by Mahomet. It is difficult to gain a clear impression of the battle, for romance and legend have rendered real details obscure; but, either by superior generalship, the valour and discipline of the Moslems as compared to the conduct of their forces, or, as was later stated, through the agency of angels sent by Allah from Heaven, the vastly more numerous Meccan force was utterly put to rout.

Moslems refer to the battle of Badr as 'the Day of Deliverance', for though, not long afterwards, they in their turn were defeated by the Meccans, yet never again were they to become mere discredited refugees. Success pays, and, with the victory of Badr as a tangible miracle to satisfy would-be converts, Mahomet soon gained a large army of warriors, whom his personality moulded into obedience to his will.

The Jews who had mocked him had soon cause to repent, for Mahomet, remembering their jibes and the petty persecution to which they had subjected his followers, adopted a definitely hostile attitude towards them. Taking advantage of the reluctance with which these Jews had shared in the defence of Medinah and in the throwing-up of earthworks to protect it, when the Meccans came to besiege it in the year 5 of the new calendar, Mahomet as soon as the siege was raised obtained his revenge.

Those Jews of the city who still refused to recognize him as a Prophet were slaughtered, their wives and children sold into slavery. The teaching and ritual of the Koran also, once carefully based on the Scriptures of Israel, began to cast off this influence, and where of old Mahomet had commanded his followers to look towards Jerusalem in their prayers, he now bade them kneel with their faces towards Mecca.

In this command may be seen his new policy of conciliation towards his native town; for Mahomet recognized that in the city of Mecca lay the key to the peninsula, and he was determined to establish his power there, if not by force then by diplomacy. After some years of negotiation he persuaded those who had driven him into exile not so much of the truth of his teaching as of the certainty that his presence would bring more pilgrims than ever before to visit the shrine of Ka'bah.

In A.D. 630 he entered Mecca in triumph, and the worship of Islam was established in the heart of Arabia. As a concession to the Meccans, divine revelation announced that the sacred black stone built into the temple wall had been hallowed by Abraham, and was therefore worthy of veneration.

Instead of a general scheme of revenge only two of Mahomet's enemies were put to death; and it is well to remember that, judged by the standards of his age and race, the Prophet was no lover of cruelty. In his teaching he condemned the use of torture, and throughout his life he was nearly always ready to treat with his foes rather than slay them. Those amongst his enemies who refused him recognition as a Prophet while willing to acknowledge him as a ruler were usually allowed to live in peace on the payment of a yearly ransom divided amongst the believers; but in cases where he had met with an obstinate refusal or persistent treachery, as from the Jews of Medinah, Mahomet would put whole tribes to the sword.

In 632 the Prophet of Islam died, leaving a group of Arabian tribes bound far more securely together by the faith he had taught them than they could have been by the succession of any royal house. 'Though Mahomet is dead, yet is Mahomet's God not dead.'

While Mahomet was still an exile at Medinah it is evident that he already contemplated the idea of gaining the world for Islam. 'Let there be in you a nation summoning unto good,' says the Koran, and in token of this mission the Prophet, in the years following his Arabian victories, sent letters to foreign rulers to announce his ambition. Here is one to the chief of the Copts, a Christian race living in Egypt:

'In the name of Allah . . . the Merciful.

'From the Apostle of Allah to . . . , Chief of the Copts. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. Next I summon thee with the appeal to Islam: become a Moslem and thou shalt be safe. God shall give thee thy reward twofold. But if thou decline then on thee is the guilt of the Copts. O ye people of the Book come unto an equal arrangement between us and you that we should serve none save God, associating nothing with Him, and not taking one another for Lords besides God,—and if ye decline, then bear witness that we are Moslems.'

Similar letters were sent to Chosroes, King of Persia, and to Heraclius, the Christian Emperor at Constantinople. The former tore the letter in pieces contemptuously, for at that time his kingdom extended over the greater part of Asia; Jerusalem, once the pride of the Eastern Empire, had fallen into his grasp; while his armies were besieging Constantinople itself. A letter that he himself penned to the Christian Emperor shows his overweening pride, and the depths into which Byzantium had fallen in the public regard:

'Chosroes, Greatest of Gods, and Master of the whole earth, to Heraclius, his vile and insensate slave. Why do you refuse to submit to our rule and call yourself a king? You say that you have not destroyed the Greeks? You say that you trust in your God. Why has he not delivered out of my hand Caesarea, Jerusalem, Alexandria? and shall I not also destroy Constantinople? But I will pardon your faults if you will submit to me, and come hither with your wife and children, and I will give you land, vineyards, and olive groves, and look upon you with a friendly aspect. Do not deceive yourself with vain hope in that Christ, who was not even able to save himself from the Jews, who killed

him by nailing him to a cross. Even if you take refuge in the depths of the sea I shall stretch out my hand and take you, so that you shall see me whether you will or no.'

Christendom was fortunate in Heraclius. Instead of contemplating either despair or surrender, he called upon the Church to summon all Christians to his aid, and by means of the gold and silver plate presented to him as a war loan by the bishops and clergy, and in command of a large army of volunteers, he beat back the Persians from the very gates of his capital. Not content with a policy of defence, he next invaded Asia, and at the battle of Nineveh utterly destroyed the hosts of Chosroes. The fallen King, deposed by his subjects, was forced to take refuge in the mountains, and later was thrown into a dungeon where he died of cold and starvation.

Had the reign of Heraclius ended at this date, it would be remembered as a glorious era in the history of Constantinople; but unfortunately for his fame another foe was to make more lasting inroads on his Empire, already weakened by the Persian occupation.

When the Emperor (610-41), like Chosroes, received Mahomet's letter, he is said to have read it with polite interest. It seemed to him that this fanatic Arab, who hated the Jews as much as the Christians did, might turn his successful sword not only against them but against the Persians. In this surmise Heraclius was right, for under Abu Bakr, now Caliph, or 'successor', of Mahomet, since the Prophet had left no son, the Moslems invaded Persia.

Unfortunately for Heraclius, they were equally bent on an aggressive campaign against the Christian Empire. 'There is but one God, Allah!' With this test, by which they could distinguish friend from foe, the Arab hosts burst through the gate of Syria, and at Yermuk encountered the imperial army sent by Heraclius to oppose them. The Greeks fought so stubbornly that at first it seemed that their disciplined valour must win. 'Is not Paradise before you? . . . Are not Hell and Satan behind?' cried the Arab leader to his fanatical hordes,

and in response to his words they rallied, broke the opposing lines by the sudden ferocity of their charge, and finally drove the imperial troops in headlong flight.

After the battle of Yermuk Syria fell and Palestine was invaded. In 637 Jerusalem became a Moslem town, with a mosque standing where once had been the famous temple of Solomon. Mahomet had declared Jerusalem a sanctuary only second in glory to Mecca; and his followers with a toleration strange in that age left under Christian guardianship the Tomb of the Holy Sepulchre and other sacred sites.

After Syria, Palestine; after Palestine, Egypt and the north African coast-line. The dying Heraclius heard nothing but the bitter news of disaster, and after his death the quarrels of his descendants increased the feebleness of Christian resistance. A spirit of unity might have carried the Moslem banners to the limits of the Eastern Empire, but in 656 the Caliph Othman was murdered, and the civil war that ensued enabled the Christian Emperor, Constans II, to negotiate peace. He had lost Tripoli. Syria, Egypt, and the greater part of Armenia to his foes, who had also succeeded in establishing a naval base in the Mediterranean that threatened the islands of Greece herself. In the north his borders were overrun by Bulgar and Slav tribes, while in Italy the Lombards maintained a perpetual struggle against his viceroy, the Exarch of Ravenna.

Constans himself spent six years in Italy, the greater part in campaigns against the Lombards. He even visited Rome, but earned hatred there as elsewhere by his ruthless pillage of the West for the benefit of the East. Thus the Pantheon was stripped of its golden tiles to enrich Constantinople, and the churches of South Italy robbed of their plate to pay for his wars. At last a conspiracy was formed against him, and while enjoying the baths at Syracuse one of his servants struck him on the head with a marble soap-box and fractured his skull. Constans had been a brave and resolute Emperor of considerable military ability. His son, Constantine 'Pogonatus', or 'the bearded', inherited his gifts and drove back the Mahometans from Constantinople with so great a loss of men and prestige that the

Caliph promised to pay a large sum of money as tribute every year in return for peace.

Constantine 'Pogonatus' died when a comparatively young man and was succeeded by his son, Justinian II, a lad of seventeen, arrogant, cruel, and restless. Without any reason save ambition he picked a quarrel with the Moslem Caliph, marched a large army across his Eastern border, and, when he met with defeat, proceeded in his rage to execute his generals and soldiers, declaring that they had failed him. At home, in Constantinople, his ministers tortured the inhabitants in order to exact money for his treasury and filled the imperial dungeons with senators and men of rank suspected of disloyalty.

Such a state of affairs could not last ; and the Emperor, who treated his friends as badly as his foes, was captured by one of his own generals, and, after having his nose cruelly slit, was exiled to the Crimea. Mutilation was supposed to be a final bar to the right of wearing the imperial crown ; but Justinian II was the type of man to be ignored only when dead. After some years of brooding over his wrongs he fled from the Crimea and took refuge with the King of the Bulgars.

On his sea-journey a terrific storm arose that threatened to overwhelm both him and his crew. 'My Lord,' exclaimed one of his attendants, 'I pray you make a vow to God that if He spare you, you also will spare your enemies.' 'May God sink this vessel here and now,' retorted his master, 'if I spare a single one of them that falls into my hands,' and the words were an ill omen for his reign, that began once more in 705 when, with the aid of Bulgar troops and of treachery within the capital, Justinian II established himself once more in Constantinople.

During six years the Empire suffered his tyranny anew ; and those who had previously helped to dethrone him were hunted down, tortured, and put to death. Like Nero of old he burned alive his political enemies, or he would order the nobles of his court who had offended him to be sewn up in sacks and thrown into the sea. At last another rebellion brought a final end to his reign, and that of the house of Heraclius, for both he and his

young son were murdered, and the Eastern Empire given up to anarchy.

The man who did most to save Constantinople from the next Mahometan invasion was one of the military governors of the Empire called Leo the Isaurian. Conscious of his own ability he took advantage of his first successes to seize the imperial crown; and then, having heard that the Mahometan fleet was moored off the shores of Asia Minor, he secretly sent a squadron of his own vessels that set the enemy's ships on fire. In the panic that ensued more than half the Arabian ships were sunk. About the same time a Mahometan land force was also defeated by the King of the Bulgars, who had allied himself with the Emperor on account of their mutual dread of an Eastern invasion. The result of these combined Christian victories was that the Caliph Moslemah, whose main forces were encamped beneath the walls of Constantinople, grew alarmed lest he should be cut off from support and provisions. He therefore raised the siege, embarked his army in what remained of his fleet, and retreated to his own kingdom, leaving the Christian capital free from acute danger from the East for another three hundred years.

Elsewhere the Mahometans pursued their triumphant progress with little check. After the fall of Carthage in 697 North Africa lay almost undefended before them; and the half-savage tribes such as the Berbers, who lived on the borders of the desert, welcomed the new faith with its mission of conversion by the sword and prospects of plunder.

It was the Berbers who at the invitation, according to tradition, of a treacherous Spanish Governor, Count Julian, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and descended on the plains of Andalusia.

Spain, when the power of the Roman Empire snapped, had been invaded first by Vandals and then by Visigoths. The Vandals, as we have seen,¹ passed on to Africa, while the Visigoths, like the Lombards in Italy, became converted to Christianity, and, falling under the influence of the civilization and luxury they saw around them, gradually adapted their government, laws, and way of life to the system and ideals of

¹ See p. 43.

those whom they had conquered. Thus their famous *Lex Visigothorum*, or 'Law of the Visigoths', was in reality the Roman code remodelled to suit the German settlers.

In this new land the descendants of the once warlike Teutons acquired an indifference to the arts of war, and when their King Rodrigo had been killed at the disastrous battle of Guadelete and his army overthrown, they made little further resistance to the Saracen hordes except in the far northern mountains of the Asturias. From France we have seen¹ the Mahometans were beaten back by Charles Martel, and here, established in Spain and on the borders of the Eastern Empire, we must leave their fortunes for the time. If Mahomet's life is short and can be quickly told the story of how his followers attempted to establish their rule over Christendom is nothing else than the history of the foreign policy of Europe during mediaeval times.

¹ See p. 62.

VIII

CHARLEMAGNE

Just before his death Pepin the Short had divided his lands between his two sons, Charles, who was about twenty-six, and Carloman, a youth some years younger. As they had no affection for each other, this division did not work well. Carloman gave little promise of statesmanlike qualities: he was peevish and jealous, and easily persuaded by the nobles who surrounded him that his elder brother was a rival who intended to rob him of his possessions, it might be of his life. There seems to have been no ground for this suspicion; but nevertheless he spent his days in trying to hinder whatever schemes Charles proposed; and when he died, three years later, there was a general breath of relief.

Enumerating the blessings that Heaven had bestowed on Charlemagne, a monk, writing to the King about this time, completed his list with the candid statement: 'the fifth and not least that God has removed your brother from this earthly kingdom'.

Charlemagne was exactly the kind of person to seize the fancy of the early Middle Ages. Tall and well built, with an eagle nose and eyes that flashed like a lion when he was angry so that none dared to meet their gaze, he excelled all his court in strength, energy, and skill. He could straighten out with his fingers four horseshoes locked together, lift a warrior fully equipped for battle to the level of his shoulder, and fell a horse and its rider with a single blow.

It was his delight to keep up old national customs and to wear the Frankish dress with its linen tunic, cross-gartered leggings, and long mantle reaching to the feet. 'What is the use of these rags?' he once inquired contemptuously of his courtiers, point-

Charlemagne

ing to their short cloaks—'Will they cover me in bed, or shield me from the wind and rain when I ride abroad ?

This criticism was characteristic of the King. Intent on a multitude of schemes for the extension or improvement of his lands, and so eager to realize them that he would start on fresh ones when still heavily encumbered with the old, he was yet,



for all his enthusiasm, no vague dreamer but a level-headed man looking questions in the face and demanding a practical answer.

By the irony of fate it is the least practical and important task he undertook that has made his name world-famous; for the story of Charlemagne and his Paladins, told in that greatest of mediaeval epics, the *Chanson de Roland*, exceeds to-day in popularity even the exploits of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.

This much is history—that Charlemagne, invited secretly by some discontented Emirs to invade Spain and attack the Caliph of Cordova, crossed the Pyrenees, and, after reducing several towns successfully, was forced to retreat. On his way back across the mountains his rearguard was cut off by Gascon mountaineers, and slaughtered almost to a man; while he and the rest of his army escaped with difficulty.

On this meagre and rather inglorious foundation poets of the eleventh century based a cycle of romance. Charlemagne is the central figure, but round him are grouped numerous 'Paladins', or famous knights, including the inseparable friends Oliver and Roland, Warden of the Breton Marches. After numerous deeds of glory in the land of Spain, the King, it was said, was forced by treachery to turn back towards the French mountains, and had already passed the summits, when Roland, in charge of the rearguard, found himself entrapped in the Pass of Roncesvalles by a large force of Gascons. His horn was slung at his side but he disdained to summon help from those in the van, and drawing his good sword 'Durendal' laid about him valiantly.

The Gascons fell back, dismayed by the vigorous resistance of the French; but thirty thousand Saracens came to their aid, and the odds were now overwhelming. Oliver lay dead, and, covered with wounds, Roland at last fell to the ground also, unable to stem the infidel tide that swept up the Pass of Roncesvalles. Putting his horn to his lips, with his dying breath he sounded a blast that was heard by Charlemagne in his camp more than eight miles away. 'Surely that is the horn of Roland?' cried the King uneasily, but treacherous courtiers explained away the sound; and it was not till a breathless messenger came with the news of the reverse that he hastened towards the scene of battle. There in the pass, stretched on the ground amid the heaped-up bodies of their enemies, he found his Paladins—Roland with his arms spread in the form of a cross, his peerless sword beside him: and seeing him the King fell on his knees weeping. 'Oh, right arm of thy Sovereign's body, Honour of the Franks, Sword of Justice . . . Why did

I leave thee here to perish? How can I behold thee dead and not die with thee?' At last, restraining his grief, Charlemagne gathered his forces together; and the very sun, we are told, stood still to watch his terrible vengeance on Gascons and Saracens for the slaughter of Christians at Roncesvalles.

The *Chanson de Roland* is one of the masterpieces of French literature. It is not history, but in its fiction lies a substantial germ of truth. Charlemagne in the early ninth century was what poets described him more than two hundred years later—the central figure in Christendom, the recognized champion of the Cross whether against Mahometans or pagans. 'Through your prosperity', wrote Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon monk and scholar who lived at his court, 'Christendom is preserved, the Catholic Faith defended, the law of justice made known to all men.'

When the Popes sought help against the Lombards, it was to Charlemagne as to his father Pepin that they naturally turned. Charlemagne had hoped at the beginning of his reign to maintain a friendship with King Didier of Lombardy and had even married his daughter, an alliance that roused the Pope of that date to demand in somewhat violent language: 'Do you not know that all the children of the Lombards are lepers, that the race is outcast from the family of nations? For these there is neither part nor lot in the Heavenly Kingdom. May they broil with the devil and his angels in everlasting fire!'

Charlemagne went his own way, in spite of papal denunciations; but he soon tired of his bride, who was plain and feeble in health, and divorced her that he might marry a beautiful German princess. This was, of course, a direct insult to King Didier, who henceforth regarded the Frankish king as his enemy; and Rome took care that the gulf once made between the sovereigns should not be bridged.

In papal eyes the Lombards had really become accursed. It is true that they had been since the days of Gregory the Great orthodox Catholics, that their churches were some of the most beautiful in Italy, their monasteries the most famous for learning, and Pavia, their capital, a centre for students and men of letters.

Their sin did not lie in heretical views, but in the position of their kingdom that now included not only modern Lombardy in the north, but also the Duchy of Spoleto in South Italy. Between stretched the papal dominions like a broad wall from Ravenna to the Western Mediterranean; and on either side the Lombards chafed, trying to annex a piece of land here or a city there, while the Popes watched them, lynx-eyed, eager on their part to dispossess such dangerous neighbours, but unable to do so without assistance from beyond the Alps.

Soon after the death of his younger brother Charlemagne was persuaded to take up the papal cause and invade Italy. At Geneva, where he held the 'Mayfield' or annual military review of his troops, he laid the object of his campaign before them, and was answered by their shouts of approval.

It was a formidable host, for the Franks expected every man who owned land in their dominions to appear at these gatherings prepared for war. The rich would be mounted, protected by mail shirts and iron headpieces, and armed with sword and dagger; the poor would come on foot, some with bows and arrows, others with lance and shield, and the humblest of all with merely scythes or wooden clubs. Tenants on the royal demesnes must bring with them all the free men on their estates; and while it was possible to obtain exemption the fine demanded was so heavy that few could pay it.

When the army set out in battle array, it was accompanied by numerous baggage-carts, lumbering wagons covered with leather awnings, that contained enough food for three months as well as extra clothes and weapons. It was the general hope that on the return journey the wagons would be filled to overflowing with the spoils of the conquered enemy.

The Lombards had ceased, with the growth of luxury and comfortable town life, to be warriors like the Franks; and Charlemagne met with almost as little resistance as Pepin in past campaigns. After a vain attempt to hold the Western passes of the Alps, Didier and his army fled to Pavia, where they fortified themselves, leaving the rest of the country at the mercy of the invaders.

Frankish chroniclers in later years drew a realistic picture of Didier, crouched in one of the high towers of the city, awaiting in trembling suspense the coming of the 'terrible Charles'. Beside him stood Otger, a Frankish duke, who had been a follower of the dead Carloman and was therefore hostile to his elder brother. 'Is Charles in that great host?' demanded the King continually, as first the long line of baggage-wagons came winding across the plain, and then an army of the 'common-folk', and after them the bishops with their train of abbots and clerks. Every time his companion answered him, 'No! not yet!'

'Then Didier hated the light of day. He stammered and sobbed and said, "Let us go down and hide in the earth from so terrible a foe." And Otger too was afraid; well he knew the might and the wrath of the peerless Charles; in his better days he had often been at court. And he said, "When you see the plain bristle with a harvest of spears, and rivers of black steel come pouring in upon your city walls, then you may look for the coming of Charles." While he yet spoke a black cloud arose in the West and the glorious daylight was turned to darkness. The Emperor came on; a dawn of spears darker than night rose on the beleaguered city. King Charles, that man of iron, appeared; iron his helmet, iron his armguards, iron the corselet on his breast and shoulders. His left hand grasped an iron lance . . . iron the spirit, iron the hue of his war steed. Before, behind, and at his side rode men arrayed in the same guise. Iron filled the plain and open spaces, iron points flashed back the sunlight. "There is the man whom you would see," said Otger to the king; and so saying he swooned away, like one dead.'

In spite of this picture of Carolingian might, it took the Franks six months to reduce Pavia; and then Didier, at last surrendering, was sent to a monastery, while Charlemagne proclaimed himself king of the newly acquired territories. During the siege, leaving capable generals to conduct it, he himself had gone to Rome, where he was received with feasting and joy. Crowds of citizens came out to the gates to welcome him, carrying palms and olive-branches, and hailed him as 'Patrician' and 'Defender of the Church'. Dismounting from his horse he passed on foot through the streets of Rome to the cathedral;

and there, in the manner of the ordinary pilgrim, climbed the steps on his knees, until the Pope awaiting him at the top, raised and embraced him. From the choir arose the exultant shout, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.'

A few days later, once more standing in St. Peter's, Charlemagne affixed his seal to the donation Pepin had given to the Church. The document was entered amongst the papal archives; but it has long since disappeared, and with it exact information as to the territories concerned.

About this time the papal court produced another document, the so-called 'Donation of Constantine', in which the first of the Christian emperors apparently granted to the Popes the western half of the Roman Empire. Centuries later this was proved to be a forgery, but for a long while people accepted it as genuine, and the power of the Popes was greatly increased. We do not know how much Charles believed in papal supremacy in temporal matters; but throughout his reign his attitude to the Pope over Italian affairs was rather that of master to servant than the reverse. It was only when spiritual questions were under discussion that he was prepared to yield as if to a higher authority.

When he had reduced Pavia Charlemagne left Lombardy to be ruled by one of his sons and returned to France; but it was not very long before he was called back to Italy, as fresh trouble had arisen there. The cause was the unpopularity of Pope Leo III in Rome and the surrounding country, where turbulent nobles rebelled as often as they could against the papal government. One day, as Leo was riding through the city at the head of a religious procession, a band of armed men rushed out from a side street, separated him from his attendants, dragged him from his horse, and beat him mercilessly, leaving him half dead. It was even said that they put out his eyes and cut off his tongue, but that these were later restored by a miracle.

Leo, at any rate, whole though shaken, succeeded in reaching Charlemagne's presence, and the King was faced by the problem of going to Rome to restore order. Had it been merely a matter of exacting vengeance, he would have found little difficulty with

his army of stalwart Franks behind him ; but Leo's enemies were not slow in bringing forward accusations against their victim that they claimed justified their assault. Charlemagne was thus in an awkward position, for he was too honest a ruler to refuse to hear both sides, and his respect for the papal office could not blind him to the possibility of evil in the acts of the person who held it, especially in the case of an ambitious statesman like Leo III.

He felt that it was his duty to sift the matter to the bottom ; and yet by what law could the King of France or even of Italy put Christ's vice-regent upon his trial and cross-examine him ?

One way of dealing with this problem would have been to seek judgement at Constantinople as the seat of Empire, a final 'appeal unto Caesar' such as St. Paul had made in classical times : but, ever since Pepin the Short had given the Exarchate of Ravenna to the Pope instead of restoring it to Byzantine Emperors, relations with the East, never cordial, had grown more strained. Now they were at breaking point. The late Emperor, a mere boy, had been thrown into a dungeon and blinded by his mother, the Empress Irene, in order that she might usurp his throne ; and the Western Empire recoiled from the idea of accepting such a woman as arbiter of their destinies.

Thus Charlemagne, forced to act on his own responsibility, examined the evidence laid before him and declared Leo innocent of the crimes of which he had been accused. In one sense it was a complete triumph for the Pope ; but Leo was a clear-sighted statesman and knew that the power to which he had been restored rested on a weak foundation. The very fact that he had been compelled to appeal for justice to a temporal sovereign lowered the office that he held in the eyes of the world ; and he possessed no guarantee that, once the Franks had left Rome, his enemies would not again attack him. Without a recognized champion, always ready to enforce her will, the Papacy remained at the mercy of those who chose to oppose or hinder her.

In the dramatic scene that took place in St. Peter's Cathedral on Christmas Day, A. D. 800, Leo found a way out of his difficulties. Arrayed in gorgeous vestments, he said Mass before the High

Altar, lit by a thousand candles hanging at the arched entrance to the chancel. In the half-gloom beyond knelt Charlemagne and his sons; and at the end of the service Leo, approaching them with a golden crown in his hands, placed it upon the King's head. Instantly the congregation burst into the cry with which Roman emperors of old had been acclaimed at their accession. 'To Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and pacific Emperor, long life and victory!' 'From that time', says a Frankish chronicle, commenting on this scene, 'there was no more a Roman Empire at Constantinople.'

Leo had found his champion, and in anointing and crowning him had emphasized the dignity of his own office. He had also pleased the citizens of Rome, who rejoiced to have an Emperor again after the lapse of more than three centuries. Charlemagne alone was doubtful of the greatness that had been thrust upon him and accepted it with reluctance. He had troubles enough near home without embroiling himself with Constantinople; but as it turned out the Eastern Empire was too busy deposing the Empress Irene to object actively to its rejection in the West; and Irene's successors agreed to acknowledge the imperial rank of their rival in return for the cession of certain coveted lands on the Eastern Adriatic.

Other sovereigns hastened to pay their respects to the new Emperor, and Charlemagne received several embassies in search of alliance from Haroun al-Raschid, the Caliph of Bagdad. Haroun al-Raschid ruled over a mighty empire stretching from Persia to Egypt, and thence along the North African coast to the Strait of Gibraltar. On one occasion he sent Charlemagne a present of a wonderful water-clock that, as it struck the hour of twelve, opened as many windows, through which armed horsemen rode forth and back again. Far more exciting in Western eyes was the unhappy elephant that for nine years remained the glory of the imperial court at Aachen. Its death, when they were about to lead it forth on an expedition against the northern tribes of Germany, is noted sadly in the national annals.

Rulers less fortunate than Haroun al-Raschid sought not so much the friendship of the Western Emperor as his

protection, and through his influence exiled kings of Wessex and Northumberland were able to recover their thrones. Most significant tribute of all to the honour in which Charlemagne's name was held was the petition of the Patriarch of Jerusalem that he would come and rescue Christ's city from the infidel. The message was accompanied by a banner and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre; but Charlemagne, though deeply moved by such a call to the defence of Christendom, knew that the campaign was beyond his power and put it from him. Were there not infidels to be subdued within the boundaries of his own Empire, fierce Saxon tribes that year after year made mock both of the sovereignty of the Franks and their religion?

The Saxons lived amongst the ranges of low hills between the Rhine and the Elbe. By the end of the eighth century, when other Teutonic races such as the Franks and the Bavarians had yielded to the civilizing influence of Christianity, they still cherished their old beliefs in the gods of nature and offered sacrifices to spirits dwelling in groves and fountains. The chief object of their worship was a huge tree trunk that they kept hidden in the heart of a forest, their priests declaring that the whole Heavens rested upon it. This *Irmensul*, or 'All-supporting pillar', was the bond between one group of Saxons and another that led them to rally round their chiefs when any foreign army appeared on their soil; though, if at peace with the rest of the world, they would fight amongst themselves for sheer love of battle.

A part of the Saxon race had settled in the island of Britain, when the Roman authority weakened at the break-up of the Empire; and amongst the descendants of these settlers were some Christian priests who determined to carry the Gospel to the heathen tribes of Germany, men and women of their own race but still living in spiritual darkness. The most famous of these missionaries was St. Winifrith, or St. Boniface according to the Latin version of his name that means, 'He who brings peace.'

About the time that Charles Martel was Duke of the Franks Boniface arrived in Germany and began to travel from one part

of the country to another, explaining the Gospel of Christ, and persuading those whom he converted to build churches and monasteries. When he went to Rome to give an account of his work the Pope made him a bishop and sent him to preach in the Duchy of Bavaria. Later, as his influence increased and he gathered disciples round him, he was able to found not only parish churches but bishoprics with a central archbishopric at Mainz; thus, long before Germany became a nation she possessed a Church with an organized government that belonged not to one but to all her provinces.

Only in the north and far east of Germany heathenism still held sway; and St. Boniface, after he had gone at the Pope's wish to help the Franks reform their Church, determined to make one last effort to complete his missionary work in the land he had chosen as his own. He was now sixty-five, but nothing daunted by the hardships and dangers of the task before him he set off with a few disciples to Friesland and began to preach to the wild pagan tribes who lived there. Before he could gain a hearing, however, he was attacked, and, refusing to defend himself, was put to death.

Thus passed away 'the Apostle of Germany' and with him much of the kindness of his message. Christianity was to come indeed to these northern tribes, but through violence and the sword rather than by the influence of a gentle life. Charlemagne had a sincere love of the Catholic Faith, whose champion he believed himself; but he considered that only folly and obstinacy could blind men's eyes to the truth of Christianity, and he was determined to enforce its doctrines by the sword if necessary.

The Saxons, on the other hand, though if they were beaten in battle they might yield for a time and might promise to pay tribute to the Franks and build churches, remained heathens at heart. When an opportunity occurred, and they learned that the greater part of the Frankish army was in Italy or on the Spanish border, they would sally forth across their boundaries and drive out or kill the missionaries. Charlemagne knew that he could have no peace within his Empire until he had subdued the Saxons; but the task he had set himself was harder than he had

imagined, and it was thirty-eight years before he could claim that he had succeeded.

‘The final conquest of the Saxons’, says Eginhard, a scholar who lived at Charlemagne’s court and wrote his life, ‘would have been accomplished sooner but for their treachery. It is hard to tell how often they broke faith, surrendering to the King and accepting his terms, and then breaking out into wild rebellion once more.’ Eginhard continues that Charlemagne’s method was never to allow a revolt to remain unpunished but to set out at once with an army and exact vengeance. On one of these campaigns he succeeded in reaching the forest where the sacred trunk *Irminsul* was kept and set fire to it and destroyed it; but the Saxons, though disheartened for the moment, soon rallied under the banner of a famous chief called Witikind. We know little of the latter except his undaunted courage that made him refuse for many years to submit to a foe so much stronger that he must obviously gain the final victory.

Charlemagne, exasperated by repeated opposition, used every means to forward his aim. Sometimes he would bribe separate chieftains to betray their side; but often he would employ methods of deliberate cruelty in order to strike terror into his foes. Four thousand five hundred Saxons who had started a rebellion were once cut off and captured by the Franks. They pleaded that Witikind, who had escaped into Denmark, had prompted them to act against their better judgement. ‘If Witikind is not here you must pay the penalty in his stead,’ returned the King relentlessly, and the whole number were put to the sword.

At different times he transplanted hundreds of Saxon households into the heart of France, and in the place of ‘this great multitude’, as the chronicle describes them, he established Frankish garrisons. He also sent missionaries to build churches in the conquered territories and compelled the inhabitants to become Christians.

Often the bishops and priests thus sent would have to fly before a sudden raid of heathen Saxons hiding in the neighbouring forests and marshes; and, lacking the courage of St. Boniface, a few would hesitate to return when the danger was

suppressed. 'What ought I to do?' cried one of the most timid, appealing to Charlemagne. 'In Christ's name go back to thy diocese,' was the stern answer.

While the King expected the same obedience and devotion from church officials as from the captains in his army, he took care that they should not lack his support in the work he had set them to do.

'If any man among the Saxons, being not yet baptized, shall hide himself and refuse to come to baptism, let him die the death.'

'If any man despise the Lenten fast for contempt of Christianity, let him die the death.'

'Let all men, whether nobles, free, or serfs, give to the Churches and the priests the tenth part of their substance and labour.'

These 'capitularies', or laws, show that Charlemagne was still half a barbarian at heart and matched pagan savagery with a severity more ruthless because it was more calculating. In the end Witikind himself, in spite of his courage, was forced to surrender and accept baptism, and gradually the whole of Saxony fell under the Frankish yoke.

The Duchy of Bavaria, that had been Christian for many years, did not offer nearly so stubborn a resistance; and after he had reduced both it and Saxony to submission, Charlemagne was ruler not merely in name but in reality of an Empire that included France, the modern Holland and Belgium, Germany, and the greater part of Italy. Some of the conquests he had made were to fall away, but Germany that had suffered most at his hands emerged in the end the greatest achievement of his foreign wars.

He swept away the black deceitful night
And taught our race to know the only light,

wrote a Saxon monk of the ninth century, showing that already some of the bitterness had vanished. 'In a few generations', says a modern writer, 'the Saxons were conspicuous for their loyalty to the Faith.'

No story of Charlemagne would be true to life that omitted his harsh dealings with his Saxon foe; and yet it would be equally unfair to paint him only as a warrior, mercilessly exterminating

all who opposed him in barbaric fashion. Far more than a conqueror he was an empire-builder to whom war was not an end in itself, as to his Frankish forefathers, but a means towards the safeguarding of his realm.

The forts and outworks that he planted along his boundaries, the churches that he built in the midst of hostile territory, belonged indeed to his policy of inspiring terror and awe : but Charlemagne had also other designs only in part of a military nature. Roads and bridges that should make a network of communication across the Empire, acting like channels of civilization in assisting transport and encouraging trade and intercourse : royal palaces that should become centres of justice for the surrounding country : monasteries that should shed the light of knowledge and of faith : all these formed part of his dream of a Roman Empire brought back to her old stately life and power.

A canal joining the Rhine and Danube and thus making a continuous waterway between East and West was planned and even begun, but had to wait till modern times for its completion. Charlemagne possessed the vision and enterprise that did not quail before big undertakings, but he lacked the money and labour necessary for carrying them out. Unlike the Roman Emperors of classic times he had no treasury on whose taxes he could draw ; but depended, save for certain rents, on the revenues of his private estates that were usually paid 'in kind', that is to say, not in coin but at the rate of so many head of cattle, or of so much milk, corn, or barley, according to the means of the tenant. Of these supplies he kept a careful account even to the number of hens on the royal farms and the quantity of eggs that they laid. Yet at their greatest extent revenues 'in kind' could do little more than satisfy the daily needs of the palace.

The chief debt that the Frankish nation owed to the state was not financial but military, the obligation of service in the field laid on every freeman. As the Empire increased in size this became so irksome that the system was somewhat modified. In future men who possessed less than a certain quantity of land might join together and pay one or two of their number, according to the

size of their joint properties, to represent them in the army abroad, while the rest remained at home to see to the cultivation of the crops.

Charlemagne was very anxious to raise a body of labourers from each district to assist in his building schemes, but this suggestion awoke a 'storm of indignation. Landowners maintained that they were only required by law to repair the roads and bridges in their own neighbourhood, not to put their tenants at the disposal of the Emperor that he might send them at his whim from Aquitaine to Bavaria, or from Austria to Lombardy; and in face of this opposition many of his designs ceased abruptly from lack of labour. A royal palace and cathedral, adorned with columns and mosaics from Ravenna, were, however, completed at Aachen; and here Charlemagne established his principal residence and gathered his court round him.

The life of this 'new Rome', as he loved to call it, was simple in the extreme; for the Emperor, like a true Frank, hated unnecessary ostentation and ceremony. When the chief nobles and officials assembled twice a year in the spring and autumn to debate on public matters, he would receive them in person, thanking them for the gifts they had brought him, and walking up and down amongst them to jest with one and ask questions of another with an informality that would have scandalized the court at Constantinople.

In this easy intercourse between sovereign and subject lay the secret of Charlemagne's personal magnetism. To warriors and churchmen as to officials and the ordinary freemen of his demesnes he was not some far-removed authority, who could be approached only through a maze of court intrigue, but a man like themselves with virtues and failings they could understand.

If his temper was hasty and terrible when roused, it would soon melt away into a genial humour that appreciated to the full the rough practical jokes in which the age delighted. The chronicles tell us with much satisfaction how Charlemagne once persuaded a Jew to offer a 'vainglorious bishop ever fond of vanities' a painted mouse that he pretended he had brought back straight from Judea. The bishop at first declined to give

more than £3 for such a treasure ; but, deceived by the Jew's prompt refusal to part with it for so paltry a sum, consented at length to hand over a bushel of silver in exchange. The Emperor, hearing this, gathered the rest of the bishops at his court together—' See what one of you has paid for a mouse ! ' he exclaimed gleefully ; and we may be sure that the story did not stop at the royal presence but spread throughout the country, where haughty ecclesiastics were looked on with little favour.

We are told also that Charlemagne loved to bombard the people he met, from the Pope downwards, with difficult questions ; but it was not merely a malicious desire to bring them to confusion that prompted his inquiries. Alert himself, and keenly interested in whatever business he had in hand, he despised slipshod or inefficient knowledge. He expected a bishop to be an authority on theology, an official to be an expert on methods of government, a scholar to be well grounded in the ordinary sciences of his day.

Hard work was the surest road to his favour, and he spared neither himself nor those who entered his service. Even at night he would place writing materials beneath his pillow that if he woke or thought of anything it might be noted down. On one occasion he visited the palace school that he had founded, and discovered that while the boys of humble birth were making the most of their opportunities, the sons of the nobles, despising book-learning, had frittered away their time. Commending those who had done well, the Emperor turned to the others with an angry frown. ' Relying on your birth and wealth,' he exclaimed, ' and caring nothing for our commands and your own improvement, you have neglected the study of letters and have indulged yourselves in pleasures and idleness. . . . By the King of Heaven I care little for your noble birth. . . . Know this, unless straightway you make up for your former negligence by earnest study, you need never expect any favour from the hand of Charles.'

It was with the wealthy nobles and landowners that Charlemagne fought some of his hardest battles, though no sword was drawn or open war declared. Not only were most of the

high offices at court in their hands, but it was from their ranks that the counts, and later the viscounts, were chosen who ruled over the districts into which the Empire was divided and subdivided.

The count received a third of the gifts and rents from his province that would have otherwise been paid to the King; and these, if he were unscrupulous, he could increase at the expense of those he governed. He presided in the local law-courts and was responsible for the administration of justice, the exaction of fines, and for the building of roads and bridges. He was in fact a petty king, and would often tyrannize over the people and neglect the royal interests to forward his selfish ambitions.

The Merovingians had tried to limit the authority of the counts and other provincial officials by occasionally sending private agents of their own to inquire into the state of the provinces and to reform the abuses that they found. Charlemagne adopted this practice as a regular system; and at the annual assemblies he appointed *Missi*, or 'messengers', who should make a tour of inspection in the district to which they had been sent at least four times in the year and afterwards report on their progress to the Emperor. Wherever they went the count or viscount must yield up his authority to them for the time being, allowing them to sit in his court and hear all the grievances and complaints that the men and women of the district cared to bring forward. If the *Missi* insisted on certain reforms the count must carry them out and also make atonement for any charges proved against him.

Here are some of the evils that the men of Istria, a province on the Eastern Adriatic, suffered at the hands of their lord, 'Johannes', and that the inquiries of the royal *Missi* at length brought to light. Johannes had sold the people on his estates as serfs to his sons and daughters: he had forced them to build houses for his family and to go voyages on his business across the sea to Venice and Ravenna: he had seized the common land and used it as his own, bringing in Slavs from across the border to till it for his private use: he had robbed his tenants of their horses and their money on the plea of the Emperor's service

and had given them nothing in exchange. 'If the Emperor will help us,' they cried, 'we may be saved, but if not we had better die than live.'

From this account we can see that Charlemagne appeared to the mass of his subjects as their champion against the tyranny of the nobles, and in this sense his government may be called popular; but the old 'popular' assemblies of the Franks at which the laws were made had ceased by this reign to be anything but aristocratic gatherings summoned to approve of the measures laid before them.

The Emperor's 'capitularies' would be based on the advice he had received from his most trusted *Missi*; and when they had been discussed by the principal nobles, they would be read to the general assembly and ratified by a formal acceptance that meant nothing, because it rarely or never was changed into a refusal.

Besides introducing new legislation in the form of royal edicts or capitularies, Charlemagne commanded that a collection should be made of all the old tribal laws, such as the Salic Law of the Franks, and of the chief codes that had been handed down by tradition, or word of mouth, for generations; and this compilation was revised and brought up to date. It was a very useful and necessary piece of work, yet Charlemagne for all his industry does not deserve to be ranked as a great lawgiver like Justinian. The very earnestness of his desire to secure immediate justice made his capitularies hasty and inadequate. He would not wait to trace some evil to its root and then try to eradicate it, but would pass a number of laws on the matter, only touching the surface of what was wrong and creating confusion by the multiplicity of instructions and the contradictions they contained.

Sometimes the *Missi* themselves were not a success, but would take bribes from the rich landowners on their tour of inspection, and this would mean more government machinery and fresh laws to bring them under the royal control in their turn. If it was difficult to make wise laws, it was even harder in that rough age to carry them out; for the nobles found it to their interest to defy or at least hinder an authority that struck at their power;

while the mass of the people were too ignorant to bear responsibility, and few save those educated in the palace schools could become trustworthy 'counts' or royal agents.

Dimly, however, the nation understood that the Emperor held some high ideal of government planned for their prosperity. 'No one cried out to him', says the chronicle, 'but straightway he should have good justice': and in every church throughout France those who had not been called to follow him to battle prayed for his safety and that God would subdue the barbarians before his triumphant arms.

To Charlemagne there was a higher vision than that of mere victory in battle, a vision born of his favourite book, the *Civitas Dei*, wherein St. Augustine had described the perfect Emperor, holding his sceptre as a gift God had given and might take away, and conquering his enemies that he might lead them to a greater knowledge and prosperity.

Charlemagne believed that to him had been entrusted the guardianship of the Catholic Church, not only from the heathen without its pale, but from false doctrine and evil living within. To the Pope, as Christ's vice-regent, he bore himself humbly, as on the day when he had climbed St. Peter's steps on his knees, but to the Pope as a man dealing with other men he spoke as a lord to his vassal, tendering his views and expecting compliance, in return for which he guaranteed the support of his sword.

'May the ruler of the Church be rightly ruled by thee, O King, and may'st thou be ruled by the right hand of the Almighty!' In this prayer Alcuin probably expressed the Emperor's opinion of his own position. Leo III, on the other hand, preferred to talk of his champion as a faithful son of the mother Church of Rome; thereby implying that the Emperor should pay a son's duty of obedience: but he himself was never in a strong enough position to enforce this point of view, and the clash of Empire and Papacy was left for a later age.

Within his own dominions Charlemagne, like the Frankish kings before him, reigned supreme over the Church, appointing whom he would as bishops, and using them often as *Missi* to assist him in his government. Yet the Church remained an

'estate' apart from the rest of the nation, supported by the revenues of the large sees belonging to the different bishoprics and by the *tithe*, or tenth part of a layman's income. When churchmen attended the annual assembly they were allowed to deliberate apart from the nobles and freemen : when a bishop excommunicated some heretic or sinner, the Emperor's court was bound to enforce the sentence. Thus the privileges and rights were many ; but Charlemagne determined that the men who enjoyed them must also fulfil the obligations that they carried with them.

In earlier years Charles Martel and St. Boniface had struggled hard to raise the character of the Frankish Church, and Charlemagne continued their task with his usual energy, insisting on frequent inspections of the monasteries and convents and on the maintenance of a stricter rule of life within their walls.

The ordinary parish clergy were also brought under more vigilant supervision. In accordance with the laws of the Roman Church they were not allowed to marry, nor might they take part in any worldly business, enter a tavern, carry arms, or go hunting or hawking. Above all they were encouraged to educate themselves that they might be able to teach their parishioners and set a good example.

'Good works are better than knowledge', wrote Charlemagne to his bishops and abbots in a letter of advice, 'but without knowledge good works are impossible.' In accordance with this view he commanded that a school should be established in every diocese, in order that the boys of the neighbourhood might receive a grounding in the ordinary education of their day. His own court became a centre of learning ; for he himself was keenly interested in all branches of knowledge, from a close study of the Scriptures to mathematics or tales of distant lands. Histories he liked to have read out to him at meals. Eginhard, his biographer, tells us that he never learned to write, but that he was proficient in Latin and could understand Greek.

It was his desire to emulate Augustus, the first of the Roman Emperors, and gather round him the most literary men of Europe, and he eagerly welcomed foreign scholars and took

them into his service. Chief amongst these adopted sons of the Empire was Alcuin the Northumbrian, a 'wanderer on the face of the earth' as he called himself, whom Danish invasions had driven from his native land.

Alcuin settled at the Frankish court, organized the 'palace school' of which we have already made mention, and himself wrote the primers from which the boys were taught. His influence soon extended beyond this sphere, and he became the Emperor's chief adviser, inspiring his master with high ideals, while he himself was stirred by the other's vivid personality to share his passion for hard work.

It is this almost volcanic energy that gives the force and charm to Charlemagne's many-sided character. We think of him first, it may be, as the warrior, the hero of romance, or else as a statesman planning his Empire of the West. At another time we see in him the guardian of his people, the king who 'wills that justice should be done', but we recall a story such as that of the painted mouse, and instantly his simple, almost schoolboy, side becomes apparent. The 'Great Charles' was no saint but a Frank of the rough type of soldiers he led to battle, capable of cruelty as of kindness, hot-tempered, a lover of sport, strong perhaps where his ideals were at stake, but weak towards women, and an over-indulgent father, who let the intrigues of his daughters bring scandal on his court. Yet another contrast to this homely figure is the scholar and theologian, the friend of Alcuin, who believed that without knowledge good works were impossible.

Many famous characters in history have equalled or surpassed Charlemagne as general, statesman, or legislator—there have been better scholars and more refined princes—but few or none have followed such divers aims and achieved by the sheer force of their personality such memorable results. Painters and chroniclers love to depict him in old age still majestic; and in truth up till nearly the end of his long reign he kept the fire and vigour of his youth, swimming like a boy in the baths of Aachen, or hunting the wild boar upon the hills, drawing up capitularies, or dictating advice to his bishops, doing, in fact,

whatever came to hand with an intensity that would have exhausted any one less healthy and self-reliant.

Fortunately for Charlemagne he had the sturdy constitution of his race, and when at last he died an old man in 814 people believed that he did not share the common fate of humanity. Nearly two hundred years later, it was said, when the funeral vault was opened, he was found seated in his chair of state, firm of flesh as in life, with his crown on his snowy hair, and his sword clasped in his hand.

‘Our Lord gave this boon to Charlemagne that men should speak of him as long as the world endureth.’ It is a boast that as centuries pass, sweeping away the memory of lesser heroes, time still justifies.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Charlemagne, King of the Franks	768-800
„ Emperor of the West	800-14
Battle of Roncesvalles	778
Invasion of Lombardy	773
Haroun al-Raschid	died 809
St. Boniface	715



*Embroidery on the shroud of Charlemagne, showing the elephant, the gift of
Haroun al-Rashid*

Photograph, G. Millet, Collection des Hautes Études, Sorbonne, Paris



King Athelstan, a contemporary portrait from MS. 183, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

IX

THE INVASIONS OF THE NORTHMEN

At the death of Charlemagne the Empire that he had built up stretched from Denmark to the Pyrenees and the Duchy of Spoleto south of Rome, from the Atlantic on the West to the Baltic, Bohemia, and the Dalmatian coast. It had been a brave attempt to realize the old Roman ideal of all civilized Europe gathered under one ruler ; but he himself was well aware that the foundations he had laid were weak, his own personality that must vanish the mortar holding them together. Without his genius and the terror of his name his possessions were only too likely to fall away ; and therefore, instead of attempting to leave a united Empire, he nominated one son to be emperor in name, but made a rough division of his territory between three. Only the death of two just before his own defeated his aims and united the inheritance under the survivor, Louis.

The new Emperor was like his father in build, but without his wideness of outlook. His natural geniality was sometimes marred by uncontrollable fits of suspicion and cruelty, as in the case of his nephew, Bernard, King of Italy, whom he believed to be secretly conspiring to bring about his overthrow. Louis ordered the young man to appear at his court, and when Bernard hesitated, fearing treachery, his uncle sent him a special promise of safety by the Empress, whom he trusted. Reluctantly Bernard at last obeyed the summons, whereupon he was seized, thrust into a dungeon, and his eyes put out so cruelly that he died. Shortly afterwards the Empress died also, and Louis who had loved her believed that God was punishing him for his broken word. Overcome by remorse he became so devout in his religious observances that his subjects called him 'Louis the Pious'.

Louis, like his father, was ever ready to listen to the petitions of those who were oppressed and to pass laws for their security. For the first sixteen years of his reign the Carolingian dominions, put to no test, appeared unshaken, and then of a sudden, just as if a cloud were blotting out the sunlight, prosperity and peace were lost in the horrors of civil war.

Louis the Pious had three sons by his first wife, and following Charlemagne's example he named the eldest, Lothar, as his successor in the Empire, while he divided his lands between the other two. It was only when he married again and another son, Charles, was born to him that trouble began. This fourth son was the old Emperor's favourite, and Louis would gladly have left him a large kingdom; but such a gift he could only make now at the expense of the elder brothers, who hated the young boy as an interloper, and were determined that he should receive nothing to which they could lay a claim.

When Charles was six years old Louis insisted that the country now called Switzerland and part of modern Germany (Suabia) should be recognized as his inheritance; and on hearing this all three elder brothers, who had been secretly making disloyal plots, broke into open revolt.

The history of the next ten years is an ignominious chronicle of the Emperor's weakness. Twice were he and his Empress imprisoned and insulted; and on each occasion, when the quarrels of his sons amongst themselves led to his release, he was induced to grant a weak forgiveness that led to further rebellion.

When Louis died in 840, the seeds of dissension were widely scattered; and those of his House who came after him openly showed that they cared for nothing save personal ambition. Lothar, the eldest, was proclaimed Emperor, and obtained as his share of the dominions a large middle kingdom stretching from the mouth of the Rhine to Italy, and including the two capitals of Aachen and Rome. To the East, in what is now Germany, reigned his brother Louis, to the West, in France, Charles 'the Bald', the hated younger brother who had succeeded at the last in obtaining a substantial inheritance.

This division is interesting because it shows two of the nationalities of Europe already emerging from the imperial melting-pot. When the brothers Louis and Charles met at Strasbourg in 842 to confirm an alliance they had formed against Lothar, Charles and his followers took the oath in German, Louis and his nobles in the Romance tongue of which modern French is the descendant. This they did that the armies on both sides might clearly understand how their leaders had bound themselves, and the Oath of Strasbourg remains to-day as evidence of this new growth of nationality that had already acquired distinct national tongues.

The Partition of Verdun, signed shortly afterwards by all three brothers, acknowledged the division of the Empire into three parts, France on the West, Germany in the East, and between them the debatable kingdom of Lotharingia, that, dwindled during the Middle Ages and modern times into the province of Lorraine, has remained always a source of war and trouble.

It would be wearisome to trace in detail the history of the years that followed the Partition of Verdun. One historian has described it as 'a dizzy and unintelligible spectacle of monotonous confusion, a scene of unrestrained treachery, of insatiable and blind rapacity. No son is obedient or loyal to his father, no brother can trust his brother, no uncle spares his nephew. . . . There were rapid alterations in fortune, rapid changing of sides, there was universal distrust and universal reliance on falsehood or crime.'

In 881 Charles 'the Fat', son of Louis the German, of Strasbourg Oath fame, succeeded, owing to the deaths of his rival cousins and uncles, in uniting for a few years all the dominions of Charlemagne under his sceptre; but, weak and unhealthy, he was not the man to control so great possessions, and very shortly he was deposed and died in prison on an island in Lake Constance. With him faded away the last reflection of the Carolingian glory that had once dazzled the world. In France the descendants of Charles 'the Bald' carried on a precarious existence for several generations, despised and threatened by their own nobles, as the later Merovingians had been, and utterly

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unable to defend their land from the hostile invasions of Northmen, that, beginning in the eighth century, seemed likely during the ninth and tenth centuries to paralyse the civilization and trade of Europe as the inroads of Goths, Huns, and Vandals had broken up the Roman Empire.

The long ships of the Northmen had been seen off the French coasts even in the days of Charlemagne, and one of the chroniclers records how the wise king seeing them exclaimed, 'These vessels bear no merchandise but cruel foes,' and then continued, with prophetic grief, 'Know ye why I weep? Truly I fear not that these will injure me; but I am deeply grieved that in my lifetime they should be so near a landing on these shores, and I am overwhelmed with sorrow as I look forward and see what evils they will bring upon my offspring and their people.'

The Northmen, we can guess from their name, came from the wild, often snow-bound, coasts of Scandinavia and Denmark. Few weaklings could survive in such a climate; and the race was tall, well built, and hardy, made up of men and women who despised the fireside and loved to feel the fresh sea-wind beating against their faces. Life to them was a perpetual struggle, but a struggle they had glorified into an ideal, until they had ceased to dread either its discomforts or dangers.

Here is a description of the three classes, thrall, churl, and noble, into which these tribes of Northmen, or 'Vikings', were divided.

'Thrall was swarthy of skin, his hands wrinkled, his knuckles bent, his fingers thick, his face ugly, his back broad, his heels long. He began to put forth his strength binding bast, making loads, and bearing home faggots the weary day long. His children busied themselves with building fences, dunging ploughland, tending swine, herding goats, and digging peat. . . . Carl, or Churl, was red and ruddy, with rolling eyes, and took to breaking oxen, building ploughs, timbering houses, and making carts. Earl, the noble, had yellow hair, his cheeks were rosy, his eyes were keen as a young serpent's. His occupation was shaping the shield, bending the bow, hurling the javelin, shaking the lance, riding horses, throwing dice, fencing and swimming. He began to wake war, to redden the field, and to fell the doomed.'

‘To wake war.’ This was the object of the Viking’s existence. His gods, ‘Odin’ and ‘Thor’, were battle heroes who struck one another in the flash of lightning and with the rumble of thunder as they moved their shields. Not for the man who lived long and comfortably and died at last in his bed were either the glory of this world or the joys of the next. The Scandinavian ‘Valhalla’ was no such ‘paradise’ as the faithful Moslems conceived, where, in sunlit gardens gay with fruit and flowers, he should rest from his labours, attended by ‘houris’, or maidens of celestial beauty. The Viking asked for no rest, only for unfailing strength and a foe to kill. In the halls of his paradise reigned perpetual battle all the day long, and, in the evening, feasts where the warrior, miraculously cured of his wounds, could boast of his prowess and rise again on the morrow to fresh deeds of heroic slaughter.

In their dragon-ships, the huge prows fashioned into the heads of fierce animals or monsters, the Viking ‘Earls’, weary of dicing and throwing the javelin at home, or exiled by their kings for some misdeeds, would sweep in fleets across the North Sea, some to explore Iceland and the far-off shores of Greenland and North America, some to burn the monasteries along the Irish coast, others to raid North Germany, France, or England. At first their only object was plunder, for unlike the Huns they did not despise the luxuries of civilization—only those who allowed its influence to make them ‘soft’. At a later date, when they met with little resistance, they began to build homes, and thus the east coast of England became settled with Danish colonies.

‘In this year’, says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, writing under the date 855, ‘the heathen men for the first time remained over winter in Sheppey.’

During the fifty years that followed it seemed as if the invaders might sweep away the Anglo-Saxons as completely as the ancestors of these Anglo-Saxons had exterminated the original British inhabitants and their Roman conquerors. That they failed was largely due to one of the most famous of English kings, Alfred ‘the Great’, a prince of the royal house of Wessex.

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Wessex was a province lying mainly to the south of the River Thames, and at Wantage in Berkshire in the year 849 Alfred was born, cradled in an atmosphere of war and danger. From boyhood he fought by the side of his brothers in a long campaign of which the very victories could not hold at bay the restless Danes. When Alfred succeeded to the throne he secured a temporary peace and began to build a fleet and reform his army ; but in a few years his enemies broke across his boundaries once more, and he himself, overwhelmed by their numbers, was forced to take refuge in the marshes of Somerset. Here at Athelney he built a fort and, collecting round him the English warriors of the neighbouring counties, organized so strong a resistance that at last he inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Danish army. King Guthrum, his enemy, sued for peace and at the Treaty of Wedmore consented to become a Christian and to recognize Alfred as King of Wessex, while he himself retained the Danelaw to the north of the Thames.

This was the beginning of a new England, for from this time Alfred and his descendants, having secured the freedom of Wessex, set themselves to win back bit by bit the territory held by the Danes. First of all under Edward 'the Elder', Alfred's son, the middle kingdom of Mercia was won back, and the Danes beyond its border agreed to recognize the King of Wessex as their overlord, while later other Wessex rulers overran Northumbria and the South of Scotland, so that by the middle of the tenth century it could be said that 'England from the Forth to the Channel was under one ruler'.

The winning back of the Danelaw had not been merely a matter of hewing down Northmen, nor did Alfred earn his title of 'the Great' because he could wield a sword bravely and lead other men who could do the same. He was a successful general because in an age of wild fighting he recognized the value of discipline and training. In order to obtain the type of men he required he increased the number of 'Thegns', that is, of nobles whose duty it was to serve the King as horsemen, while he reorganized the 'fyrd' or local militia. Henceforth, instead of a large army of peasants, who must be sent to their homes every

autumn to reap the harvest, he arranged for the maintenance of a small force that he could keep in the field as long as required. Its arms were to be supplied by fellow villagers released from the obligation to serve themselves on this condition.

Alfred, besides remodelling his army, set up fortresses along his borders, and constructed a fleet; and, because he believed that no great nation can be built on war alone, he made wise laws and appointed judges, like Charlemagne's *Missi*, to see that they were carried out. He also founded schools and tried, by translating books himself and inviting scholars to his court, to teach the men around him the glories and interests of peace. Amongst the books that he chose to set before his people in the Anglo-Saxon tongue was one called *Pastoral Care*, by the Pope Gregory who had wished to go to England as a missionary, and *The Consolations of Philosophy*, written by Boethius in prison.¹

'I have desired,' said Alfred the Great, summing up his ideal of life, 'to leave to the men who come after me my memory in good works'; and English people to-day, descendants of both Anglo-Saxons and their Danish foes, remember with pride and affection this 'Wise King', this 'Truth-teller', this 'England's darling', as he was called in his own day, who like Charlemagne believed in patriotism, justice, and knowledge. For three-quarters of a century after Alfred's death his descendants kept alive something at any rate of this spirit of greatness, but in 978 there succeeded to the crown a boy of ten called Ethelred, who as he grew up earned for himself the nickname of 'rede-less' or 'man without advice'.

It is only fair before condemning Ethelred's conduct to point out the heavy difficulties with which he was faced; both the renewed Danish attacks on his shores, and also the jealousies and feuds of his own nobles, the Earls, or 'Ealdormen', who had carved out large estates for themselves that they ruled as petty kings. Even a statesman like Alfred would have needed all his strength and tact to unite these powerful subjects under one banner in order to lead them against the invaders. Ethelred

¹ See p. 48.

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proved himself weak and without any power of leadership. The policy for which he has been chiefly remembered is his levy of a tax called 'Danegeld', or Danish gold, the sums of money that he raised from his reluctant subjects to pay the Danes to go away. As a wiser man would have realized, this really meant that he paid them to return in still larger numbers in order to obtain more money. At last, alarmed at the result of this policy, he did something still more short-sighted and less defensible: he ordered a general massacre of all the Danes in the kingdom.

The Massacre of St. Brice's Day, as this drastic measure is usually called, brought on England a bitter revenge at the hands of the angry Vikings. One well-armed force after another landed on the coasts, combining in an attack on the Anglo-Saxon King that drove him from the country to seek refuge in France. Very shortly afterwards he died, and Cnut, one of the Danish leaders, forced the country to accept him as her ruler.

This accession of a Danish foe might have been expected to undo all the work of Alfred and his sons, but fortunately for England Cnut was no reckless Viking with his heart set on war for war's sake. On the contrary, he was by nature a statesman who planned the foundation of a northern Empire with England as its central point. He maintained a bodyguard of Danish 'Hus carls' supported by a tax levied on his new subjects in order to ensure his personal safety and the fulfilment of his orders, but otherwise he showed himself an Englishman in every way he could. In especial he made large gifts to monasteries and convents, bestowed favour and lands on English nobles, and accepted the laws and customs of the country whose throne he had usurped. King of Denmark, and conqueror of England and Norway, he was anxious to ally his Empire with the nations of the Continent. With this in view he went on a pilgrimage to Rome to win the sympathy of the Pope and took a great deal of trouble to arrange foreign alliances. He himself married Emma, widow of Ethelred 'the Rede-less', and a sister of the Duke of Normandy, thus pleasing the English and bringing himself into touch with France.

The mention of Normandy brings us to a second invasion of

Northmen, for the Normans, like Cnut himself, were of Scandinavian origin. When some of the Vikings during the ninth century had sailed up the Humber and the Thames in the search of plunder and homes, others, as Charlemagne, according to the chronicler, had foreseen, preferred the harbours of the Seine, the Somme, and the Loire. In their methods they showed the same reckless daring and brutality as the early invaders of England, leaving where they passed smoking ruins of towns and churches.

Charles 'the Bald' and the feeble remnant of the Carolingian line who succeeded him were quite unable to deal with this terror, and it was only the creation of a Duchy of Paris, whose forces were commanded by a fighting hero, Odo Capet, that saved the future capital of France.

'History repeats itself,' it is sometimes said; and certainly the fate that the Carolingian 'Mayors of the Palace' had meted out to their Merovingian kings their own descendants were destined to receive again in full measure.

In 987 died Louis 'the Good-for-nothing', the last of the Carolingian kings, leaving as heir to the throne an uncle, Charles, Duke of Lorraine. In his short reign Louis had shown himself feeble and profligate; and the nobles of northern France, weary of a royal House that like Ethelred of England preferred bribing the goodwill of invaders to fighting them, readily agreed to set Charles on one side and to take in his place Hugh Capet, Duke of Paris, descendant of the famous Odo.

'Our crown goes not by inheritance,' exclaimed the Archbishop of Reims, when sanctioning the usurper's claims, 'but by wisdom and noble blood.'

The unfortunate Duke of Lorraine, captured after a vain attempt to gain his inheritance, perished in prison, and with him disappeared the Carolingians. The House of Capet, built on their ruin, survived in the direct line until the fourteenth century, and then in a younger branch, the Valois, until France in modern times was declared a republic.

Under the Capets France became not merely a collection of tribes and races as under the Merovingians, nor a section of

a European Empire as under the House of Charlemagne, but a nation as we see her to-day, with separate interests and customs to distinguish her from other nations. This process of fusion was slow, and King Hugh and his immediate successors appeared in their own day more as powerful rulers of the small district in which they lived than as overlords of France. When they marched abroad at the head of a large army, achieving victories, outlying provinces hastily recognized them as suzerains, or overlords, but when they turned their backs and went home, the commands they had issued would be ignored and defied.

Amongst the most formidable neighbours of these rulers of Paris were the Dukes of Normandy, descendants of a certain Viking chief, Rollo 'the Ganger', so called because on account of his size he could find no horse capable of bearing him and must therefore 'gang afoot'. This Rollo established himself at Rouen, and because Charles 'the Simple', one of the later Carolingians,¹ was unable to defeat him in battle he gave him instead the lands which he had won, and created him Duke, hoping that like a poacher turned gamekeeper he might prove as valuable a subject as he had been a troublesome foe. In return Rollo promised to become a Christian and to acknowledge Charles as his overlord. One of the old chronicles says that when Rollo was asked to ratify this allegiance by kissing his toe, the Viking replied indignantly, 'Not so, by God!' and that a Dane who consented to do so in his place was so rough that he tumbled Charles from his throne amid the jeers of his companions.

This is probably only a tale, for in reality Rollo married a daughter of Charles and settled down in his capital at Rouen as the model ruler of a semi-civilized state, supporting the Church, and administering such law and order that it was said when he left a massive bracelet hanging on a tree and forgot he had done so, that the ornament remained for three years without any one daring to steal it.

The rulers of the new Duchy were nearly all strong men, hard fighters, shrewd-headed, and ambitious; but the greatest of the line was undoubtedly William, an illegitimate son of Duke

¹ See Genealogy, p. 377.

Robert 'the Devil'. William's ambition was of the restless type of his Scandinavian forefathers, and his duchy in northern France seemed to him too small to match his hopes. When he noted that England was ruled by Edward 'the Confessor', a feeble son of Ethelred 'the Rede-less', who had gained the throne on the death of Cnut's two sons, he determined shrewdly that his conquests should lie in this direction. Many things favoured his cause, not the least that Edward the Confessor himself, who had been brought up in Normandy and who had no direct heirs, was quite willing to acknowledge William as his successor.

The national hero of England at the time Edward died, and who promptly proclaimed himself king, was Harold the Saxon, a member of the powerful family of Godwin that had for years controlled and owned the greater part of the land in the south.

Unfortunately for Harold the north and midlands were mainly governed by the House of Morkere and their friends, who hated the family of Godwin as dangerous rivals far more than they dreaded a Norman invasion. Thus any help that they or their tenants proffered was so slow in its rendering and so niggardly in its amount that it proved of very little use.

In addition to jealousies at home, Harold, at the moment that he heard William, Duke of Normandy, had indeed landed on the south coast, was far off in Yorkshire, where he had just succeeded in repelling an invasion of Danes at the battle of Stamford Bridge. At once he started southwards, but as he marched his army melted away, some of the men to enjoy the spoils taken from the Danes, others to attend to their harvests.

The deserters could claim that they were following the advice of the Father of Christendom, since Pope Gregory VII had given William a banner that he had blessed and had denounced Harold as a perjurer.

One of the reasons for Gregory's anger with the Saxons was that Harold had dared to appoint as Archbishop of Canterbury a bishop of whom he did not approve, while further the crafty William had persuaded him that Harold, who as a young man had been wrecked upon the Norman coast, had sworn on the bones of some holy saint that he would never seize the crown

of England. He had been a prisoner in William's power and only on this condition had he been set free to return to his native land.

The exact truth of events so long ago is hard to reach; but Harold, at any rate, fought under a cloud of suspicion and neglect, and not all his reckless daring, nor the devotion of his brothers and friends, could save his fortunes when on the field of Senlac, standing beneath his dragon-banner, he met the shock of the disciplined Norman forces. Chroniclers relate that the human wall of Saxon archers and foot-soldiers remained unshaken on the hill-side until William, setting a snare, turned in pretended flight. The ruse was successful; for as the Saxons, cheering triumphantly, descended from their position in pursuit, the invaders faced round and charged their disordered ranks. Only Harold and the men of his bodyguard remained firm under the onslaught, until at the last an arrow fired in the air struck the Saxon King in the eye as he looked up, so that he fell down dead. All resistance was now at an end and William, Duke of Normandy, was left master of the field and ruler of England.

Here rose the dragon-banner of our realm:

Here fought, here fell, our Norman-slandered king.

O garden blossoming out of English blood!

O strange hate-healer Time! We stroll and stare

Where might made right eight hundred years ago.

These lines of Tennyson on 'Battle Abbey' recall the fact that just as the Danes and Saxons were fused into one race, so would the Norman invaders mingle with their descendants, until to after-generations William as well as Harold should appear a national hero.

In his own day 'the Conqueror' struck terror into the heart of the conquered. In 1069, when the North of England, too late to help Harold, rose in revolt, he laid waste a desert by sword and fire from the Humber to the Tees. When the Norman barons and English earls challenged his rule he threw them alike into dungeons. What seemed to the Saxon mind even more wonderful and horrible than his cruelty was the record of all the wealth of his kingdom that he caused to be compiled.

This 'Domesday Book' contained a close account not only of the great estates, lay and ecclesiastical, but of every small hamlet, and even of the number of live stock on each farm.

'So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made,' says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor (it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do) was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig, passed by that was not set down in the account.'

William, it can be seen, was thorough in his methods, both in war and peace, and through this very thoroughness he won the respect if not the affection of his new subjects. Ever since the death of Cnut the Dane, England had suffered either from actual civil war or from a weak ruler who allowed his nobles to quarrel and oppress the rest of the nation. As a result of the Norman Conquest the bulk of the population found that they had gained one tyrant instead of many; and how they appreciated the change is shown by the way, all through Norman times, the middle and lower classes would help their foreign king against his turbulent baronage.

This is what a monk, an Anglo-Saxon, and therefore by race an enemy of the Conqueror, wrote about him in his chronicle:

'If any would know what manner of man King William was . . . then will we describe him as we have known him. . . . This King William . . . was a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure to those who withstood his will. . . . So also he was a very stern and wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those Earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees . . . and at length he spared not his own brother Odo.

'Amongst other things the good order that William established must not be forgotten; it was such that any man who was himself aught might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold unmolested, and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him.'

A few lines farther on the chronicler, having mentioned the

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peace that William gave, sadly relates the tyranny that was the price he extorted in exchange :

‘Truly there was much trouble in these times and very great distress ; he caused castles to be built and oppressed the poor. . . . He was given to avarice and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded . . . , he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares that they should go free. The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked nought of them ; they must will all that the king willed if they would live. . . . Alas that any man should so exalt himself. . . . May Almighty God show mercy to his soul !’

The monk wrote after September 1087, when the Conqueror lay dead. Not in any Viking glory of battle against a national foe had he passed to his fathers, but in sordid struggle with his eldest son Robert who, aided by the French king, had rebelled against him. His crown was at once seized by his second son William Rufus, and with him the line of Norman kings was firmly established on the English throne.

The adventurous spirit of the Northmen had led them from Denmark and Scandinavia to the coasts of England and France ; and from France their descendants, driven by the same roving instincts, had crossed the Channel in search of fresh conquests. Other Normans in the eleventh century sailed south instead of north. Their talk was of a pilgrimage to Rome, perhaps to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem ; but when they found that the beautiful island of Sicily had been taken by the Moslems, and that South Italy was divided up amongst a number of princes too jealous of one another to unite against any invaders either Christian or pagan, their thoughts turned quite naturally to conquest.

An Italian of this time describes the Normans as ‘cunning and revengeful’, and adds : ‘In their eager search for wealth and dominion they despise whatever they possess and hope whatever they desire.’ Such an impression was to be gained by bitter experience ; but not knowing it, Maniaces, the Greek governor of that part of South Italy that still maintained its

allegiance to the Eastern Empire, invited these Northern warriors in the eleventh century to help him win back Sicily from the Saracens. They agreed, attacked in force, gained the greater part of the island, but then quarrelled with Maniaces over the spoils. Outraged by what they considered his miserly conduct, they invaded the province of Apulia, made themselves master of it, and established their capital at Melfi.

The head of the new Norman state was a certain William de Hauteville, who with several of his brothers had been leaders in the Italian expedition.

‘No member of the House of Hauteville ever saw a neighbour’s lands without wanting them for himself.’ So says a biographer of that family; and if this was their ideal it was certainly shared by William and his numerous brothers. Since other people’s possessions were not surrendered without a struggle, even in the Middle Ages, it was fortunate for them that they had the genius to win and hold what they coveted.

Pope Leo IX, like his predecessors in the See of Peter ever since Charlemagne had confirmed their right to the lands of the Exarch of Ravenna,¹ looked uneasily on invaders of Italy, and he therefore attempted to form a league with both the Emperors of the East and West that should ruin these presumptuous usurpers. The league came into being, but the Pope’s allies failed him, and at the battle of Civitate he was defeated and all but taken prisoner.

Here was a chance for Norman diplomacy, or, as Italians would have called it, ‘cunning’, and the conquerors promptly declared that it had been with the utmost reluctance that they had made war on the Father of Christendom, and begged his forgiveness. His absolution was obtained, and a few years later, through the mediation of Hildebrand, then Archdeacon of Rome and later as Pope Gregory VII, one of the leading statesmen of Europe, a compact was arranged by which the Normans recognized Pope Nicholas II as their overlord, while he, on his part, acknowledged their right to keep their conquests. Both parties to this bargain were pleased: the Pope because he had

¹ See p. 85.

gained a vassal state however unruly, the Normans since they felt that they no longer reigned on sufferance, but had a legal status in the eyes of Europe. Neither had any idea of the mine of trouble they were laying for future generations.

The fortunes of the House of Hauteville, thus established, mounted steadily. William died and was succeeded by a younger brother, Robert, nicknamed 'Guiscard' or 'the Wise'. During his reign he forced both the Greek governor and the independent princes who held the rest of South Italy to surrender their possessions, while he even carried his war against the Eastern Empire to Greece itself. Only his death put an end to this daring campaign.

Robert Guiscard, as master of South Italy, had been created Duke of Apulia; his nephew, Roger II, Count of Sicily, who inherited his statecraft and strength, induced the Pope to magnify both mainland and island into a joint kingdom, and thereafter reigned as King of Naples. 'He was a lover of justice', says a chronicler of his day, 'and a most severe avenger of crime. He hated lying . . . and never promised what he did not mean to perform. He never persecuted his private enemies, and in war endeavoured on all occasions to gain his point without shedding blood. Justice and peace were universally observed through his dominions.'

Roger II of Naples was evidently a finer and more civilized character than William of England; but in both lay that Norman capacity for establishing and maintaining order that at first seems so strange an inheritance from wild Norse ancestors. Clear-sighted, iron-nerved, an adventurer with an instinct for business, the Norman of the Early Middle Ages was just the leaven that Europe required to raise her out of the indolent depression of the 'Dark Ages' that followed the fall of Rome.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary. see pp. 368-73.

The Emperor Lothar . . .	840-55	Domesday Book	1086
Massacre of St. Brice's Day	1002	Pope Leo IX	1048-54
William, Duke of Normandy	1035-87	Battle of Civitate	1053
William, King of England	1066-87	Pope Nicholas II	1058-61
Edward the Confessor . . .	1042-66	Robert, Duke of Apulia .	1060-85
		Roger II, King of Naples .	1130



*The serf of the Middle Ages. From a relief on Notre Dame
in Paris*

Photograph, Giraudon

X

FEUDALISM AND MONASTICISM

FEUDALISM

WHEREVER in the course of history men have gathered together they have gradually evolved some form of association that would ensure mutual interests. It might be merely the tribal bond of the Arabians, by which a man's relations were responsible for his acts and avenged his wrongs; it might be a council of village elders such as the Russian 'Mir', making laws for the younger men and women; it might be a group of German chiefs legislating on moonlit nights, according to the description of Tacitus, by their camp fires.

In contrast to primitive associations stands the elaborate government of Rome under Augustus and his successors; the despotic Emperor, his numberless officials, the senators with their huge estates, the struggling *curiales*, the army of legions carrying out the imperial commands from Scotland to the Euphrates. When Rome fell, her government, like a house whose foundations have collapsed, fell also. Barbarian conquerors, established in Italy and the Roman provinces, took what they liked of the laws that they found, added to them their own customs, and out of the blend evolved new codes of legislation. Yet legislation, without some method of ensuring its execution, could not save nations from invasion nor the merchant or peasant from becoming the victim of robberies and petty crimes.

Mediaeval centuries are sometimes called the Age of Feudalism, because during this time feudalism was the method gradually adopted for dealing with the problems of public life amongst all classes in nearly all the nations of Europe. There are two chief things to be remembered about feudalism—first that it was

no sudden invention but a growth out of old ideas both Roman and barbarian, and next that it was intimately connected in men's minds with the thought of land. This was natural, for after all, land or its products are as necessary to the life of every individual as air and water, and therefore the cultivation of the soil and the distribution of its fruits are the first problems with which governments are faced.

Feudalism assumed that all the land belonging to a nation belonged in the first place to that nation's king. Because he could not govern or cultivate it all himself he would parcel it out in 'fiefs' amongst the chief nobles at his court, promising them his protection, and asking in return that they should do him some specified service. This system recalls the 'villa' of Roman days with its senator, granting protection to his tenants from robbery and excessive taxation, and employing them to plough and sow, to reap his crops, and build his houses and bridges.

In the Middle Ages the service of the chief tenants was nearly always military: to appear when summoned by the king with so many horsemen and so many archers fully armed. In order to provide this force the tenant would be driven in his turn to grant out parts of his lands to other tenants, who would come when he called them with horsemen and arms that they had collected in a similar way. This process was called 'sub-infeudation'. Society thus took the form of a pyramid with the king at the apex, immediately below him his tenants-in-chief, and below them in graded ranks or layers the other tenants.

This brings us to the base of the pyramid, the people who could not fight themselves, having neither horses nor weapons, and who certainly could not lend any other soldiers to their lord's banner. Were they to receive no land?

In the Roman 'villa' the bottom strata was the slave, the chattel with no rights even over his own body. Under the system of feudalism the base of the pyramid was made up of 'serfs', men originally free, with a customary right to the land on which they lived, who had lost their freedom under feudal law and had become bound to the land, *ascripti glebae*, in such a way that if the land were sub-let or sold they would pass over to the new

owner like the trees or the grass. In return for their land, though they might not serve their master with spear or bow, they would work in his fields, build his bridges and castles, mend his roads, and guard his cattle.

From top to bottom of this pyramid of feudal society ran the binding mortar of 'tenure' and 'service'; but these were not the only links which kept feudal society together. When a tenant did 'homage' for his land, and 'with head uncovered, with belt ungirt, his sword removed', placed his hands between those of his lord, and took an oath, after the manner of the thegns of Wessex to their king, 'to love what he loved and shun what he shunned both on sea and on land', there entered into this relationship the finer bond of loyalty due from a vassal to his overlord. It was the descendant of the old Teutonic idea of the *comitatus* described by Tacitus,¹ the chief destined to lead and guide, his bodyguard pledged to follow him to death if necessary.

Put shortly, then, feudalism may be described as a system of society based upon the holding of land—a system, that is, in which a man's legal status and social rank were in the main determined by the conditions on which he held (i.e. possessed) his land. Such a system, to return to our example of the pyramid, grew not only from the apex, by the sovereign granting lands, as the King of France did to Rollo 'the Ganger', but from the middle and base as well.

One of the chief feudal powers in mediaeval times was the Church, for though abbots and bishops were not supposed to fight themselves, yet they would often have numbers of lay military tenants to bring to the help of the king or their overlord. Some of these tenants were men whom they had provided with estates, but others were landowners who had voluntarily surrendered their rights over their land in return for the protection of a local monastery or bishopric, and thus become its tenants. A large part of the Church land was, however, held, not by military or lay tenure, but in return for spiritual services, or free alms as it was called, i.e. prayers for the soul of the donor. Perhaps a landowner wished to make a pious gift

¹ See p. 16.

on his death-bed, or had committed a crime and believed that a surrender of his property to the Church would placate God. For some such reason, at any rate, he made over his land, or part of it, to the Church, which in this way accumulated great estates and endowments, free from the usual liabilities of lay tenure. All over Europe other men, and even whole villages and towns, were taking the same steps, seeking protection direct from the king, or a great lord, or an abbot or bishop, offering in return rent, services, or tolls on their merchandise.

Feudalism at its best stood for the protection of the weak in an age when armies and a police force as we understand the terms did not exist. Even when the system fell below this standard, and it often fell badly, there still remained in its appeal to loyalty an ideal above and beyond the ordinary outlook of the day, a seed of nobler feeling that with the growth of civilization and under the influence of the Church blossomed into the flower of chivalry.

I made them lay their hands in mine and swear
To reverence the King as if he were
Their conscience, and their conscience as their King:
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,
To speak no slander; no! nor listen to it,
To honour his own word as if his God's,
To live sweet lives in purest chastity.

Such are the vows that Tennyson puts in the mouth of Arthur's knights, who with Charlemagne and his Paladins were the heroes of mediaeval romance and dreams. King Henry the Fowler, who ruled Germany in the early part of the tenth century, instituted the Order of Knighthood, forming a bodyguard from the younger brothers and sons of his chief barons. Before they received the sword-tap on the shoulder that confirmed their new rank, these candidates for knighthood took four vows: first to speak the truth, next to serve faithfully both King and Church, thirdly never to harm a woman, and lastly never to turn their back on a foe.

Probably many of these half-barbarian young swashbucklers broke their vows freely; but some would remember and obey; and so amid the general roughness and cruelty of the age, there would be established a small leaven of gentleness and pity left to expand its influence through the coming generations. It is because of this ideal of chivalry, often eclipsed and even travestied by those who claimed to be its brightest mirrors, but never quite lost to Europe, that strong nations have been found ready to defend the rights of the weak, and men have laid down their lives to avenge the oppression of women and children.

Of the evil side of feudalism much more could be written than of the good. The system, on its military side, was intended to provide the king with an army; but if one of his tenants-in-chief chose to rebel against him, the vassals who held their lands from this tenant were much more likely to keep faith with the lord to whom they had paid immediate homage than with their sovereign. Thus often the only force on which a king could rely were the vassals of the royal domain.

Again, feudalism, by its policy of making tenants-in-chief responsible for law and order on their estates, had set up a number of petty rulers with almost absolute power. Peasants were tried for their offences in their lord's court by his bailiff or agent, and by his will they suffered death or paid their fines. Except in the case of a Charlemagne, strong enough to send out *Missi*¹ and to support them when they overrode local decisions, the lord's justice or injustice would seem a real thing to his tenants and serfs, the king's law something shadowy and far away.

As Duke of Normandy, William the Conqueror had been quite as powerful as his overlord the King of France. When he came to England he was determined that none of the barons to whom he had granted estates should ever be his equal in this way. He therefore summoned all landowning men in England to a council at Salisbury in 1086, and made them take an oath of allegiance to himself before all other lords. Because he was a strong man he kept his barons true to their oath or punished

¹ See p. 95.

them, but during the reign of his grandson Stephen, who disputed the English throne with his cousin Matilda and therefore tried to buy the support of the military class by gifts and concessions, the vices of feudalism ran almost unchecked.

'They had done homage to him and sworn oaths,' says the Anglo-Saxon chronicler, 'but they no faith kept . . . for every rich man built his castles and defended them against him, and they filled the land with castles. . . . Then they took these whom they suspected to have any goods by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable. . . . I cannot and I may not tell of all the wounds and of all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land; and this state of things lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king and ever grew worse and worse.'

Stephen was a weak ruler struggling with a civil war; so that it might be argued that no system of government could have worked well under such auspices; but if we turn to the normal life of the peasant folk on the estates of the monastery of Mont St. Michael in the thirteenth century, we shall see that the humble tenants at the base of the feudal pyramid paid dearly enough for the protection of their overlords.

'In June the peasants must cut and pile the hay and carry it to the manor-house . . . in August they must reap and carry in the Convent grain, their own grain lies exposed to wind and rain. . . . On the Nativity of the Virgin the villein owes the pork due, one pig in eight . . . at Xmas the fowl fine and good . . . on Palm Sunday the sheep due . . . at Easter he must plough, sow, and harrow. When there is building the tenant must bring stone and serve the masons . . . he must also haul the convent wood for two deniers a day. If he sells his land he owes his lord a thirteenth of its value, if he marries his daughter outside the lord's demense he pays a fine,—he must grind his grain at the lord's mill and bake his bread at the lord's oven, where the customary charges never satisfy the servants.'

Certainly the peasant of the Middle Ages can have had little time to lament even his own misery. Perhaps to keep his hovel from fire and pillage and his family from starvation was all to which he often aspired.

'War', it has been said, 'was the law of the feudal world', and all over Europe the moat-girt castles of powerful barons, and walled towns and villages sprang up as a witness to the turbulent state of society during these centuries. To some natures this atmosphere of violence of course appealed.

I, Sirs, am for war,
Peace giveth me pain,
No other creed will hold me again.
On Monday, on Tuesday,—whenever you will,
Day, week, month, or year, are the same to me still.

So sang a Provençal baron of the twelfth century, and we find an echo of his spirit in Spain as late as the fifteenth, when a certain noble, sighing for the joys and spoils of civil war, remarked, 'I would there were many kings in Castile for then I should be one of them.'

The Church, endeavouring to cope with the spirit of anarchy, succeeded in establishing on different occasions a 'Truce of God', somewhat resembling the 'Sacred Months' devised by the Arabs for a like purpose. From Wednesday to Monday, and during certain seasons of the year, such as Advent or Lent, war was completely forbidden under ecclesiastical censure, while at no time were priests, labourers, women, or children to be molested.

The defect of such reforms lay in the absence of machinery to enforce them; and feudalism, the system by which in practice the few lived at the expense of the many, continued to flourish until foreign adventure, such as the Crusades, absorbed some of its chief supporters, and civilization and humanity succeeded in building up new foundations of society to take its place. It would seem as if the lessons of good government had to be learned in a hard school, generally through bitter experience on the part of the governed.

MONASTICISM

If the study of feudalism is necessary to a knowledge of the material life of the Middle Ages, its spirit is equally a closed book without an understanding of monasticism. What induced

men and women, not just a few devout souls, but thousands of ordinary people of all nations and classes from the prince to the serf to forsake the world for the cloister; and, far from regretting this sacrifice, to maintain with obvious sincerity that they had chosen the better part? If we would realize the mediaeval mind we must find an answer to this question.

Turning to the earliest days of monasticism, when the 'Fathers of the Church' sought hermits' cells, we recall the shrinking of finer natures from the brutality and lust of pagan society; the intense conviction that the way to draw nearer God was to shut out the world; the desire of a Simon Stylites to make the thoughtless mind by the sight of his self-inflicted penance think for a moment at any rate of a future Heaven and Hell.

Motives such as these continued to inspire the enthusiastic Christian throughout the Dark Ages following the fall of Rome; but, as Europe became outwardly converted to the Catholic Faith, it was not paganism from which the monk fled, but the mockery of his own beliefs that he found in the lives of so-called Christians. The corruption of imperial courts, even those of a Constantine or Charlemagne, the cunning cruelty of a baptized Clovis, the ruthless selfishness of a feudal baron or Norman adventurer fighting in the name of Christ: all these were hard to reconcile with a gospel of poverty, gentleness, and brotherhood.

Even the light of pure ideals once held aloft by the Church had begun to burn dim; for men are usually tolerant of evils to which they are accustomed, and the priest who had grown up amid barbarian invasions was inclined to look on the coarseness and violence that they bred as a natural side of life. As a rule he continued to maintain a slightly higher standard of conduct than his parishioners, but sometimes he fell to their level or below.

The great danger to the Church, however, was, as always in her history, not the hardships that she encountered but the prosperity. The bishops, 'overseers' responsible for the discipline and well-being of their dioceses, became in the Middle Ages, by reason of their very power and influence, too often the

servants of earthly rulers rather than of God. Far better educated and disciplined than the laymen, experienced in diocesan affairs, without ties of wife and family, since the Church law forbade the clergy to marry, they were selected by kings for responsible office in the state. Usually they proved the wisdom of his choice through their gifts of administration and loyalty, but the effect on the Church of adding political to ecclesiastical power proved disastrous in the end.

Their great landed wealth made the bishops feudal barons, while bishoprics in their turn came to be regarded as offices at the disposal of the king; a bad king would parcel them out amongst his favourites or sell them to the highest bidders, heedless of their moral character. Thus crept into the Church the sin of 'simony' or 'traffic in holy things' so strongly condemned by the first Apostles, and, following hard on the heels of simony, the worldliness born of the temptations of wealth and power. The bishop who was numbered amongst a feudal baronage and entertained a lax nobility at his palace was little likely to be shocked at priests convicted of ignorance or immorality, or to spend his time in trying to reform their habits.

It was, then, not only in horror of the world, but in reproach of the Church herself that the monk turned to the idea of separation from man and communion with God. In the earliest days of monasticism each hermit followed his special theory of prayer and self-discipline; he would gather round him small communities of disciples, and these would remain or go away to form other communities as they chose, a lack of system that often resulted in unhealthy fanaticism or useless idleness.

In the sixth century an Italian monk, Benedict of Nursia (480-543), compiled a set of regulations for his followers, which, under the name of 'the rule of Benedict', became the standard Code of monastic life for all Western Christendom. Benedict demanded of his monks a 'novitiate' of twelve months during which they could test their call to a life of continual sacrifice. At the end of this time, if the novice still continued resolute in his intention and was approved by the monastic authorities, he was accepted into the brotherhood by taking the perpetual vows of poverty,

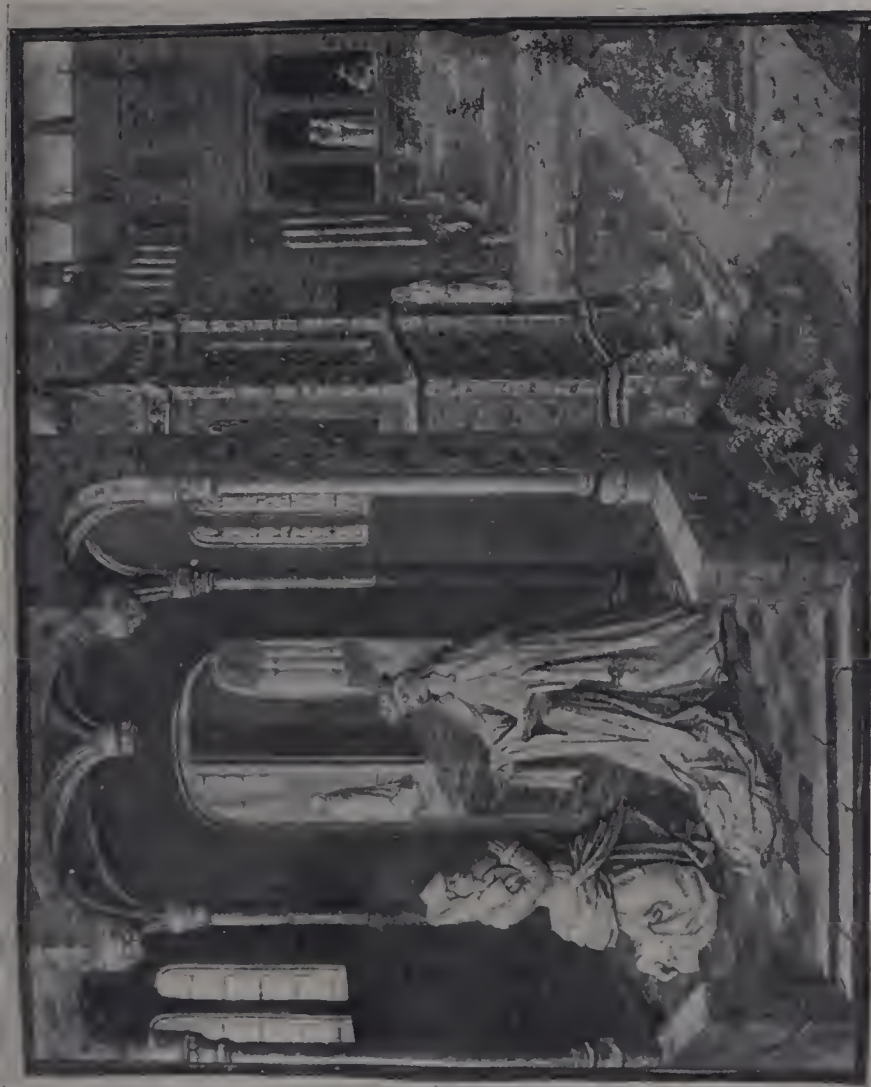
obedience, and chastity, the three conditions of life most hostile to the lust of possession, turbulence, and sensuality that dominated the Middle Ages. To these vows were added the obligation of manual labour—seven hours work a day in addition to the recitation of prayers enjoined on the community.

The faithful Benedictine at least could never be accused of idleness, and to the civilizing influence of the 'regulars', as the monks were called because they obeyed a rule (*regula*), in contrast to the 'secular' priests who lived in the world, Europe owed an immense debt of gratitude.

Sometimes it is said contemptuously that the monks of the Middle Ages chose beautiful sites on which to found luxurious homes. Certainly they selected as a rule the neighbourhood of rivers and lakes, water being a prime necessity of life, and in such neighbourhoods raised chapels and monasteries that have become the architectural wonder of the world. Yet many of these wonders began in a circle of wooden huts built on a reclaimed marsh, and it was the labour of the followers of St. Benedict that replaced wood by stone and swamps by gardens and farms.

Where the barbarian or feudal anarchist burned and destroyed, the monk of the Middle Ages brought back the barren soil to pasturage or tillage; and just as he weeded, sowed, and planted as part of his obligation to God, so from the produce of his labours he provided for the destitute at his gate, or in his cloister schools supplied the ignorant with the rudiments of knowledge and culture. The monasteries were centres of mediæval life, not, like the castles, of death. In his quiet cell the monk chronicler became an historian; the copyist reproduced with careful affection decaying manuscripts; the illuminator made careful pictures of his day; the chemist concocted strange healing medicines, or in his crucibles developed wondrous colours.

'Good is it for us to dwell here, where man lives more purely, falls more rarely, rises more quickly, treads more cautiously, rests more securely, is absolved more easily, and rewarded more plenteously.' This is the saying of St. Bernard, one of the later



The Porch and Cloisters of a Mediaeval Church

Bibl. Nat., Paris, MS. franc. 9199. 44



St. Benedict

British Museum, Egerton MS. 2125. 206 v^o

monastic reformers; and his ideal was the general conception of the best life possible as understood in the Middle Ages. To the monasteries flocked the devout seeking a home of prayer; but also the student or artist unable to follow his bent in the turbulent world, and the man who despised or feared the atmosphere of war. Even the feudal baron would pause in his quarrels to make some pious gift to abbey or priory, a tribute to a faith he admired but was too weak to practise. Sometimes he came in later life, a penitent who, toiling like his serf, sought in the cloister the salvation of his soul. 'In the monasteries,' says a mediaeval German, 'one saw Counts cooking in the kitchen and Margraves leading their pigs out to feed.'

Monasticism, with its belief in brotherhood, was a leveller of class distinctions; but, like the rest of the Church, it found in the popular enthusiasm it aroused the path of temptation. Men, we have seen, entered the cloister for other reasons than pure devotion to God; and the rule of Benedict proving too strict they yielded secretly to sins that perhaps were not checked or reproved because abbots in time ceased to be saints and became, like the bishops, feudal landlords with worldly interests. In this way vice and laziness were allowed to spread and cling like bindweed.

Throughout the Middle Ages there were times of corruption and failure amongst the monastic Orders, followed by waves of sweeping reform and earnest endeavour, when once again the Cross was raised as an emblem of sacrifice and drew the more spiritual of men unto it.

In 910 the monastery of Cluni was founded in Burgundy, and, freed from the jurisdiction of local bishops by being placed under the direct control of the Pope, was able to establish a reformed Benedictine Order. Its abbot was recognized not only as the superior of the monastery at Cluni but also of 'daughter' houses that sprang up all over Europe subject to his discipline and rule.

Other monastic Orders founded shortly after this date were those of the Carthusians and Cistercians.

In their desire to combat worldliness the early Carthusians,

or monks of the monastery of Chartreux, carried on unceasing war against the pleasures of the world. Strict fasting for eight months in the year; one meal a day eaten in silence and alone; no conversation with other brethren save at a weekly meeting; this was the background to a life of toil and prayer.

The monastery of Citeaux in southern France, from which the Cistercians take their name, was another attempt to live in the world but not of it. 'The White Monks', so called from the colour of their woollen frocks, sought solitudes in which to build their houses. Their churches and monasteries remain among the glories of architecture; but through fear of riches they refused to place in them crosses of gold and silver or to allow their priests to wear embroidered vestments. No Cistercian might recite the service of the Mass for money or be paid for the cure of souls. With his hands he must work for his meagre fare, remembering always to give God thanks for the complete self-renunciation to which he was pledged by his Order.

Chief amongst the Cistercian saints is Bernard (1090-1153), a Burgundian noble, who in 1115 founded a daughter monastery of his Order at Clairvaux, and as its head became one of the leaders of mediaeval thought. When he was only twenty he had appeared before the Abbot of Citeaux with a band of companions, relations and friends whom his eloquence had persuaded to enter the monastery with him. Throughout his life this power over others and his fearlessness in making use of this influence were his most vivid characteristics. 'His speech', wrote some one who knew him, 'was suited to his audience . . . to country-folk he spoke as though born and bred in the country, and so to other classes as though he had been always occupied with their business. He adapted himself to all, desiring to gain all for Christ.'

In these last words lie his mission and the secret of his success. Never was his eloquence exerted for himself, and so men who wished to criticize were overborne by his single-minded sincerity. Severe to his own shortcomings, gentle and humble to his brethren, ready to accept reproof or to undertake the meanest task, Bernard was fierce and implacable to the man or the

conditions that seemed to him to stand in the way of God's will.

'I grieve over thee, my son Geoffrey,' he wrote to a young monk who had fled the austerities of Clairvaux. . . . 'How could you, who were called by God, follow the Devil, recalling thee? . . . Turn back, I say, before the abyss swallows thee . . . before bound hand and foot thou art cast into outer darkness . . . shut in with the darkness of death.'

To the ruler of France he sent a letter of reproof ending with the words: 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God even for thee, O King!' and his audacity, instead of working his ruin, brought the leading clergy and statesmen of Europe to the cells of Clairvaux as if to some oracle's temple, to learn the will of God.

From his cell St. Bernard preached the Second Crusade, reformed abuses in the Church, deposed an Anti-Pope, and denounced heretics. In his distrust of human reason, trying to free itself from some of the dogmatic assertions of early Christian thought, he represented the narrow outlook of his age: but in his love of God and through God of humanity he typifies the spiritual charm that like a thread of gold runs through all the dross of hardness and treachery in the mediaeval mind.

'Do not grieve,' he wrote to the parents of a novice . . . 'he goes to God but you do not lose him . . . rather through him you gain many sons, for all of us who belong to Clairvaux have taken him to be a brother and you to be our parents.'

To St. Bernard self-renunciation meant self-realization, the laying down of a life to find it again purified and enriched; and this was the ideal of monasticism, often misunderstood and discredited by its weaker followers, like all ideals, but yet the glory of its saints.

XI

THE INVESTITURE QUESTION

WE have said that in 'the Oath of Strasbourg'¹ it was possible to distinguish the infant nations of France and Germany. This is true—yet Germany, though distinct from her neighbours, was to remain all through the Middle Ages rather an agglomeration of states than a nation as we understand the word to-day.

One reason for the absence of any common policy and ambitions was that Charlemagne, though he had conquered the Saxons and other Germanic tribes, had never succeeded in welding them into one people. Under his successors the different races easily slipped back into regarding themselves rather as Saxons, Franconians, or Bavarians than as Germans: indeed the Bohemians relapsed into heathendom and became once more altogether uncivilized.

This instinct for separation was aided by the feudal system, since rebel tenants-in-chiefs could count on provincial feeling to support them against the king their overlord. It is hardly surprising, then, if the struggle that broke out in Germany as elsewhere in Europe between rulers and their feudal baronage was decided there in favour of the baronage.

Perhaps if some strong king could have given his undivided attention to the problem he might have succeeded, like William I of England, in making himself real master of all Germany; but unfortunately the rulers of the German kingdom were never free from foreign wars. Just as the Norsemen had descended on the coasts of France, so Danes, Slavs, and Hungarians were a constant menace to the civilization of Germany; hordes of these barbarians breaking over the frontiers every year, and even pillaging districts as far west as the Rhine.

German kings, in consequence of this external menace, had to

¹ See p. 103.

rely for the defence of their frontiers upon the military power of their great vassals. They were even forced to create large estates called 'Marks' (march-lands) upon their northern and eastern borders to act as national bulwarks. Over these ruled 'Margraves' ('grafs' or Counts of the Mark) with a large measure of independence. Modern Prussia was once the Mark of Brandenburg, a war state created against the Slav; Austria the Mark placed in the east between Bavaria and the Hungarians; Schleswig the Mark established to hold back the Danes.

Yet another cause told for disruption: the fact that when the Carolingian line came to an end in Germany early in the tenth century the practice sprang up of electing kings from among the chief princes and dukes. Though this plan worked well if the electors made an honest choice, yet it gave the feudal baronage a weapon, on the other hand, if they wished to strike a bargain with a would-be ruler or to appoint a weakling whose authority they could undermine.

The first of the elected kings of Germany was Conrad of Franconia, during whose reign the feudal system took strong root, and who ruled rather through his barons than in opposition to their wishes. On his death-bed he showed his honest desire for the welfare of Germany. 'I know,' he declared, 'that no man is worthier to sit on my throne than my enemy Henry of Saxony. . . . When I am dead, take him the crown and the sacred lance, the golden armlet, the sword, and the purple mantle of the old kings.' The princes, who followed his advice, found their new ruler out hawking on the mountain side, and under the nickname Henry 'the Fowler' he became their king and one of Germany's national heroes.

In his untiring struggle against invaders Henry I recalls the Anglo-Saxon Alfred 'the Great', and like Alfred he was at first forced to fly before his enemies. To the disgust of the great dukes he bought a nine years' peace from the Hungarians by paying tribute; but when the enemy went away he at once began to build castles or 'burgs', and filled them with soldiers under the command of 'burgraves'. These castles were placed all

along the frontiers, and gradually villages and towns gathered round them for safety.

In the tenth year the Hungarians came as usual to ask for the tribute money, but Henry ordered a dead dog to be thrown at their messenger's feet.

'In future this is all your master will get from us,' he exclaimed, and the answer, as he expected, provoked an immediate invasion. Instead of being able to lay waste the countryside as of old, however, the Hungarians now found 'burgs' well fortified and provisioned that they could neither take nor leave with safety in their rear. When at last they met Henry in pitched battle, they broke and fled before his onslaught, declaring that the golden banner of St. Michael, carried at the head of his troops, had by some wizardry contrived their ruin.

Besides repulsing invaders, Henry the Fowler imposed his will to a considerable extent over his rebellious baronage. In another chapter¹ we have noticed how he instituted 'the order of knighthood' as a way of harnessing to his service the restless energy of the younger sons of the nobles: he also tried to strengthen the middle classes as a counterpoise to the baronage by encouraging the construction of walled towns for the protection of merchants, while he would hold his councils rather in towns than in the woods like his predecessors, in order to attract people to settle there. Many of the Marks owe their origin to Henry's policy of strengthening the border provinces; and in this and in his determination to subdue the Hungarians he found an able successor in his son Otto I.

Otto's reign might from one aspect be called a history of wars. First there were foreign wars—the subjugation of Denmark, whose king became a German vassal; the reconquest and conversion of Bohemia; and also a series of campaigns against the Hungarians, resulting at last in 955 in a victory at Augsburg so complete that never again the hated invaders dared to cross the border save in marauding bands.

But besides fighting against foreign neighbours Otto had a continual struggle at home in order to reassert the authority of

¹ See p. 120.

the crown over the great duchies such as Lotharingia and Bavaria. When he was able to do so he would replace the most turbulent of the dukes by members of his own family, or he would make gifts of large estates to bishops, hoping in this way to provide himself with loyal tenants-in-chief. In this, however, he was not successful, for he found the feudal bishops amongst his worst enemies; so that he turned at last for help to the new type of Churchman, bred by the Cluniac reform movement—men of learning and culture, monks in their religious observances, statesmen in their outlook. These were at one with him in his desire for a united Germany and a purer Church; but Otto was faced by a great problem when he wished to reform and control his bishops. How far were the German clergy under his jurisdiction? How far did they owe obedience only to Rome, as they claimed if he tried to exert his authority over them?

Charlemagne had been able to deal easily with such difficulties, for the Pope had been his ally, almost it might be said his vassal, and so they could have but one mind on Church matters. By the time of Otto the Great, however, German kings had long ceased to be emperors, and the imperial title, bandied about from one Italian prince to another, had become tarnished in the world's eyes. Was it worth while, then, for a German king to regain this title in order to gain control over the See of St. Peter?

Students of history, able to test mediaeval policy by its ultimate results, will answer 'No', seeing that German kings would have done well to resist the will-of-the-wisp lure of the crowns of Lombardy and Rome; but to Otto the question of interference in Italy bore a very different aspect. Too great to be dazzled by the title of Emperor, too busy to invade Italy merely for the sake of forcing the Pope to become his ally, Otto found himself faced by the necessity of choosing whether he would make himself lord of the lands on the other side of the Alps or see one of his most powerful subjects, the Duke of Bavaria, do so instead.

The occasion of this choice was the murder of Count Lothair of Provence, one of the claimants to the throne of Italy. Lothair's widow, Adelaide, a Burgundian princess, appealed to Germany

to avenge her wrongs—a piece of knight-errantry with such prospects of profit that several of the German princes and notably the Duke of Bavaria, whose lands lay just to the north of the Alps, were only too willing to undertake it. In 951 Otto the Great, anticipating their ambitions, crossed the Alps with an army, rescued Adelaide from her husband's murderer, married her himself, and was crowned King of Italy at Pavia.

Recalled to Germany by foreign invasions, he appeared again in Italy ten years later, and in February 962 was crowned Emperor by the Pope at Rome. His successors, dropping the title 'King of Germany', claimed henceforth to be 'Kings of the Romans' on their election and, after their coronation by the Pope, 'Holy Roman Emperors'—temporal overlords of Christendom, as the Popes claimed to be spiritual viceroys.

This coronation of Otto the Great was a turning-point in the history of Germany, though at the time it caused little stir. To Otto himself it was merely the culminating success of his career, enabling him to undertake without interference the reform of the German Church that he had planned, and also to issue a charter that, while confirming the Popes in their temporal possessions, insisted that they should take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor before their consecration. By this measure the Papacy became in the eyes of Europe merely the chief see in the Emperor's dominions; and under Otto's immediate successors this supremacy was not seriously disputed by the Popes themselves. In some cases they were German nominees, ready to acknowledge the sceptre that secured their election; but, even where this was not the case, there was a general feeling that Rome had less to fear from the tyranny of Emperors beyond the Alps than from the encroachments of the petty lords of Italy.

The Dukes of Spoleto, Counts of Tuscany, and Barons of the Roman Campagna had no respect at all for the head of Christendom except as a pawn in their political moves. One of the most unscrupulous and dissolute families in the vicinity of Rome, the Crescentii, who claimed the title of Patrician, once granted by Eastern Emperors to Italian viceroys, secured the Papacy for three successive members of their house. Under

the last of these, Benedict IX, a boy of twelve at the time of his election, vice and tyranny walked through the streets of Rome rampant and unashamed. The young Pope, described by a contemporary as 'a captain of thieves and brigands', did not scruple to crown his sins by selling his holy office in a moment of danger to another of his family. As his excesses had already led the people of Rome to set up an Anti-Pope, and as he himself withdrew his abdication very shortly, the disgraceful state of affairs culminated in three Popes, each denouncing one another, and each arming his followers for battle in the streets.

The interference of the Emperor Henry III (a member of the Salian House of Saxony) was welcomed on all sides, and at the Synod of Sutri the rival Popes were all deposed and a German bishop, chosen by the Emperor, elected in their place.

Henry III has been described by a modern historian as 'the strongest Prince that Europe had seen since Charlemagne'. Not only did he succeed in subduing the unruly Bohemians and Hungarians, but he also built Germany into the temporary semblance of a nation, mastering her baronage and purifying her Church. His influence over Italy was wholly for her good; but by the irony of fate his cousin Bruno, whom he nominated to the See of St. Peter under the name of Leo IX, was destined to lay the foundations of a Papacy independent of German control.

Bruno himself insisted that he should be elected legally by the clergy and people of Rome and, though of royal blood, he entered the city barefoot as a penitent. Unlike the haughty Roman nobles to whom the title 'Pope' had merely seemed an extra means of obtaining worldly honour and pleasure, he remained after his consecration gentle and accessible to his inferiors, and devoted his whole time to the work of reform. At his first council he strongly condemned the sin of simony, and he insisted on the celibacy of the clergy as the only way to free them from worldly distractions and ambitions.

In order that his message might not seem intended for Italy alone, he made long journeys through Germany and France. Everywhere he went he preached the purified ideal of the Church upheld by the monks of Cluni; but side by side with this he and

his successors set another vision that they strove to realize, the predominance of the Papacy in Italy as a temporal power.

It was Leo IX who, dreading the Norman settlements in southern Italy as a menace to the states of the Church, formed a league against the invaders, but after his defeat at their hands, followed shortly by his death, his successors, as we have seen, wisely concluded a peace that left them feudal overlords of Apulia and Calabria.¹ Realizing that to dominate the affairs of the peninsula they must remain at home, future Popes sent ambassadors called 'Legates' to express and explain their will in foreign countries; while in 1059, in a further effort towards independence, Pope Nicholas II revolutionized the method of papal elections. Popes, it was decreed, were no longer to be chosen by the voice of the people and clergy of Rome generally, but only by the 'Cardinals', that is, the principal bishops of the city sitting in secret conclave. This body, the College of Cardinals, was to be free of imperial interference.

Behind Pope Nicholas, in this daring policy of independence, stood one of the most powerful figures of his age, Hildebrand, Archdeacon of Rome. The son of a village carpenter, small, ill formed, insignificant in appearance, he possessed the shrewd, practical mind and indomitable will of the born ruler of men. It is said that in boyhood his companions found him tracing with the chips and shavings of his father's workshop the words, 'I shall reign from sea to sea', yet he began his career by deliberately accepting exile with the best of the Popes deposed by the Council of Sutri; and it was Leo IX, who, hearing of his genius, found him and brought him back to Rome.

Gradually not only successive Popes but the city itself grew to lean upon his strength, and when in 1073 the Holy See was left vacant, a general cry arose from the populace: 'Hildebrand is Pope. . . . It is the will of St. Peter!'

Taking the name of Gregory VII, Hildebrand reluctantly, if we are to believe his own account, accepted the headship of the Church. Perhaps, knowing how different was his ideal of the office from its reality, he momentarily trembled at the task he

¹ See p. 115.

had set himself; but once enthroned there was no weakness in his manner to the world.

In his ears the words of Christ, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church', could never be reconciled with vassalage to any temporal ruler. To St. Peter and his successors, not to emperors or kings, had been given the power to bind or loose, and Gregory's interpretation of this text did not even admit of two co-equal powers ruling Christendom by their alliance. 'Human pride has created the power of kings,' he declared, 'God's mercy has created the power of bishops . . . the Pope is master of Emperors and is rendered holy by the merits of his predecessor St. Peter. The Roman Church has never erred and Holy Scripture proves that it never can err. To resist it is to resist God.'

Such a point of view, if put to any practical test, was sure to encounter firm if not violent opposition. Thus, when Gregory demanded from William of Normandy the oath of fealty alleged to have been promised by the latter to Alexander II in return for the Papal blessing upon the conquest of England, the Conqueror replied by sending rich gifts in token of his gratitude for papal support, but supplemented them with a message as uncompromising as the Pope's ideal: 'I have not sworn, nor will I swear fealty, which was never sworn by any of my predecessors to yours.' William thereupon proceeded to dispose of benefices and bishoprics in his new kingdom as he chose, and even went so far as to forbid the recognition of any new Pope within his dominions without his leave, or the publication of papal letters and decrees that had not received his sanction.

Perhaps if England had been nearer to Italy, or if William had misused his authority instead of reforming the English Church, Gregory VII might have taken up the gauntlet of defiance thus thrown at his feet. Instead he remained on friendly terms with William; and it was in the Empire, not in England, that the struggle between Church and State began.

The Emperor Henry III, who had summoned the Synod of Sutri, had been a great ruler, great enough even to have effected a satisfactory compromise with Hildebrand, but, though before

he died he succeeded in securing his crown for his son Henry, a boy of six, he could not bequeath him strength of character or statesmanship. Thus from his death, in 1056, the fortunes of his House and Empire slowly waned.

It is difficult to estimate the natural gifts of the new ruler of Germany, for an unhappy upbringing warped his outlook and affections. Left at first under the guardianship of his mother, the Empress Agnes, the young Henry IV was enticed at the age of eleven on board a ship belonging to Anno, the ambitious Archbishop of Cologne. While he was still admiring her wonders the ship set sail up the Rhine, and though the boy plunged overboard in an effort to escape his kidnappers he was rescued and brought back. For the next four years he remained first the pupil of Archbishop Anno, who punished him for the slightest fault with harsh cruelty and deprived him of all companionship of his own age, and then of Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, who indulged his every whim and passion.

At length, at the age of fifteen, handsome and kingly in appearance, but utterly uncontrolled and dissolute in his way of life, Henry was declared of age to govern for himself, and straightway began to alienate his barons and people. He had been married against his wish to the plain daughter of one of his Margraves, and expressed his indignation by ill-treating and neglecting her, to the wrath of her powerful relations: he also built castles on the hill-tops in Saxony, from which his troops oppressed the countryside: but the sin for which he was destined to be called to account was his flagrant misuse of his power over the German Church.

At first, when reproved by the Pope for selling bishoprics and benefices, Henry was apologetic in his letters; but he had no real intention of amending his ways and soon began to chafe openly at Roman criticism and threats. At last acrimonious disputes came to a head in what is called the 'Investiture Question', and because it is a problem that affected the whole relations of Church and State in the eleventh century it is important to understand what it exactly meant to Europe.

Investiture was the ceremony by which a temporal ruler, such

as a king, transferred to a newly chosen Church official, such as a bishop, the lands and rights belonging to his office. The king would present the bishop with a ring and crozier and the bishop in return would place his hands between those of the king and do him homage like a lay tenant-in-chief.

The Roman See declared that it was not fitting for hands sacred to the service of God at His altar to be placed in submission between those that a temporal ruler had stained with the blood of war. Behind this figure of speech lay the real reason, the implication that if the ring and crozier were to be taken as symbols of lands and offices, bishops would tend to regard these temporal possessions as the chief things in their lives, and the oath of homage they gave in exchange as more important than their vow to do God's service.

Gregory VII believed that he could not reform the Church unless he could detach its officials from dependence on lay rulers who could bribe or intimidate them ; and in the age in which he lived he could show that for every William of Normandy ready to 'invest' good churchmen there were a hundred kings or petty rulers who only cared about good tenants, that is, landlords who would supply them faithfully with soldiers and weapons.

As a counter argument temporal rulers maintained that churchmen who accepted lands and offices were lay tenants in this respect, whatever Popes might choose to call them. The king who lost the power of investing his bishops lost control over wealthy and important subjects, and since he would also lose the right to refuse investiture he might find his principal bishoprics in the hands of disloyal rebels or of foreigners about whom he knew nothing.

The whole question was complicated, largely because there was so much truth on both sides ; Gregory, however, forced the issue, and early in 1075, in a Synod held at Rome, put forth the famous decree by which lay investiture was henceforth sternly forbidden. Henry IV, on the other hand, spoiled his case by his wild disregard of justice. In the same year he appointed a new archbishop to the important See of Milan and invested him without consulting Gregory VII at all ; he further proceeded to appoint

two unknown foreigners to Italian bishoprics. Angry at the letter of remonstrance which these acts aroused he called a church council at Worms in the following year, and there induced the majority of German bishops very reluctantly to declare Gregory deposed.

‘Henry, King not by usurpation but by God’s grace, to Hildebrand, henceforth no Pope but false monk. . . .’ Thus began his next letter to the Roman pontiff, to which Hildebrand replied by excommunicating his deposer.

‘Blessed Peter . . . as thy representative I have received from God the power to bind and loose in Heaven and on earth. For the honour and security of thy Church, in the name of God Almighty, I prohibit Henry the King, son of Henry the Emperor, . . . from ruling Germany and Italy. I release all Christians from the oaths of fealty they may have taken to him, and I order that no one shall obey him.’

This decree provided occasion for all German nobles whom Henry IV had alienated to gather under the banner of the papal legate, and for the oppressed Saxon countryside to renew the serious revolt which had broken out two years before. Even the German bishops grew frightened of the part they had played in deposing Gregory, so that the once-powerful ruler found himself looked upon as an outlaw with scarcely a real friend, save the wife he had ill-treated, and no hope save submission. In the winter of 1066, as an old story tells, when the mountains were frozen hard with snow and ice, he and his wife and one attendant crossed the Alps on sledges, and sought the Pope in his castle of Canossa, built amidst the highest ridges of the Apennines.

Gregory coldly refused him audience. The King, he intimated, might declare that he was repentant, he had done so often in the past, but words were not deeds. Putting aside his royal robes and clad in a penitent’s woollen tunic, Henry to show his sincerity remained barefoot for three days like a beggar, in the castle yard. Then only on the entreaty of some Italian friends was he admitted to the presence of the Pope, who at his cry of ‘Holy Father, spare me!’ raised him up and gave him formal forgiveness.

The scene at Canossa is so dramatic in its display of Hildebrand's triumph and the Emperor's humiliation that it has lived in the world's memory: yet it was no closing act in their struggle, but merely an episode that passed and left little mark. Henry IV, as soon as he could win himself a following in Germany and Italy, returned to the practice of lay investiture, and Gregory VII, who had never believed in his sincerity, continued to denounce him and plan the coronation of rival emperors.

Imperial ambitions at last reached their height, for Henry IV succeeded in inducing German and Italian bishops to depose Gregory once more and even appoint an Anti-Pope, in whose name imperial armies ravaged Lombardy, forced their way as far south as Rome, and besieged Hildebrand in the castle of St. Angelo. From this predicament he was rescued by the Normans of South Italy under Robert Guiscard; but these ruthless vassals of the Church massacred and looted the Holy City directly they had scaled the walls, and when they turned homewards, carrying Gregory VII with them, they left half Rome in ruins.

Gregory VII died not long afterwards, homeless and deposed, but with unshaken confidence in the righteousness of his cause. 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity,' he said, during his last illness, 'therefore I die in exile.' 'In exile thou couldst not die,' replied a bishop standing at his bedside. 'Vicar of Christ and His Apostles, thou hast received the nations for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.' Future history was to show that Hildebrand in defeat had achieved more than his rival in victory.

Henry IV outlived his enemy by twenty-one years, but they were bitter with disillusionment. Harassed by Gregory VII's successors who continued to advocate papal supremacy, faced by one rebellion after another in Germany and Italy, Henry IV yielded at last to weariness and old age, when he found his sons had become leaders of the forces most hostile to him. Even in his submission to their demands he found no peace, for he was thrust into prison, compelled to abdicate, and left to die miserably of starvation and neglect.

In the reign of his son, Henry V, a compromise on the 'Investiture Question' was arranged between Church and Empire. By the Concordat of Worms it was agreed first that rulers should renounce their claim to invest bishops and abbots with the ring and crozier. These were to be given by representatives of the Church to candidates chosen and approved by them; but the second point of importance was that this ceremony must take place in the presence of the king or his representative, to whom the new bishop or abbot would at once do homage for his lands and offices.

Almost a similar settlement had been arrived at between Church and State in England some fifteen years earlier, arising out of the refusal of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to do homage to Henry I, the Conqueror's son. In this case there was no clash of bitterness and dislike, for the old archbishop was perfectly loyal to the king at heart, though prepared to go to the stake on a matter of conscience, as this question had become to earnest churchmen. His master, on his side, respected Anselm's saintly character and only wished to safeguard his royal rights over all his subjects.

Compromise was therefore a matter of rejoicing on both sides, and with the decisions of the Council at Worms investiture ceased to be a vital problem. Its importance lies in the fact that it was one of the first battles between Church and State and, though a compromise, yet a formal victory for the Church. The dependence of the Papacy on the imperial government that Europe had considered natural in the days of Charlemagne, or of Otto the Great, was a thing of the past, for the acknowledgement of ecclesiastical freedom from lay supremacy, one of the main issues for which Hildebrand had struggled, schemed, and died, had been won by his successors following in his steps.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Pope Benedict IX	1033 48
Pope Leo IX	1048-54
Pope Nicholas II	1058 61



Two monks at their devotions. From Lincoln Cathedral

Photograph by Mr. S. Smith, The Minster Bookshop, Steephill, Lincoln



*Byzantine Emperors of the eleventh century. From an ivory casket brought from Constantinople in the
Middle Ages and now in Troyes*

Photograph. G. Millet, Collection des Hautes Études, Sorbonne, Paris

XII

THE EARLY CRUSADES

THE imperial standards of Constantinople were designed with a two-headed eagle typifying Constantine's rule over the kingdoms of East and West. Towards the end of the eleventh century this emblem had become more symbolic of the Emperor's anxious outlook upon hostile neighbours. With Asia Minor practically lost by the establishment of a Mahometan dynasty at Nicea within one hundred miles of the Christian capital, with the Bulgarians at the gates of Adrianople, and the Normans and the Popes in possession of his Greek patrimony in Italy, Alexius Comnenus, when he ascended the throne of the Caesars, found himself master of an attenuated Empire, consisting mainly of strips of Grecian seaboard.

Yet in spite of her shorn territories Constantinople remained the greatest city in Europe, not merely in her magnificent site and architecture, nor even in her commerce, but in the hold she preserved over the imagination of men.

Athanasius the Goth had exclaimed that the ruler of Constantinople must be a god: eleventh-century Europe accepted him as mortal, but still crowned the lord of so great a city with a halo of awe. It was Constantinople that had won the Russians, the Bulgars, and the Slavs from heathenism to Christianity, not to the Catholicism of Western Europe but the Greek interpretation of the Christian faith called by its believers the 'orthodox'. It was Constantinople whose gold coin, 'the byzant', was recognized as the medium of exchange between merchants of all nations. It was Constantinople again, her wealth, her palaces, her glory of pomp and government, that drew Russian, Norse, and Slav adventurers to serve as mercenaries in the Emperor's

army, just as auxiliaries had clamoured of old to join the Roman eagles. Amongst the 'Varangar' bodyguard, responsible for the safety of the Emperor's person, were to be found at one time many followers of Harold the Saxon, who, escaping from a conquered England, gladly entered the service of a new master to whom the name 'Norman' was also anathema.

Alexius Comnenus was in character like his Empire—a shrinkage from the dimensions of former days. There was nothing of the practical genius of a Constantine in his unscrupulous ability to mould small things to his advantage; nothing of the heroic Charlemagne in his eminently calculating courage. Yet his daughter, Anna Comnena, who wrote a history of his reign, regarded him as a model of imperial virtues; and his court, that had ceased to distinguish pomp from greatness and elaborate ceremonial from glory, echoed this fiction. It was this mixture of pretension and weakness, of skill and cunning, of nerve and treachery, so typical of the later Eastern Emperors, that made the nations of Western Europe, while they admired Byzantium, yet use the word 'Byzantine' as a term of mingled contempt and dislike.

The Emperor, on his part, had no reason to love his Western neighbours. The Popes had robbed him of the Exarchate of Ravenna: they had set up a Headship of the Church in Rome deaf to the claims of Constantinople. When in the eighth century the Emperor Leo, the Isaurian,¹ earned the nickname of 'Iconoclast', or 'Image-breaker', by a campaign of destruction amongst devotional pictures and images that he denounced as idolatrous, Rome definitely refused to accept this ruling on behalf of Western Christendom.

This was the beginning of the actual schism between the Eastern and Western Churches that had been always alien in their outlook. In the ninth century the breach widened, for Pope Nicholas I supported a Patriarch, or Bishop of the Eastern Church, deposed by the Emperor and excommunicated his rival and successor, while subsequent disputes were rendered irreconcilable in the middle of the eleventh

¹ See p. 77.

century when the Patriarch of Constantinople closed the Latin churches and convents in his diocese and publicly declared the views of Rome heretical.

Besides the Pope at Rome the Eastern Empire possessed other foes in Italy. Chief of these were the Normans, who, not content with acquiring Naples, had, under the leadership of Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemund, captured the famous port of Durazzo on the Adriatic and invaded Macedonia. From this province they were only evicted by Alexius Comnenus after wearying campaigns of guerrilla warfare to which his military ability was better suited than to pitched battles or shock tactics.

More subtly dangerous than either Pope or Normans was the commercial rivalry of the merchant cities of the Mediterranean, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. It was Venice who from behind her barrier of islands had watched Attila the Hun lead away his armies in impotent rage.¹ It was Venice again who of the North Italian states successfully resisted the feudal domination of Western Emperors and kept her own form of republican government inviolate of external control. It was the young Venice, the 'Queen of the Adriatic' as her sons and daughters proudly called her, that could alone in her commercial splendour and arrogance compare with the dying glory of Constantinople.

Alexius Comnenus in his struggles against Robert Guiscard had been compelled to call twice upon Venice for the assistance of her fleet; but he paid dearly for this alliance in the trading privileges he was forced to grant in Eastern waters. Wherever in the Orient Venetian merchants landed to exchange goods they were quick to establish a political footing; and the world mart on the Adriatic, into which poured the silks and dyes, the sugar and spices of Asia, built up under the rule of its 'Doges', or Dukes, a national as well as a commercial reputation.

In 1095 necessity spurred Alexius Comnenus to appeal not merely to Venice for succour but to Pope Urban II and all the leading princes of Western Europe.

'From Jerusalem to the Aegean,' he wrote, 'the Turkish hordes have mastered all: their galleys, sweeping the Black Sea

¹ See p. 45.

and the Mediterranean, threaten the imperial city itself, which, if fall it must, had better fall into the hands of Latins than of Pagans.'

These Turks, or 'Tartars', to whom he referred, were the cause of the Eastern Empire's sudden danger. Descendants of a Mongol race in central Asia, of which the Huns were also an offshoot, they turned their faces westward some centuries later than the ancestors of Attila, fired by the same love of battle and bloodshed and the same contempt for civilization. To them the wonderful Arabian kingdom, moulded by successive Caliphs of Bagdad out of Eastern art, luxury, and mysticism, held no charm save loot. Conquered Greece had endowed Rome with its culture, but the inheritance of Haroun al-Raschid bequeathed to its conquerors only the fighting creed of Islam.

Mahometans in faith, the Turkish armies, more dangerous than ever because more fanatical, swept over Persia, Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor, subjugating Arabs and Christians until they came almost to the straits of the Bosphorus. Here it was that they forced Alexius Comnenus to realize his imminent danger and to turn to his enemies in Europe for the protection of his tottering Empire.

The Latins, or Christians of the West, to whom he appealed, had reasons enough of their own for answering him with ready promises of men and money. From the early days of the Church it had been the custom of pious folk, or of sinners anxious to expiate some crime, to set out in small companies to visit the Holy Places in Jerusalem where tradition held that Christ had preached, prayed, and suffered, that there they might give praise to God and seek His pardon. These 'pilgrimages', with their mixture of good comradeship, danger, and discomfort, had become very dear to the popular mind, and, if not encouraged by the Mahometan Arabs, had been at least tolerated. 'Hospitals', or sanctuaries, were built for the refreshment of weary or sick travellers, and pilgrims on the payment of a toll could wander practically where they chose.

On the advent of the Turks all was changed: the Holy Places became more and more difficult to visit, Christians were stoned

and beaten, mulcted of their last pennies in extortionate tolls, and left to die of hunger or flung into dungeons for ransom.

Tradition says that a certain French hermit called Peter, who visited Jerusalem during the worst days of Turkish rule, went one night to the Holy Sepulchre weeping at the horrors he had seen, and as he knelt in prayer, it seemed to him that Christ himself stood before him and bade him 'rouse the Faithful to the cleansing of the Holy Places'. With this mission in mind he at once left the Holy Land and sought Pope Urban II, who had already received the letter of Alexius Comnenus and now, fired by the hermit's enthusiasm, willingly promised his support.

Whether Urban was persuaded by Peter or no is a matter of doubt, but he at any rate summoned a council to Clermont in 1095, and there in moving words besought the chivalry of Europe to set aside its private feuds and either recover the Holy Places or die before the city where Christ had given his life for the world. It is likely that he spoke from mixed motives. A true inheritor of the theories of Gregory VII, he could not but recognize in the prospect of a religious war, where the armies of Europe would fight under the papal banner and at the papal will, the exaltation of the Roman See. Was there not also the hope of bringing the Greek Church into submission to the Roman as the outcome of an alliance with the Greek Empire? Might not many turbulent feudal princes be persuaded to journey to the East, who by happy chance would return no more to trouble Europe?

Such calculations could Urban's ambitions weave, but with them were entwined unworldly visions that lent him a force and eloquence that no calculations could have supplied. Wherever he spoke the surging crowd would rush forward with the shout *Deus vult*, 'It is the will of God,' and this became the battle-cry of the crusaders.

'The whole world,' says a contemporary, 'desired to go to the tomb of our Lord at Jerusalem . . . First of all went the meaner people, then the men of middle rank, and lastly very many kings, counts, marquesses, and bishops, and, a thing that never happened before, many women turned their steps in the same direction.'

The order is significant and shows that the appeal of Urban and of Peter the Hermit had touched first the heart of the masses to whom the rich man's temptation to hesitate and think of the morrow were of no account. Corn had been dear in France before the Council of Clermont owing to bad harvests; but the speculators who had bought up the grain to sell at a high price to those who later must eat or die found it left on their hands after the council was over. The men and women of France were selling not buying, regardless of possible famine, that they might find money to fulfil their burning desire to go to the Holy Land and there win the Holy Sepulchre and gain pardon for their sins as Pope and hermit had promised them.

The ordinary crusading route passed through the Catholic kingdom of Hungary to Bulgaria and thence to Constantinople, where the various companies of armed pilgrims had agreed to meet. It was with the entry into Bulgaria, whose 'orthodox'¹ king was secretly hostile to the pilgrims, that trouble began. Food and drink were grudged by the suspicious natives even to those willing to pay their way; whereupon the utterly undisciplined forces could not be prevented from retaliating on this inhospitality by fire and pillage. A species of warfare ensued in which Latin stragglers were cut off and murdered by mountain robbers, while the many 'undesirables', who had joined the crusaders more in hope of loot and adventure than of pardon, brought an evil reputation on their comrades by their greed and the brutality they exhibited towards the peasants.

Reason enough was here to account for the pathetic failure of the advance-guard of crusaders, the poor, the fanatic, the disreputable, drawn together in no settled organization and with no leaders of military repute.

Alexius Comnenus, who had demanded an army, not a rabble, dealt characteristically with the problem by shipping these first crusaders in haste and unsupported to Asia Minor. There he left them to fall a prey to the Turks, disease, and their own

¹ See p. 143.

inadequacy, so that few ever saw the coasts of their native lands again.

If the First Crusade began in tragedy it ended in triumph, through the arrival in Constantinople of a second force from the West, this time of disciplined troops under the chief military leaders of Europe. Alexius Comnenus had good cause to remember the prowess of his old enemy, Bohemund, son of Robert Guiscard, who rode at the head of his Sicilian Normans, while other names of repute were Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, and Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, with Archbishop Odo of Bayeux, his uncle.

‘Some of the crusaders’, wrote Anna Comnena, ‘were guileless men and women, marching in all simplicity to worship at the tomb of Christ; but there were others of a more wicked kind, to wit Bohemund and the like: such men had but one object—to obtain possession of the imperial city.’

These suspicions, perhaps well founded, were natural to the daughter of the untrustworthy Alexius Comnenus, who trusted nobody. Hating to entertain at his court so many well-armed and often insolent strangers, yet fearing in his heart to aid their advance lest they should set up a rival kingdom to his own, the Emperor, having cajoled the leaders into promises of homage for any conquests they might make, at length transported them and their followers across the Hellespont.

The Christian campaign began with the capture of Nicea in 1097, followed by a victorious progress through Asia Minor. For nearly a year the crusaders besieged and then were in their turn besieged in Antioch, enduring tortures of hunger, thirst, and disease. When courage flagged and hope seemed nearly dead, it was the supposed discovery, by one of the chaplains, of the lance that had pierced Christ’s side as he hung upon the Cross that kept the Christians from surrender. With this famous relic borne in their midst by the papal legate, the crusaders flung the gates of Antioch wide and issued forth in a charge so irresistible in its certainty of victory that the Turks broke and fled. The defeat became a rout, and Antioch remained as a Christian principality under Bohemund, when

the crusaders marched southwards along the coast route towards Jerusalem.

They came in sight of this, the goal of their ambitions, on 7th June, 1099, not garbed as knights and soldiers but barefooted as humble pilgrims, kneeling in an ecstasy of awe upon the Mount of Olives. This mood of prayer passed rapidly into one of fierce determination, and on 15th June Godfrey de Bouillon and his Lorrainers forced a breach in the massive walls, and, hacking their way with sword and spear through the streets, met their fellow crusaders triumphantly entering from another side. The scene that followed, while in keeping with mediaeval savagery, has left a shameful stain upon the Christianity it professed to represent. Turks, Arabs, and Jews, old men and women, children and babies, thousands of a defenceless population, were deliberately butchered as a sacrifice to the Christ who, dying, preached forgiveness. The crusaders rode their horses up to the knees in the blood of that human shambles. 'There might no prayers nor crying of mercy prevail,' says an eyewitness. 'Such a slaughter of pagan folk had never been seen nor heard of. None knew their number, save God alone.'

Their mission accomplished, the majority of crusaders turned their faces homewards, but before they went they elected Godfrey de Bouillon to be the first ruler of the new Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, with Antioch and Edessa in the north as dependent principalities.

Godfrey reigned for almost a year, bearing the title 'Guardian of the Holy Grave', since he refused to be crowned master of a city where Christ had worn a wreath of thorns. His protest is typical of the genuine humility and love of God that mingled so strangely in his veins with pride and cruelty. When he died he left a reputation for courage and justice that wove around his memory romance and legends like the tales of Charlemagne.

His immediate successors were a brother and nephew, and it is in the reign of the latter that we first hear mention of the Military Orders, so famous in the crusading annals of the Middle Ages. These were the 'Hospitallers' or 'Knights of St. John',

inheritors of the rents and property belonging to the old 'Hospital' founded for pilgrims in Jerusalem, and the 'Templars', so called from their residence near the site of Solomon's Temple.

Both Orders were bound like the monks by the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity; but the work demanded of them, instead of labour in the fields, was perpetual war against the infidel. 'When the Templars are summoned to arms,' said a thirteenth-century writer, 'they inquire not of the number but of the position of their foe. They are lions in war, lambs in the house: to the enemies of Christ fierce and implacable, but to Christians kind and gracious.'

Yet a third Order, that of the Teutonic Knights, was founded in the twelfth century, arising like that of the Knights of St. John out of a hospital, but one that had been built by German merchants for crusaders of their own race. At the end of the thirteenth century the Order removed to the southern Baltic, and on these cold inhospitable shores embarked on a crusade against the heathen Lithuanians. It is of interest to students of modern history to note that in the sixteenth century the last Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights became converted to the doctrines of Luther, suppressed his Order, and absorbed the estates into an hereditary fief, the Duchy of Brandenburg. On the 'Mark'¹ and Duchy of Brandenburg, both founded with entirely military objects, was the future kingdom of Prussia built.

The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187) survived for more than three-quarters of a century. That it had been established with such comparative ease was due not only to the fighting quality of the crusaders, but also to the feuds that divided Turkish rulers of the House of Seljuk. The Turks far outnumbered the Christians, and whenever the Caliphs of Bagdad and Cairo should sink their rivalries, or one Moslem ruler in the East gain supremacy over all others, the days of the small Latin kingdom in Palestine would be numbered. In the meantime the Latins maintained their position with varying fortune, now with the aid of fresh

¹ See p. 131.

recruits from Europe and Genoese and Venetian sailors, capturing coast towns, now losing land-outposts there were insufficient garrisons to protect.

It was the loss of Edessa that roused Europe to its Second Crusade, this time through the eloquence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who persuaded not only Louis VII of France and his wife, Queen Eleanor, but also the at first reluctant Emperor Conrad III, to bind the Cross on their arms and go to the succour of Christendom. 'The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, more sure if he is slain.'

The pictures of the glories of martyrdom and of earthly conquests painted by the famous monk were so vivid that on one occasion he was forced to tear up his own robes to provide sufficient crosses for the eager multitude, but the triumph to which he called so great a part of the populations of France and Germany proved the beckoning hand of death and failure.

Both the King and Emperor reached Palestine—Louis VII even visited Jerusalem—but when they sailed homewards they had accomplished nothing of any lasting value. Edessa remained under Mahometan rule and the Christians had been forced to abandon the siege of Damascus that they had intended as a prelude to a victorious campaign. What was worse was that Louis and Conrad had left the chivalry of their armies in a track of whitening bones where they had retreated, victims not merely of Turkish prowess and numbers but of Christian feuds, Greek treachery, the failure of food supplies, and disease.

The Byzantine Empire owed to the first crusaders large tracts of territory recovered from the Turks in Asia Minor; but, angered by broken promises of homage on the part of Latin rulers, the Greeks repaid this debt in the Second Crusade by acting as spies and secret allies of the Mahometans. On occasions they were even to be found fighting openly side by side with the Turks, yet more merciless than these pagans in their brutal refusal to give food and drink to the stragglers of the Latin armies whom they had so basely betrayed.

The widows and orphans of France and Germany, when their rulers returned reft both of glory and men-at-arms, reviled

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St. Bernard as a false prophet ; but though he responded sternly that the guilt lay not with God but in the worldliness of those who had taken the Cross, he was sorely troubled at the shattering of his own hopes.

‘The Sons of God’, he wrote wearily, ‘have been overthrown in the desert, slain with the sword, or destroyed by famine. We promised good things and behold disorder. The judgements of the Lord are righteous, but this one is an abyss so deep that I must call him blessed who is not scandalized therein.’

For some years after the Second Crusade Western Europe turned a deaf ear to entreaties for help from Palestine, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem continued to decline steadily not only in territory but in its way of life. The enervating climate, the temptations to an unhealthy luxury that forgot Christian ideals, the almost unavoidable intermarriage of the races of East and West: all these sapped the vitality and efficiency of the crusading settlers ; while the establishment of a feudal government at Jerusalem resulted in the usual quarrels amongst tenants-in-chief and their sub-tenants. In these feuds the Hospitallers and Templars joined with an avaricious rivalry unworthy of their creed of self-denial.

By 1183 Guy de Lusignan, who had succeeded in seizing the crown of Jerusalem by craft on the failure of the royal line, could only count on the lukewarm support of the majority of Latin barons. Thus handicapped he found himself suddenly confronted by a union of the Turks of Egypt and Syria under Saladin, Caliph of Cairo, a leader so capable and popular that the downfall of divided enemies was inevitable.

At Hattin, near the Lake of Tiberias, on a rocky, waterless spot, the Christians and Mahometans met for a decisive battle in the summer of 1187. The Latins, hemmed in by superior numbers, and tortured by the heat and thirst, fought desperately beneath the relic of the True Cross that they had borne with them as an incitement to their courage ; but the odds were too great, and King Guy himself was forced to surrender when the defeat of his army had turned into a rout.

In the autumn of the same year Jerusalem, after less than a

month's siege, opened her gates to the victor. Very different was the entry of Saladin to that of the first crusaders ; for instead of a general massacre the Christian population was put to ransom, the Sultan and his brother as an ' acceptable alms to Allah ' freeing hundreds of the poorer classes for whom enough money could not be provided.

Europe received the news that the Holy Sepulchre had returned to the custody of the infidel with a shame and indignation that was expressed in the Third Crusade. This time, however, no straggling bands of enthusiasts were encouraged ; and though the expedition was approved by the Pope, neither he nor any famous churchman, such as Peter the Hermit or St. Bernard of Clairvaux, were responsible for the majority of volunteers.

The Third Crusade was in character a military campaign of three great nations : of the Germans under the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, or the ' Red Beard ' ; of the French under Philip II ; and of the English under Richard the ' Lion-Heart '. Other princes famous enough in their lands for wealth and prowess sailed also ; and had there been union in that great host Saladin might well have trembled for his Empire. He was saved by the utter lack of cohesion and petty jealousies of his enemies as well as by his statecraft and military skill.

While English and French rulers still haggled over the terms of an alliance that would allow them to leave their lands with an easy mind, Frederick Barbarossa, the last to take the Cross, set out from Germany, rapidly crossed Hungary and Bulgaria, reduced the Greek Emperor to hostile inactivity by threats and military display, and began a victorious campaign through Asia Minor. Here fate intervened to help the Mahometans, for while fording a river in Cilicia the Emperor was swept from his horse by the current and drowned. So passed away Frederick the ' Red Beard ', and with him what his strong personality had made an army. Some of the Teutons returned home, while those who remained degenerated into a rabble, easy victims for their enemies' spears and arrows.

In the meantime Richard of England (1189-99) and Philip of France had clasped the hand of friendship, and, having levied the

Saladin Tithe, a tax of one-tenth of the possessions of all their subjects, in order to pay their expenses, set sail eastwards from Marseilles. Both were young and eager for military glory; but the French king could plot and wait to achieve the ultimate success he desired while in Richard the statesman was wholly sunk in the soldier of fortune.

To mediaeval chroniclers there was something dazzling in the Lion-Heart's physical strength, and in the sheer daring with which he would force success out of apparently inevitable failure, or realize some dangerous enterprise.

'Though fortune wreaks her spleen on whomsoever she pleases, yet was he not drowned for all her adverse waves.'

'The Lord of Ages gave him such generosity of soul and endowed him with such virtues that he seemed rather to belong to earlier times than these.'

'To record his deeds would cramp the writer's finger joints and stun the hearer's mind.'

Such are a few of the many flattering descriptions the obvious sincerity of which paints the English king as he seemed to the men who fought beside him.

A clever strategist, a born leader in battle, fearless himself, and with a restless energy that inspired him when sick to be carried on cushions in order to direct the fire of his stone-slingers, Richard turned his golden qualities of generalship to dust by his utter lack of diplomacy and tact. Of gifts such as these, that are one-half of kingship, he was not so much ignorant as heedless. He 'willed' to do things like his great ancestor, the Conqueror, but his sole weapon was his right hand, not the subtlety of his brain.

'The King of England had gallows erected outside his camp to hang thieves and robbers on . . . deeming it no matter of what country the criminals were, he considered every man as his own and left no wrong unavenged.'

This typical high-handed action, no doubt splendid in theory as a method of discouraging the crimes that had helped to ruin previous campaigns, was, when put into practice, sufficient alone to account for the hatred Richard inspired amongst rulers whose subjects he thus chose to judge and execute at will. The King

of France, we are told, 'winked at the wrongs his men inflicted and received,' but he gained friends, while Richard's progress was a series of embittered feuds, accepted light-heartedly without any thought of his own future interests or of those of the crusade.

Open rupture with Philip II of France was brought about almost before they had left the French coasts through Richard's repudiation of his ally's sister, to whom he had been betrothed, since the English king was now determined on a match with Berengaria, the daughter of the King of Navarre.

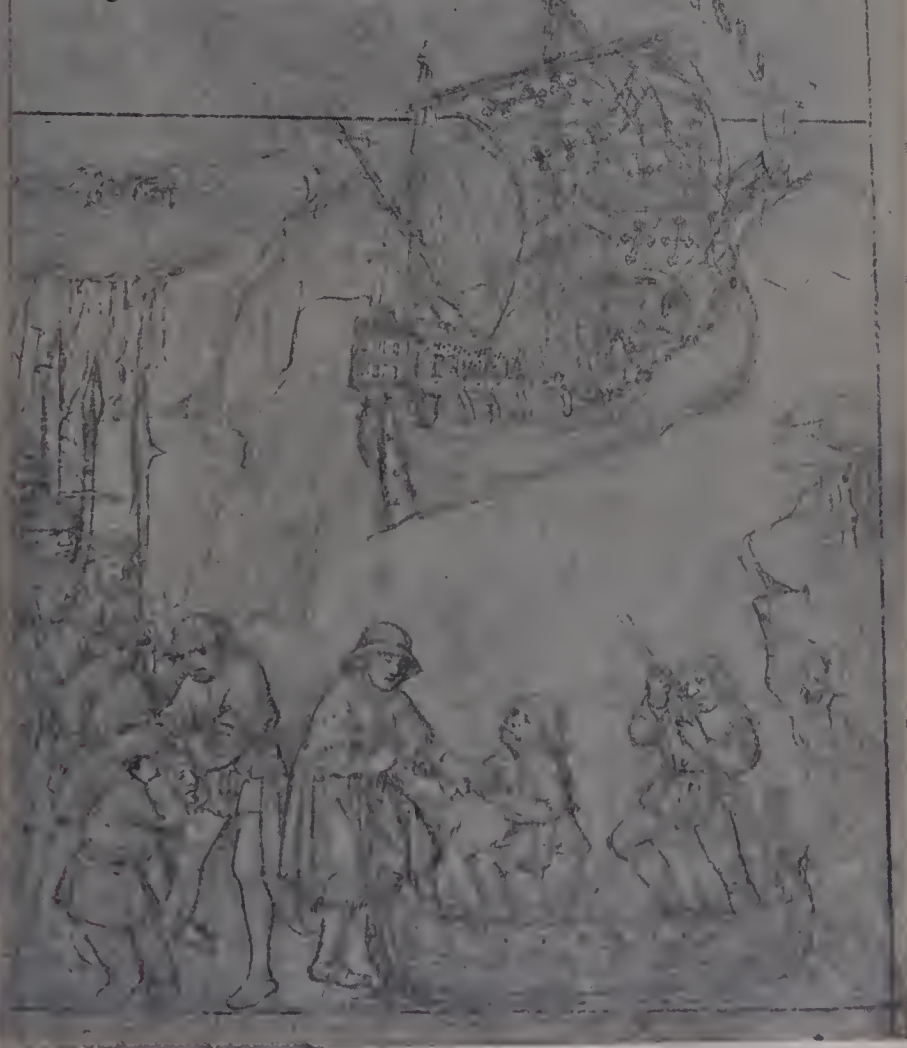
In South Italy he acquired his next enemies in both claimants then disputing the crown of Sicily, but before he sailed away he had battered one of the rivals, the Norman, Tancred, into an outwardly submissive ally after a battle in the streets of Messina. The other rival, Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, and afterwards the Emperor Henry VI, remained his enemy, storing up a grudge against him in the hopes of a suitable opportunity for displaying it.

From Cyprus Richard, pursuing military glory, drove its Greek ruler because he had dared to imprison some shipwrecked Englishmen; and thus, adding an island to his dominions and the Eastern Emperor to his list of foes, arrived at last in Palestine, in the summer of 1191, just in time to join Philip II in the siege of Acre.

'The two kings and peoples did less together than they would have done separately, and each set but light store by the other.' So the tale runs in the contemporary chronicle; and when Acre at last surrendered the feuds between the English and French had grown so irreconcilable that Philip II, who had fallen sick, sulkily declared that he had fulfilled his crusading vow and departed homewards. Not long afterwards went Leopold, Archduke of Austria, nursing cold rage against Richard in his heart because of an insult to his banner, that, planted on an earthwork beside the arms of England, had been contemptuously flung into the ditch below.

The Lion-Heart was now master of the enterprise in Palestine, a terror to the Turks, who would use his name to frighten

*Here shewes howe good provision made of English cloth and
 other thyngs necessary and licence hadde of the kynge. Also
 Richard sailed towards the holy land and
 hys Cite of Shyren where and howe this Cite was fully
 suffered his bitter passion for the redemption
 of all man
 kynde.*



Pilgrims embarking for the Holy Land

From the Cotton MS. Julius E. iv. 205



Mediaeval ruins on the beach of Acre where the Crusaders landed

Photograph by Sir Aurel Stein



Antioch encircled by its hills

Photograph by Mr. A. J. Cobham

their unruly children into submission; but though he remained fourteen months, the jealousies and rivalries of his camp, with which he was not the man to contend, kept him dallying on the coast route to Jerusalem, unable to proceed by open warfare or to get the better of the wily Saladin in diplomacy.

News came that Philip II and the Emperor Henry VI were plotting with his brother John for his ruin at home, and Richard, weary at heart and sick in health, agreed to a three years and eight months' truce that left the Christians in the possession of the seaports of Jaffa and Tyre, with the coastal territory between them, and gave pilgrims leave to visit Jerusalem untaxed. He himself refused with tears in his eyes even to gaze from a distant height on the city he could not conquer; but, vowing he would return, he set sail for the West in the autumn of 1192, and with his departure the Third Crusade ended.

There were to be many other crusades, but none that expressed in the same way as these first three expeditions the united aspirations of Western Europe for the recovery of the land of the Holy Sepulchre. National jealousies had ruined the chances of the Third Crusade, and with every year the spirit of nationality was to grow in strength and make common action less possible for Europe.

There is another reason also for the changing character of the Crusades, namely, the loss of the religious enthusiasm in which they had their origin. Men and women had believed that the cross on their arms could turn sinners into saints, break down battlements, and destroy infidels, as if by miracle. When they found that human passions flourished as easily in Palestine as at home and that the way of salvation was, as ever, the path of hard labour and constant effort, they were disillusioned, and eager multitudes no longer clamoured to go to the East. The Crusades did not stop suddenly, but degenerated with a few exceptions into mere political enterprises, patronized now by one nation, now by another: the armies recruited by mere love of adventure, lust of battle, or the desire for plunder.

If Western Christendom had gained no other blessing by them, the early Crusades at least freed the nations at a critical

moment from a large proportion of the unruly baronage that had been a danger to commerce and good government. England paid heavily in gold for the Third Crusade; but the money supplied by merchants and towns was well spent in securing from the Lion-Heart privileges and charters that laid the foundations of municipal liberty.

In France the results of the Second Crusade had been for the moment devastating. Whole villages marched away, cities and castles stood empty, and in some provinces it was said 'scarce one man remained to seven women'. In the orgy of selling that marked this exodus lands and possessions rapidly changed hands, the smaller fiefs tending to be absorbed by the larger fiefs and many of these in their turn by the crown. Aided also by other causes, the King of France with his increased demesnes and revenues came to assume a predominant position in the national life.

Perhaps the chief effect of the Crusades on Europe generally was the stimulus of new influences. Men and women, if they live in a rut and feed their brains continually on the same ideas, grow prejudiced. It is good for them to travel and come in contact with opposite views of life and different manners and customs, however much it may annoy them at the time. The Crusades provided this kind of stimulus not only to the commerce of Mediterranean ports but in the world of thought, literature, and art. The necessity of transport for large armies improved shipbuilding; the cunning of Turkish foes the ingenuity of Christian armourers and engineers; the influence of Byzantine architecture and mosaics the splendour of Venice in stone and colour.

Western Europe continued to hate the East; but she could not live without her silks, spices, and perfumes, nor forget to dream of the fabulous wonders of Cathay. Thus the age of the Crusades will be seen at last to merge its failures in the successes of an age of discovery, that were to lay bare a new West and another road to the Orient.

XIII

THE MAKING OF FRANCE

AMONGST those who took the Cross during the Second Crusade had been Louis VII of France and his wife, Queen Eleanor. They were an ill-matched pair, the King of mediocre ability, weak, peace-loving, and pious ; Eleanor, like all the House of Aquitaine, to which she belonged, imperious, fierce-willed, and without scruples where she loved or hated. Restless excitement had prompted her journey to Palestine ; and Louis was impelled by the scandal to which her conduct there gave rise, and also by his annoyance that they had no son, to divorce her soon after they returned home.

The foolishness of this step from a political point of view can be gauged by studying a map of France in the middle of the twelfth century, and remembering that, though king of the whole country in name, Louis as feudal overlord could depend on little but the revenues and forces to be raised from his own estates. These lay in a small block round Paris, while away to the north, east, and south were the provinces of tenants-in-chief three or four times as extensive in area as those of the royal House of Capet. By marrying Eleanor, Countess of Poitou and Duchess of Aquitaine, Louis had become direct ruler of the middle and south-west of France as well as of his own crown demesnes, but when he divorced his wife he at once forfeited her possessions.

Worse from his point of view was to follow ; for Eleanor made immediate use of her freedom to marry Henry, Count of Anjou, a man fourteen years her junior, but the most important tenant-in-chief of the King of France and therefore, if he chose, not unlikely to prove that king's most dangerous enemy. This Henry, besides being Count of Anjou, Maine,

and Touraine, was also Duke of Normandy and King of England, for he was a grandson of Henry I, and had in 1154 succeeded the feeble Stephen, of the anarchy of whose reign we gave a slight description in another chapter.¹

Before dealing with the results of Henry's marriage with the heiress of Aquitaine it is well to note his work as King of England, for this was destined to be the greatest and most lasting of all the many tasks he undertook. In character Henry was the exact opposite of Stephen. Where the other had wavered he pressed forward, utterly determined to be master of his own land. One by one he besieged the rebel barons, and levelled with the ground the castles they had built in order to torture and oppress their neighbours. He also took from them the crown lands which Stephen had recklessly given away in the effort to buy popularity and support. When he found that many of these nobles had usurped the chief offices of state he replaced them as quickly as he could by men of humble rank and of his own choosing. In this way he appointed a Londoner, Thomas Becket, whom he had first created Chancellor, to be Archbishop of Canterbury; but the impetuous choice proved one of his few mistakes.

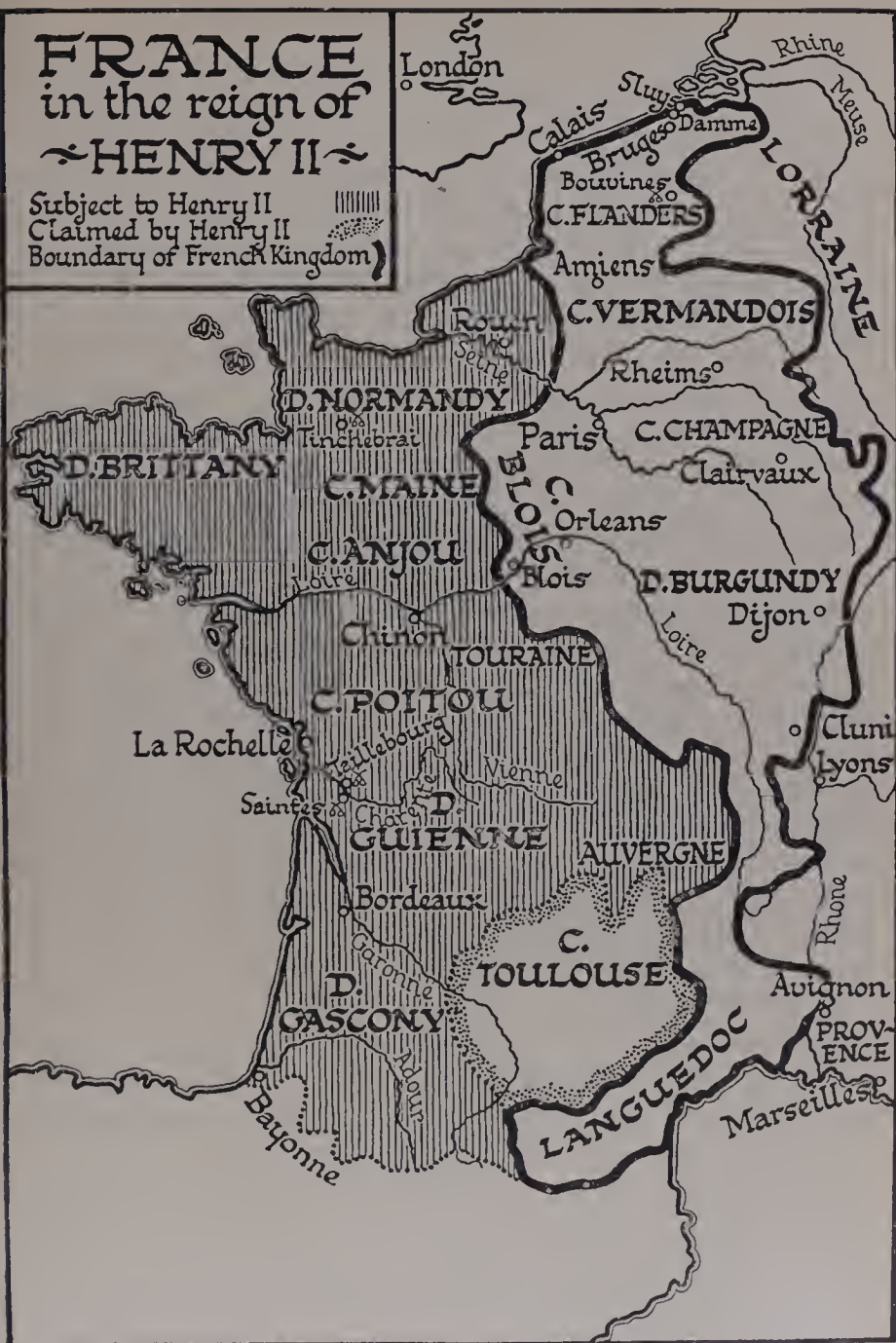
Henry was so self-confident himself that he was apt to underestimate the abilities of those with whom life brought him in contact and to believe that every other will must necessarily bow to his own. It is certain that he found it difficult to pause and listen to reason, for his restless energy was ever spurring him on to fresh ambitions, and he could not bear to waste time, as he thought, in listening to criticisms on what he had already decided. Chroniclers describe how he would fidget impatiently or draw pictures during Mass, commending the priest who read fastest, while he would devote odd moments of his day to patching his old clothes for want of something more interesting to do.

Henry II was so able that haste in his case did not mean that his work was slipshod. He had plenty of foresight, and did not content himself with destroying those of his subjects who were unruly. He knew that he must win the support of

¹ See p. 122.

FRANCE in the reign of HENRY II

Subject to Henry II
Claimed by Henry II
Boundary of French Kingdom



the English people if he hoped to build up his estates in France, and this, though destined to bear no lasting fruit, was ever his chief ambition. Henry II was one of the greatest of English kings, but he had been brought up in France and remained more of an Angevin than an Englishman at heart.

Instead of driving his barons into sulky isolation Henry summoned them frequently to his *Magnum Concilium*, or 'Great Council', and asked their advice. When they objected to serving with their followers in France as often as he wished, he arranged a compromise that was greatly to his advantage. This was the institution of 'Scutage', or 'Shield-money', a tax paid by the barons in order to escape military service abroad. With the funds that 'scutage' supplied Henry could hire mercenary troops, while the feudal barons lost a military training-ground.

Besides consulting his 'Great Council', destined to develop into our national parliament, Henry strengthened the *Curia Regis*, or 'King's Court', that his grandfather, Henry I, had established to deal with questions of justice and finance. The barons in the time of Stephen had tried to make their own feudal courts entirely independent of royal authority; but Henry, besides establishing a central Court of Justice to which any subject who thought himself wronged might appeal for a new trial, greatly improved and extended the system of 'Itinerant Justices' whose circuits through the country to hold 'Pleas of the Crown' had been instituted by Henry I.

This interference he found was resented not only by the feudal courts but also by the Sheriffs of the County Courts, the Norman form of the old 'shire-moots', a popular institution of Anglo-Saxon times. Of late years the latter courts had more and more fallen under the domination of neighbouring land-owners, and in order to free them Henry held an 'Inquest' into the doings of the Sheriffs, and deposed many of the great nobles who had usurped these offices, replacing them by men of lesser rank who would look to him for favour and advice.

Other sovereigns in Europe adopted somewhat similar means of exalting royal authority; but England was fortunate in

possessing such popular institutions as the 'moots' or 'meetings' of the shire and 'hundred', through which Henry could establish his justice, instead of merely through crown officials who would have no personal interest in local conditions.

By the Assize of Clarendon it was decreed that twelve men from each hundred and four from each township should decide in criminal cases who amongst the accused were sufficiently implicated to be justly sentenced by the royal judges. Local representatives also were employed on other occasions during Henry's reign in assisting his judges in assessing taxes and in deciding how many weapons and of what sort the ordinary freeman might fittingly carry to the safety of his neighbours and of himself. In civil cases, as when the ownership of land or personal property was in dispute, twelve 'lawful men' of the neighbourhood, or in certain cases twelve Knights of the Shire, were to be elected to help the Sheriff arrive at a just decision. In this system of 'recognition', as it was called, lay the germ of our modern jury.

It is probable that the knights and representatives of the hundreds and townships grumbled continually at the trouble and expense to which the King's legislation put them; for neither they nor Henry II himself would realize that they were receiving a splendid education in the A B C of self-government that must be the foundation of any true democracy. Yet a few generations later, when Henry's weak grandson and namesake Henry III misruled England, the Knights of the Shire were already accepted as men of public experience, and their representatives summoned to a parliament to defend the liberties of England.

Henry II used popular institutions and crown officials as levers against the independence of his baronage, but the chief struggle of his reign in England was not with the barons so much as with the Church. Thomas Becket as Chancellor had been Henry's right hand in attacking feudal privileges: he had warned his master that as a leading Churchman his love might turn to hate, his help to opposition. The King refused to believe him, thrust the burden of the archbishopric of Canterbury on

his unwilling shoulders, and then found to his surprise and rage that he had secured the election of a very Hildebrand, who held so high a conception of the dignity of the Church that it clashed with royal demands at every turn.

One of the chief subjects of dispute was the claim of the Church to reserve for her jurisdiction all cases that affected 'clerks', that is, not only priests, but men employed in the service of the Church, such as acolytes or choristers. The King insisted that clerks convicted in ecclesiastical courts of serious crimes should be handed over to the royal courts for secular punishment. His argument was that if a clerk had committed a murder the ecclesiastical judge was not allowed by Canon law to deliver a death-sentence, and so could do no more than 'unfrock' the guilty man and fine or imprison him. Thus a clerk could live to commit two murders where a layman would by command of the royal judges be hung at the first offence.

Becket, on his side, would not swerve from his opinion that it was sacrilege for royal officials to lay hands on a priest or clerk whether 'criminous' or not; and when Henry embodied his suggestions of royal supremacy in a decree called the Constitutions of Clarendon, the Archbishop publicly refused to sign his agreement to them. Threats and insults were heaped upon him by angry courtiers, and one of his attendants, terrified by the scene, exclaimed, 'Oh, my master, this is a fearful day!' 'The Day of Judgement will be yet more fearful,' answered the undaunted Becket, and in the face of his fearlessness no one at the moment dared to lay hands on him.

Shortly afterwards Becket fled abroad, hoping to win the support of Rome, but the Pope to whom he appealed did not wish to quarrel with the King of England, and used his influence to patch up an agreement that was far too vague to have any binding strength. Thomas Becket returned to Canterbury, but exile had not modified his opinions, and he had hardly landed before he once more appeared in open opposition to Henry's wishes, excommunicating those bishops who had dared to act during his absence without his leave.

The rest of the story is well known—the ungovernable rage of the Angevin king at an obstinacy as great as his own, his rash cry, ‘Is my house so full of fools and dastards that none will avenge me on this upstart clerk?’ and then his remorse on learning of the four knights who had taken him at his word and murdered the Archbishop as he knelt, still undaunted, on the altar steps of Canterbury Cathedral.

So great was the horror and indignation of Europe, even of those who were devoted to Henry’s cause, that the King was driven to strip and scourge himself before the tomb of Thomas the Martyr, as a public act of penance, and all question of the supremacy of the state over the Church was for the time dropped.

One of the many pilgrims who in the next few years visited the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the hope of a miracle was Louis VII of France, and the miracle that he so earnestly desired was the recovery of his son and heir, Philip Augustus, from a fever that threatened his life. With many misgivings the old king crossed the Channel to the land of a ruler with whom he had been at almost constant war since Eleanor of Aquitaine’s remarriage; but his faith in the vision of the Martyr that had prompted his journey was rewarded. Henry received him with ‘great rejoicing and honour’ after the manner of a loyal vassal, and when the French king returned home he found his son convalescent.

The sequel to this journey, however, was the sudden paralysis and lingering death of Louis himself, and the coronation of the boy prince in whom France was to find so great a ruler. When the bells of Paris had rung out the joyous tidings of his birth one hot August evening fourteen years before, a young British student had put his head out of his lodging window and demanded the news. ‘A boy,’ answered the citizens, ‘has been given to us this night who by God’s grace shall be the hammer of your king, and who beyond a doubt shall diminish the power and lands of him and his subjects.’ One-half of the reign of Philip Augustus, *le Dieu-donné*, or ‘God-given’, was the fulfilment of this prophecy.

At first sight it would seem as though Henry II of England entered the lists against his overlord the Champion of France with overwhelming odds in his favour. Ruler of a territory stretching from Scotland, his dependency, to the Pyrenees, he added to his lands and wealth the brain of a statesman and the experience of long years of war and intrigue. What could a mere boy, fenced round even in his capital of Paris by turbulent barons, hope to achieve against such strength?

Yet the weapons of destruction lay ready to his hand, in the very household of the Angevin ruler himself. Legend records that the blood of some Demon ancestress ran in the veins of the Dukes of Aquitaine, endowing them with a ferocity and falseness strange even to mediaeval minds; and the sons whom Eleanor bore to her second husband were true to this bad strain if to nothing else. 'Dost thou not know', wrote one of them to his father who had reproached him for plotting against his authority, 'that it is our proper nature that none of us should love the other, but that ever brother should strive with brother and son against father? I would not that thou shouldst deprive us of our hereditary right and seek to rob us of our nature.'

Louis VII, in order to weaken Henry II, had encouraged this spirit of treachery, and even provided a refuge for Becket during his exile: his policy was continued by Philip Augustus, who kept open house at Paris for the rebellious family of his tenant-in-chief whenever misfortune drove them to fly before their father's wrath or ambition brought them to hatch some new conspiracy.

Could Henry have once established the same firm grip he had obtained in England over his French possessions, he might have triumphed in the struggle with both sons and overlord; but in Poitou and Aquitaine he was merely regarded as Eleanor's consort, and the people looked to his heirs as rulers, especially to Richard his mother's favourite. Yet never had they suffered a reign of greater licence and oppression than under the reckless and selfish Lion-Heart.

After much secret plotting and open rebellion, Henry succeeded in imprisoning Eleanor, who had encouraged her sons to defy



The Murder of Becket ; from an ivory

O. M. Dalton, ' Byzantine Art and Archacology '



Durnstein on the Danube. Above are the ruins of the castle in which Richard 'Cœur-de-Lion' was imprisoned

Photograph by Mr. G. Boyce Allen

their father, but with Richard supported by Philip Augustus and the strength of southern France he was forced to come to terms towards the end of his reign. Though only fifty-six, he was already failing in health, and the news that his own province of Maine was fast falling to his enemies had broken his courage. Cursing the son who had betrayed him, he sullenly renewed the oath of homage he owed to Philip, and promised to Richard the wealth and independence he had demanded. The compact signed he rode away, heavy with fever, to his castle of Chinon, and there, indifferent to life, sank into a state of stupor. News was brought him that his youngest son John, for whom he had carved out a principality in Ireland, had been a secret member of the League that had just brought him to his knees. 'Is it true,' he asked, roused for the minute, 'that John, my heart . . . has deserted me?' Reading the answer in the downcast faces of his attendants, he turned his face to the wall. 'Now let things go as they will . . . I care no more for myself or the world.' Thus the old king died.

In 1189 Richard the False succeeded his father, and by his prowess in Palestine became Richard 'Cœur-de-Lion'. How he quarrelled with Philip II we have seen in the last chapter, and that Philip, after the siege of Acre, returned home in disgust at the other's overbearing personality.

Philip Augustus does not cut the same heroic figure on the battle-field as his rival: indeed there was no match in Europe for the 'Devil of Aquitaine', who knew not the word fear, and the glamour of whose feats of arms has outlasted seven centuries. It is in kingship that Philip stands pre-eminent in his own age, ready to do battle at the right moment, but still more ready to serve France by patient statecraft. While Richard remained in Palestine, Philip plotted with the ever-treacherous John for their mutual advantage at the absent king's expense; but their enmity remained secret until the joyful news arrived that the royal crusader had been captured in disguise on his way home by the very Leopold of Austria whose banner he had once contemptuously cast into a ditch.

Now the Duke of Austria's overlord was the Emperor

Henry VI, whose claims to Sicily Richard had often derided ; and the Lion-Heart, passing from the dungeon of the vassal to that of the overlord, did not escape until his subjects had paid a huge ransom and he himself had promised to hold England as a fief of the Empire. 'Beware, the Devil is loose', wrote Philip to John, when he heard that their united efforts to bribe Henry VI into keeping his prisoner permanently had failed.

The next few years saw a prolonged struggle between the French armies that had invaded Normandy and the forces of Richard, who, burning for revenge, proved as terrible a rival to Philip in the north of France as he had been in the East ; and the duel continued until a poisoned arrow pierced the Lion-Heart's shoulder, causing his death. 'God visited the land of France,' wrote a chronicler, 'for King Richard was no more.'

From this moment Philip Augustus began to realize his most cherished ambitions, slowly at first, but, thanks to the 'worst of the English kings', with ever-increasing rapidity. John, who had succeeded Richard, was neither statesman nor soldier. To meaningless outbursts of Angevin rage he added the treachery and cruelty of the House of Aquitaine and a sluggish disregard of dignity and ordinary decency peculiarly his own. Soon all his subjects were banded together against him in fear, hatred, and scorn : the Church, on whose privileges he trampled ; the barons, whose wives and daughters were unsafe at his court, and whose lands he ravaged and confiscated ; the people, whom his mercenaries tortured and oppressed. How he quarrelled with the Chapter of Canterbury over its choice of an archbishop, defied Pope Innocent III, and then, brought to his knees by an interdict, did homage to the Holy See for his possessions ; these things, and the signing of Magna Charta, the English Charter of Popular Liberties, at Runymede, are tales well known in English history.

What is important to emphasize here in a European history is the contrast of the unpopularity that John had gained for himself amongst all classes of his own subjects at the very moment that Philip Augustus seemed, in French eyes, to be indeed their 'God-given' king.

French Conquest of Normandy 169

While John feasted at Rouen messengers brought word that Philip was conquering Normandy. 'Let him alone! Some day I will win back all he has taken.' So answered the sluggard, but when he at last raised his standard it was already too late. The English barons would have followed 'Cœur-de-Lion' on the road to Paris: they were reluctant to take sword out of scabbard for John: the very Angevins and Normans were beginning to realize that they had more in common with their French conquerors than with any king across the Channel. Aquitaine, it is true, looked sourly on Philip's progress, but the reason was not that she loved England, but that she feared the domination of Paris, and made it a systematic part of her policy for years to support the ruler who lived farthest away, and would therefore be likely to interfere the least in her internal affairs.

In 1214 John made his most formidable effort, dispatching an army to Flanders to unite with that of the powerful Flemish Count Ferrand, one of Philip's tenants-in-chief, and with the Emperor Otto IV, in a combined attack on the northern French frontier. At Bouvines the armies met, Philip Augustus, in command of his forces, riding with a joyful face 'no less than if he had been bidden to a wedding'.

The battle, when it opened, found him wherever the fight was hottest, wielding his sword, encouraging, rallying, until by nightfall he remained victor of the field, with the Count of Flanders and many another of his chief enemies, including the English commander, prisoners at his mercy.

Philip carried Count Ferrand behind him in chains on his triumphal march to Paris, while all the churches along the way rang their bells, and the crowds poured forth to cheer their king and sing *Te Deums*.

'The Battle of Bouvines was perhaps the most important engagement ever fought on French soil.' So wrote a modern historian before the war of 1914.

In the days of Louis VII the Kings of France had stood dwarfed amid Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine and Counts of Flanders and Anjou. Now the son of Louis had defeated

an emperor, thrown one rebellious tenant-in-chief into a dungeon, and from another, the Angevin John, gained as the reward of his victory all the long-coveted provinces north of the Loire. Even the crown treasury, once so poor, was replete for the time with the revenues of the confiscated Norman and Angevin estates of English barons, who had been forbidden by their sovereign to do homage any more to a French overlord.

Philip Augustus had shown himself Philip 'the Conqueror'; but he was something far greater—a king who, like Henry II of England, could build as well as destroy. During his reign the menace of the old feudal baronage was swept away, and the government received its permanent stamp as a servant of the monarchy.

In his dealing with the French Church Philip followed the traditions of Pepin the Short and Charlemagne, yet gratifying as were his numerous gifts to monasteries and convents, they were dovetailed into a scheme of combining the liberal patron with the firm master. That good relations between the king and clergy resulted was largely due to Philip's policy of replacing bishops belonging to powerful families by men of humble origin accustomed to subservience. Also he would usually support the lesser clergy in their frequent quarrels with their ecclesiastical superiors, thus weakening the leaders while he won the affection of the rank and file.

Like John he came into collision with the iron will of Pope Innocent III, but on a purely moral question, his refusal to live with the Danish princess Ingeborg, to whom he had taken a violent and unaccountable dislike on his wedding-day. The bride was a girl of eighteen; she could speak no French, her husband's bishops were afraid to uphold her cause whatever their secret opinions, but in appealing to the Pope for help she gained an unyielding champion.

In other chapters we shall see Innocent III as a politician and a persecutor of heretics: here he stands as the moral leader of Europe; and no estimate of his character and work would be fair that neglected this aspect. It was to Innocent's political advantage to please the French king, whose help he needed to

chastise the English John and to support a crusade against an outburst of heresy in Languedoc. Moreover, he had no armies to compel a king who accused his wife of witchcraft to recognize her as queen. Yet Innocent believed that Philip was in the wrong; and when the French king persuaded his bishops to divorce him and then promptly married again, papal letters proceeded to denounce the divorce as a farce and the new marriage as illegal.

‘Recall your lawful wife,’ wrote Innocent, ‘and then we will hear all that you can righteously urge. If you do not do this no power shall move us to right or left until justice be done.’ This letter was followed by threats of excommunication, and after some months by an interdict that reduced Philip to a promise of submission in return for a full inquiry into his case. The promise so grudgingly given remained but a promise, and it was not until 1213, nearly twenty years since he had so cruelly repudiated Ingeborg, that, driven by continual papal pressure and the critical state of his fortunes, Philip openly acknowledged the Danish princess as his wife and queen.

We have seen something of Philip’s dealings with his greater tenants-in-chief; but such achievements as the conquest of Normandy and Anjou and the victory of Bouvines were but the fruits of years of diplomacy, during which the royal power had permeated the land, like ether the atmosphere, almost unnoticed. In lending a sympathetic ear to the complaints of Richard and his brothers against their father, Philip was merely carrying out the policy we have noticed in his treatment of the Church.

‘He never began a new campaign without forming alliances that might support him at each step’, says Philip’s modern biographer; and these allies were often the sub-tenants of large feudal estates to whom in the days of peace he had given his support against the claims of their feudal overlords. Sometimes he had merely used his influence as a mediator, at others he had granted privileges to the tenants, or else he had called the case in dispute before his own royal court for judgement. By one means or another, at any rate, he had made the lesser tenants feel that he was their friend, so that when he went out to

battle they would flock eagerly to his banner, sometimes in defiance of their overlord.

One danger to the crown lay, not in the actual feudal baronage, but in the *prévôts*, officials appointed by the king with power to exact taxes, administer the laws, and judge offenders in his name in the provinces. When the monarchy was weak these *prévôts*, from lack of control, developed into petty tyrants, and it was fortunate for Philip that their encroachments were resented by both nobles and clergy, so that a system of reform that reduced them again to a subordinate position was everywhere welcomed.

Gradually a link was established between local administration and the king's council, namely, officials called in the north of France *baillis*, in the south *sénéchals*, whose duty was to keep a watch over the *prévôt* and to depose or report him if necessary. The *prévôt* was still to collect the royal revenues as of old, but the *bailli* would take care that he did not cheat the king, and would forward the money that he received to the central government: he would also hold assizes and from time to time visit Paris, where he would give an account of local conditions and how he had dealt with them.

In these reforms, as in those of Henry II of England, a process that was gradually changing the face of Europe can be seen at work, first the crumbling of feudal machinery too clumsy to keep pace with the needs and demands of dawning civilization, and next its replacement by an official class, educated in the intricacies of finance, justice, and administration, and dependent not on the baronage but on the monarchy for its inspiration and success.

The chief nobles of France in early mediaeval times had regarded such titles as 'Mayor of the Palace', 'Seneschal', 'Chamberlain', 'Butler', &c., as bestowing both hereditary glory and also political power. With the passing of years some of the titles vanished, while under Philip Augustus and his grandson Louis IX those that remained passed to 'new' men of humbler rank, who bore them merely while they retained the office, or else, shorn of any political power, continued as

honours of the court and ballroom. In effect the royal household, once a kind of general servant 'doing a bit of everything inadequately' as in the days of Charlemagne, had now developed into two distinct bodies, each with their separate sphere of work : the great nobles surrounding their sovereign with the dignity and ceremonial in which the Middle Ages rejoiced, the trained officials advising him and carrying out his will.

In his attitude to the large towns, except on his own crown lands where like other landowners he hesitated to encourage independence, Philip II showed himself sympathetic to the attempts of citizens to throw off the yoke of neighbouring barons, bishops, and abbots. Many of the towns had formed 'communes', that is, corporations something like a modern trade union, but these, though destined to play a large part in French history, were as yet only in their infancy. They had their origin sometimes in a revolutionary outburst against oppression, but often in a real effort on the part of leading townsmen to organize the civil life on profitable lines by means of 'guilds', or associations of merchants and traders with special privileges and laws. Some of the privileges at which these city corporations aimed were the right to collect their own taxes, to hold their own law-courts for deciding purely local disputes, and to protect their trade against fraud, tyranny, and competition from outside. It all sounds natural enough to modern ears, but it awoke profound indignation in a French writer of the twelfth century.

'The word "commune", he says, 'is new and detestable, for this is what it implies ; that those who owe taxes shall pay the rent that is due to their lord but once in the year only, and if they commit a crime against him they shall find pardon when they have made amends according to a fixed tariff of justice.'

Except within his own demesnes Phillip II readily granted charters confirming the 'communes' in their coveted rights, and he also founded 'new' towns under royal protection, offering there upon certain conditions a refuge to escaped serfs able to pay the necessary taxes.

In Paris itself his reign marks a new era, when, instead of a town famed according to a chronicler of the day chiefly for its pestiferous smells, there were laid the foundations of one of the most luxurious cities of Europe. The cleansing and paving of the filthy streets, the building of fortifications, of markets, and of churches, and above all of that glory of Gothic architecture, Nôtre Dame de la Victoire, founded to celebrate the triumph of Bouvines: such were some of the works planned or undertaken in the capital during this reign. Over the young University of Paris the King also stretched out a protecting hand, defending the students from the hostility of the townsfolk by the command that they should be admitted to the privileges enjoyed by priests. For this practical sympathy he and his successors were well repaid in the growth of an educated public opinion ready to exalt its patron the crown by tongue and pen.

Philip Augustus died in July 1223. Great among the many great figures of his day, French chroniclers have yet left no distinct impression of his personality. It would almost seem as if the will, the foresight, and the patience that have won him fame in the eyes of posterity, built up a baffling barrier between his character and those who actually saw him. Men recognized him as a king to be admired and feared, 'august' in his conquests, terrible in his wrath if any dared cross his will, but his reserve, his indifference to court gaiety, his rigid attitude of dislike to those who used oaths or blasphemy, they found wholly unsympathetic and strange. Of the great work he had done for France they were too close to judge fairly, and would have understood him better had he been rash and heedless of design like the Lion-Heart. For a real appreciation of Philip Augustus we must turn to his modern biographer.

'He had found France a small realm hedged in by mighty rivals. When he began his reign but a very small portion of the French-speaking people owned his sway. As suzerain his power was derided. Even as immediate lord he was defied and set at nought. But when he died the whole face of France was changed. The King of the Franks was undisputedly the king of by far the greater part of the land, and the internal strength

of his government had advanced as rapidly and as securely as the external power.'

Such was the change in France itself, but we can estimate also to-day, what no contemporary of Philip Augustus could have realized, the effect of that change on Europe, when France from a collection of feudal fiefs stood forth at last a nation in the modern sense, ready to take her place as a leader amongst her more backward neighbours.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Louis VII of France	1137-47
Henry II of England	1154-89
Philip II of France	1180-1223
John, King of England	1199-1216
Battle of Bouvines	1214

XIV

EMPIRE AND PAPACY

WHEN the Emperor Henry IV crossed the ice-bound Alps on his journey of submission to Canossa he was accompanied by a faithful knight, Frederick of Buren, whom he later rewarded for his loyalty with the hand of his daughter and the title Duke of Suabia. Frederick's son was elected Emperor as Conrad III,¹ the first of the imperial line of Hohenstaufen that was destined to carry on through several generations the war between Empire and Papacy.

The Hohenstaufen received their name from a hill on which stood one of Frederick of Buren's strongest castles, but they were also called 'Waiblingen' after a town in their possession; while the House of Bavaria, their chief rivals, was called 'Welf' after an early ancestor. The feud of the Waiblingen and the Welfs that convulsed Germany had no less devastating an effect upon Italy, always exposed to influence from beyond the Alps, and the names of the rivals, corrupted on Italian tongues into 'Ghibellines' and 'Guelfs', became party cries throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In our last chapter we spoke of French 'communes', municipalities that rebelled against their overlords, setting up a government of their own: the same process of emancipation was at work in North Italy, only that it was able to act with greater rapidity and success for a time on account of the national tendency towards separation and the vigour of town life.

'In France', says a thirteenth-century Italian, in surprise, 'only the townspeople dwell in towns: the knights and noble ladies stay . . . on their own demesnes.' Certainly the contrast with his native Lombardy was strong. There each city lived like a fortified kingdom on its hill-top, or in the midst of wide

¹ See p. 152.

plains, cut off from its neighbours by suspicion, by jealousy, by competition. In the narrow streets noble and knight jostled shoulders perforce with merchants, students, mountebanks, and beggars. The limits of space dictated that many things in life must be shared in common, whether religious processions or plagues, and if street fighting flourished in consequence so also did class intimacy and a sharpening of wits as well as of swords. Thus the towns of North Italy, like flowers in a hot-house, bore fruits of civilization in advance of the world outside, whether in commerce, painting, or the art of self-government; and visitors from beyond the Alps stared astonished at merchants' luxurious palaces that made the castles of their own princes seem mere barbarian strongholds.

Yet this profitable independence was not won without struggles so fierce and continuous that they finally endangered the political freedom in whose interests they had originally been waged. At first the struggle was with barbarian invaders; and here, as in the case of Rome and the Popes, it was often the local bishops who, when emperors at Constantinople ceased to govern except in name, fostered the young life of the city states and educated their citizens in a rough knowledge of war and statecraft.

With the dawn of feudalism bishops degenerated into tyrants, and municipalities began to elect consuls and advisory councils and under their leadership to rebel against their former benefactors, and to establish governments independent of their control.

The next danger was from within: cities are swayed more easily than nations, and too often the 'communes' of Lombardy became the prey of private factions or of more powerful city neighbours. Class warred against class and city against city; and out of their struggles arose leagues and counter-leagues, bewildering to follow like the ever-changing colours of a kaleidoscope.

Into this atmosphere of turmoil the quarrel between Popes and Holy Roman Emperors, begun by Henry IV and Hildebrand and carried on by the Hohenstaufen and the inheritors of Hildebrand's ideals, entered from the 'communes' point of view

like a heaven-sent opportunity for establishing their independence. In the words of a tenth-century bishop: 'The Italians always wish to have two masters that they may keep one in check by the other.'

The cities that followed the Hohenstaufen were labelled 'Ghibelline', those that upheld the Pope 'Guelf'; and at first, and indeed throughout the contest where cruelty and treachery were concerned, there was little to choose between the rivals. Later, however, the fierce imperialism of Frederick I was to give to the warfare of his opponents, the Guelfs, a patriotic aspect.

Frederick I, the 'Barbarossa' of the Third Crusade, was a Hohenstaufen on his father's side, a Welf on his mother's; and it had been the hope of those who elected him Emperor that 'like a corner-stone he would bind the two together . . . that thus with God's blessing he might end their ancient quarrel'. At first it appeared this hope might be realized, for the new Emperor made a friend of his cousin Henry the Lion who, as Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, was heir of the Welf ambitions. Frederick also, by his firm and business-like rule, established what the chroniclers called such 'unwonted peace' that 'men seemed changed, the world a different one, the very Heaven milder and softer'.

Unfortunately Frederick, who has been aptly described as an 'imperialist Hildebrand', regarded the peace of Germany merely as a stepping-stone to wider ambitions. Justinian, who had ruled Europe from Constantinople, was his model, and with the help of lawyers from the University of Bologna, whom he handsomely rewarded for their services, he revived all the old imperial claims over North Italy that men had forgotten or allowed to slip into disuse. The 'communes' found that rights and privileges for which their ancestors had fought and died were trampled under foot by an imperial official, the *podestà*, sent as supreme governor to each of the more important towns: taxes were imposed and exacted to the uttermost coin by his iron hand: complaint or rebellion were punished by torture and death.

'Death for freedom is the next best thing to freedom,' cried the men of Crema, flaming into wild revolt, while Milan shut her

gates against her *podestà* in an obstinate three years' siege. Deliverance was not yet, and Frederick and his vast army of Germans desolated the plains: Crema was burned, her starving population turned adrift: the glory of Milan was reduced to a stone quarry: Pope Alexander III who, feeling his own independence threatened by imperial demands, had supported the movement for liberty, was driven from Rome and forced to seek refuge in France. Everywhere the Ghibellines triumphed, and it was in these black days in Italy that the Guelfs ceased for a time to be a faction and became patriots, while the Pope stood before the world the would-be saviour of his land from a foreign yoke.

Amid the smouldering ruins of Milan the Lombard League sprang into life: town after town, weary of German oppression and insolence, offered their allegiance: even Venice, usually selfish in the safe isolation of her lagoons, proffered ships and money. Milan was rebuilt, and a new city, called after the patriot Pope 'Alessandria', was founded on a strategic site. *Alessandria degla paglia*, 'Alessandria of the straw', Barbarossa nicknamed it contemptuously, threatening to burn it like a heap of weeds; but the new walls withstood his best engines, and plague and the damp cold of winter devastated his armies encamped around them.

The political horizon was not, indeed, so fair for the Emperor as in the early days of his reign. Germany seethed with plots in her master's absence, and Frederick had good reason to suspect that Henry the Lion was their chief author, the more that he had sulkily refused to share in this last Italian campaign. Worst of all was the news that Alexander III, having negotiated alliances with the Kings of France and England, had returned to Italy and was busy stirring up any possible seeds of revolt against Frederick, whom he had excommunicated.

In the year 1176, at Legnano, fifteen miles from Milan, the armies of the League and Empire met in decisive battle, Barbarossa nothing doubting of his success against mere armed citizens; but the spirit of the men of Crema survived in the 'Company of Death', a bodyguard of Milanese knights sworn

to protect their *carroccio*, or sacred cart, or else to fall beside it. Upon the *carroccio* was raised a figure of Christ with arms outstretched, beneath his feet an altar, while from a lofty pole hung the banner of St. Ambrose, patron saint of Milan.

When the battle opened the first terrific onslaught of German cavalry broke the Milanese lines; but the Company of Death, reckless in their resolve, rallied the waverers and turned defence into attack. In the ensuing struggle the Emperor was unhorsed, and, as the rumour spread through the ranks that he had been killed, the Germans broke, and their retreat became a wild, unreasoning rout that bore their commander back on its tide, unable to stem the current, scarcely able to save himself.

Such was the battle of Legnano, worthy to be remembered not as an isolated twelfth-century victory of one set of forces against another, but as one of the first very definite advances in the great campaign for liberty that is still the battle of the world. At Venice in the following year the Hohenstaufen acknowledged his defeat and was reconciled to the Church; while by the 'Perpetual Peace of Constance' signed in 1183 he granted to the communes of North Italy 'all the royal rights (regalia) which they had ever had or at the moment enjoyed'.

Such rights—coinage, the election of officials and judges, the power to raise and control armies, to impose and exact taxes—are the pillars on which democracy must support her house of freedom. Yet since 'freedom' to the mediaeval mind too often implied the right to oppress some one else or 'maintain a state of anarchy, too much stress must not be laid on the immediate gains. North Italy in the coming centuries was to fall again under foreign rule, her 'communes' to abuse and betray the rights for which the Company of Death had risked their lives: yet, in spite of this taint of ignorance and treachery, the victory of Legnano had won for Europe something infinitely precious, the knowledge that tyrants could be overthrown by the popular will and feudal armies discomfited by citizen levies.

Barbarossa returned to Germany to vent his rage on Henry the Lion, to whose refusal to accompany him to Italy he considered his defeat largely due. Strong in the support of the

Church, to which he was now reconciled, he summoned his cousin to appear before an imperial Diet and make answer to the charge of having confiscated ecclesiastical lands and revenues for his own use. Henry merely replied to this mandate by setting fire to Church property in Saxony, and in his absence the ban of outlawry was passed against him by the Diet. Here again was the old 'Waiblingen' and 'Welf' feud bursting into flame, like a fire that has been but half-suppressed, and cousinship went to the wall. Henry the Welf was a son-in-law of Henry II of England and had made allies of Philip Augustus and the King of Denmark: his Duchy of Bavaria in the south and of Saxony in the north covered a third of German territory: he had been winning military laurels in a struggle against the Slavs, while Frederick had been losing Lombardy. Thus he pitted himself against the Emperor, unmindful that even in Germany the hands of the political clock were moving forward and feudalism slowly giving up its dominion.

To the dawning sense of German nationality Barbarossa was something more than first among his barons, he was a king supported by the Church, and Bavarians and Saxons came reluctantly to the rebel banner; while, as the campaign developed, the other princes saw their fellow vassal beaten and despoiled of his lands and driven into exile without raising a finger to help him.

Frederick allowed Henry the Lion to keep his Brunswick estates, but Saxony and Bavaria he divided up amongst minor vassals, in order to avoid the risk of another powerful rival. Master of Germany not merely in name but in power, he and his successors could have built up a strong monarchy, as Philip II and the House of Capet were to do in France, had not the siren voice of Italy called them to wreck on her shifting policies.

Hitherto we have spoken chiefly of North Italy; but Frederick I bound Germany to her southern neighbours by fresh ties when he married his eldest son Henry in 1187 to Constance, heiress of the Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily. By this alliance he hoped to establish a permanent Hohenstaufen counterpoise in the south to the alliance of the Pope and the Guelf towns in

the north. Triumphant over the wrathful but helpless Roman See, he felt himself an emperor indeed, and having crowned his son Henry as 'Caesar', in imitation of classic times, he rode away to the Third Crusade, still lusting after adventure and glory.

The news of his death in Asia Minor¹ swept Germany with sadness and pride. Like all his house, he had been cruel and hard ; but vices like these seemed to weigh little to the mediaeval mind against the peace and prosperity enjoyed under his rule. Legends grew about his name, and the peasants whispered that he had not died but slept beneath the sandstone rocks, and would awake again when his people were in danger to be their leader and protector.

Henry VI, who succeeded Frederick in the Empire, succeeded also to his dreams and the pitfalls that they inspired. One of his earliest struggles had been the finally successful attempt to secure Sicily against the claims of Count Tancred, an illegitimate grandson of the last ruler. Great were the sufferings of the unhappy Sicilians who had adopted the Norman's cause ; for Henry, having bribed or coerced the Pope and North Italy into a temporary alliance, exacted a bitter vengeance. Tancred's youthful son, blinded and mutilated, was sent with his mother to an Alpine prison to end his days, while in the dungeons of Palermo and Apulia torture and starvation brought to his followers death as a blessed relief from pain.

Queen Constance, who had been powerless to check these atrocities, turned against her husband in loathing : the Pope excommunicated their author ; but Henry VI laughed contemptuously at both. It was his threefold ambition : first, to make the imperial crown not elective but hereditary in the House of Hohenstaufen ; next, to tempt the German princes into accepting this proposition by the incorporation of Naples and Sicily as a province of the Empire ; and thirdly, to rule all his dominions from his southern kingdom, with the Pope at Rome, as in the days of Otto the Great, the chief bishop in his empire.

Strong-willed, persistent, resourceful, with the imagination that sees visions, and the practical brain of a man of business who

¹ See p. 154.

can realize them, Henry VI, had he lived longer, might have gained at least a temporary recognition of his schemes ; but in 1197 he died at the age of thirty-two, leaving a son not yet three years old as the heir of Hohenstaufen ambitions. Twelve months later died also Queen Constance, having reversed as much as she could during her short widowhood of her hated husband's German policy, and having bequeathed the little King of Naples to the guardianship of the greatest of mediaeval Popes and the champion of the Guelfs, Innocent III.

At the coronation of Innocent III the officiating priest had used these words: 'Take the tiara and know that thou art the father of princes and kings, the ruler of the world, the Vicar on earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ.' To Lothario di Conti this utterance was but the confirmation of his own beliefs, as unshakable as those of Hildebrand, as wide in their scope as the imperialism of Frederick Barbarossa or Henry VI. 'The Lord Jesus Christ,' he declared, 'has set up one ruler over all things as His Universal Vicar, and as all things in Heaven, Earth, and Hell bow the knee to Christ, so should all obey Christ's Vicar that there be one flock and one shepherd.' Again: 'Princes have power on earth, priests have also power in Heaven.'

In illustration of these views he likened the Papacy to the sun, the Empire to the lesser light of the moon, and recalled how Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane gave to St. Peter two swords. By these, he explained, were meant temporal and spiritual power, and emperors who claimed to exercise the former could only do so by the gracious consent of St. Peter's successors, since 'the Lord gave Peter the rule not only of the universal Church but also the rule of the whole world'.

Gregory VII had made men wonder in the triumph of Canossa whether such an ideal of the Papacy could ever be realized ; but as if in proof he had been hunted from Rome and died in exile. It was left to Innocent III to exhibit the partial fulfilment, at any rate, of all that his predecessor had dreamed. In character no saintly Bernard of Clairvaux, but a clear-brained practical statesman, he set before himself the vision of a kingdom of God on earth after the pattern of earthly kingdoms ; and to this end, that

he sincerely believed carried with it the blessing of God for the perfecting of mankind, he used every weapon in his armoury.

Sometimes his ambitions failed, as when, in a real glow of enthusiasm, he preached the Fourth Crusade—an expedition that ended in Venice, who had promised the necessary ships, diverting the crusaders to storm her a coveted port on the Dalmatian coast, and afterwards to sack and burn Constantinople in the mingled interests of commerce and pillage. His anger at the news that the remonstrances of his legates had been ignored could hardly at first be extinguished. Not thus had been his plan of winning Eastern Christendom to the Catholic Faith and of destroying the infidel ; for the Latin Empire of Constantinople, set up by the victorious crusaders, was obviously too weak to maintain for long its tyranny over hostile Greeks, or to serve as an effective barrier against the Turks. Statesmanship, however, prompted him to reap what immediate harvest he could from the blunders of his faithless sons ; and he accepted the submission of the Church in Constantinople as a debt long owing to the Holy See.

The Fourth Crusade, in spite of the extension of Rome's ecclesiastical influence, must be reckoned as one of Innocent's failures. In the West, on the other hand, the atmosphere created by his personality and statecraft made the name of ' The Lord Innocent ' one of weight and fear to his enemies, of rejoicing to his friends. When upholding Queen Ingeborg he had stood as a moral force, bending Philip Augustus to his will by his convinced determination ; and this same tenacity of belief and purpose, added to the purity of his personal life and the charm of his manner, won him the affection of the Roman populace, usually so hostile to its Vicars.

Mediaeval popes were, as a rule, respected less in Italy than beyond the Alps, and least of all in their own capital, where too many spiritual gifts had been seen debased for material ends, and papal acts were often at variance with pious professions. During the pontificate of Innocent III, however, we find the ' Prefect ', the imperial representative at Rome, accept investiture at his hands, the ' Senator ', chief magistrate of the municipality, do

him homage; and through this double influence his control became paramount over the city government.

In Naples and Sicily he was able to continue the policy of Constance, drive out rebellious German barons, struggle against the Saracens in Sicily, and develop the education of his ward, the young King of Naples, as the spiritual son who should one day do battle for his ideals. 'God has not spared the rod,' he wrote to Frederick II. 'He has taken away your father and mother: yet he has given you a worthier father, His Vicar; and a better mother, the Church.'

In Lombardy, where the Guelfs naturally turned to him as their champion, the papal way was comparatively smooth, for the cruelty of Barbarossa and his son Henry VI had aroused hatred and suspicion on all sides. Thus Innocent found himself more nearly the master of Italy than any Pope before his time, and from Italy his patronage and alliances extended like a web all over Europe.

Philip Augustus of France, trying to ignore and defy him, found in the end the anger he aroused worth placating: John of England changed his petulant defiance into submission and an oath of homage: Portugal accepted him as her suzerain: rival kings of Hungary sought his arbitration: even distant Armenia sent ambassadors to ask his protection. His most impressive triumph, however, was secured in his dealings with the Empire.

Henry VI had wished, we have seen, to make the imperial crown hereditary; but no German prince would have been willing to accept the child he left as heir to his troubled fortunes. The choice of the electors therefore wavered between another Hohenstaufen, Philip of Suabia, brother of the late Emperor, and the Welf Otto, son of Henry the Lion. The votes were divided, and each claimant afterwards declared himself the legally elected emperor, one with the title Philip II, the other with that of Otto IV.

For ten long years Germany was devastated by their civil wars. Otto, as the Guelf representative, gained the support of Innocent the Great, to whom the claimants at one time appealed for arbitration; but Philip refused to submit to this judgement

in favour of his rival, believing that he himself had behind him the majority of the German princes and of the official class.

‘Inasmuch,’ declared Innocent, ‘as our dearest son in Christ, Otto, is industrious, prudent, discreet, strong and constant, himself devoted to the Church . . . we by the authority of St. Peter receive him as King and will in due course bestow on him the imperial crown.’

Here was papal triumph! Rome no longer patronized but patron, with Otto on his knees, gratefully promising submission and homage with every kind of ecclesiastical privilege, to complete the picture. Yet circumstances change traditions as well as people, and when the death of Philip of Suabia left him master of Germany, the Guelf Otto found his old ideals impracticable: he became a Ghibelline in policy, announced his imperial rights over Lombardy, even over some of the towns belonging to the Pope, while he loudly announced his intention of driving the young Hohenstaufen from Naples.

Innocent’s wrath at this *volle-face* was unbounded. Otto, no longer his ‘dearest son in Christ’, was now a perjurer and schismatic, whose excommunication and deposition were the immediate duty of Rome. Neither, however, was likely to be effective unless the Pope could provide Italy and Germany with a rival, whose dazzling claims, backed by papal support, would win him followers wherever he went. In this crisis Innocent found his champion in the Hohenstaufen prince denounced by Otto, a lad educated almost since infancy in the tenets and ambitions of the Catholic Church.

Frederick, King of Naples and Sicily, was an interesting development of hereditary tastes and the atmosphere in which he had been reared. To the southern blood that leaped in his veins he owed perhaps his hot passions, his sensuous appreciation of luxury and art, his almost Saracen contempt for women save as toys to amuse his leisure hours. From the Hohenstaufen he imbibed strength, ambition, and cruelty, from the Norman strain on his mother’s side his reckless daring and treachery. With the ordinary education of a prince of his day, Frederick’s qualities and vices might have merely produced

a warrior king of rather exceptional ability ; but thanks to the papal tutors provided by Innocent, the boy's naturally quick brain and imagination were stirred by a course of studies far superior to what his lay contemporaries usually enjoyed, and he emerged in manhood with a real love of books and culture, and with an eager curiosity on such subjects as philosophy and natural history.

In the royal charter by which he founded the University of Naples Frederick expressed his intention that here 'those within the Kingdom who had hunger for knowledge might find the food for which they were yearning'; and his court at Palermo, if from one aspect dissolute and luxurious, was also a centre for men of wit and knowledge against whose brains the King loved to test his own quips and theories.

When Frederick reached Rome, on Innocent's hasty summons to unsheath the sword of the Hohenstaufen against Otto, much of his character was as yet a closed book even to himself. Impulsive and eager, like any ambitious youth of seventeen called to high adventure, and with a genuine respect for his guardian, he did not look far ahead ; but kneeling at the Pope's feet, pledged his homage and faith before he rode away northwards to win an empire. In Germany a considerable following awaited him, lifelong opponents of Otto on account of his Welf blood, and others who hated him for his churlish manners. Amongst them Frederick scattered lavishly some money he had borrowed from the Republic of Genoa, and this generosity, combined with his Hohenstaufen strength and daring, increased the happy reputation that papal legates had already established for him in many quarters.

In December 1212 he was crowned in Mainz. Civil war followed, embittered by papal and imperial leagues, but in 1214 Otto IV was decisively beaten at Bouvines in the struggle with Philip II of France that we have already described,¹ and the tide which had been previously turning against him now swept away his few friends and last hopes. With the entry of his young rival into the Rhineland provinces the dual Empire

¹ See p. 169.

ceased to exist, and Frederick was crowned in Aachen, the old capital of Charlemagne.

Innocent III had now reached the summit of his power, for his pupil and protégé sat on the throne of Rome's imperial rival. In the same year he called a Council to the Lateran Palace, the fourth gathering of its kind, to consider the two objects dearest to his heart, 'the deliverance of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church Universal'. Crusading zeal, however, he could not rouse again: to cleanse and spiritualize the life of the Church in the thirteenth century was to prove a task beyond men of finer fibre than Innocent: but, as an illustration of his immense influence over Europe, the Fourth Lateran Council with its dense submissive crowds, representative of every land and class, was a fitting end to his pontificate.

In the year 1216 Innocent III died—the most powerful of all Popes, a striking personality whose life by kindly fate did not outlast his glory. In estimating Innocent's ability as a statesman there stands one blot against his record in the clear light shed by after-events, namely, the short-sighted policy that once again united the Kingdom of Naples to the Empire, and laid the Papacy between the upper millstone of Lombardy and the nether millstone of southern Italy. Excuse may be found in Innocent's desperate need of a champion with Otto IV threatening his papal heritage, added to his belief in the promises of the young Hohenstaufen to remain his faithful vassal. He also tried to safeguard the future by making Frederick publicly declare that he would bequeath Naples to a son who would not stand for election to the Empire; but in trusting the word of the young Emperor he had sown a wind from which his successors were to reap a whirlwind.

The new Emperor was just twenty years old when Innocent died. Either to please his guardian, or moved by a momentary religious impulse, he had taken the Cross immediately after his entry into Aachen; but the years passed and he showed himself in no haste to fulfil the vow. Much of his time was spent in his loved southern kingdom, where he completed Innocent's work of reducing to submission the Saracen population that

had remained in Sicily since the Mahometan conquest.¹ As infidels the Papacy had regarded these Arabs with special hatred ; but Frederick, once assured that they were so weak that they would be in future dependent on his favour, began protecting instead of persecuting them. He also encouraged their silk industry by building them a town, Lucera, on the Neapolitan coast, where they could pursue it undisturbed ; while he enrolled large numbers of Arab warriors in his army, and used them to enforce his will on the feudal aristocracy, descendants of the Norman adventurers of the eleventh century.

So successful was he in playing off one section of his subjects against another, opposing or aiding the different classes as policy dictated, that he soon reigned as an autocrat in Naples. Many of the nobles' strongholds were levelled with the dust : their claim to wage private war was forbidden on pain of death : cases were taken away from their law-courts and those of the feudal bishops to be decided by royal justices : towns were deprived of their freedom to elect their own magistrates, while crown officials sent from Palermo administered the laws, and imposed and collected taxes.

On the whole these changes were beneficial, for private privileges had been greatly abused in Naples, and Frederick, like Philip Augustus or the Angevin Henry II, had the instinct and ability to govern well when he chose. Nevertheless the subjugation of 'the Kingdom', as Naples was usually called in Italy, was of course received with loud outcries of anger by Neapolitan barons and churchmen, who hastened to inform the Holy See that their ruler loved infidels better than Christians and kept an eastern harem at Palermo.

Honorius III, the new Pope, accepted such reports and scandals with dismay. He had himself noted uneasily Frederick's absorption in Italian affairs and frequently reminded him of his crusading vow. Being gentle and slow to commit himself to any decided step however, it was not till the Hohenstaufen deliberately broke his promise to Innocent III, and had his eldest son Henry crowned King of the Romans as well as King of

¹ See p. 115.

Naples, thus acknowledging him as his heir in both Germany and Italy, that Honorius's wrath flamed into a threat of excommunication. For a time it spread no farther, since Frederick was lavish in explanations and in promises of friendship that he had no intention of fulfilling, while the old Pope chose to believe him rather than risk an actual conflagration. At last, however, the patient Honorius died.

Gregory IX, the new Pope, was of the family of Innocent, and shared to the full his views of the world-wide supremacy of the Church. An old man of austere life and feverish energy, he regarded Frederick as a monster of ingratitude and became almost hysterical and quite unreasonable in his efforts to humble him. Goaded by his constant reproaches and threats, the Emperor began to make leisurely preparations at Brindisi for his crusade; but when he at last started, an epidemic of fever, to which he himself fell a victim, forced him to put back to port. Gregory, refusing to believe in this illness as anything more than an excuse for delay, at once excommunicated him; and then, though Frederick set sail as soon as he was well enough, repeated the ban, giving as his reason that the Emperor had not waited to receive his pardon for the first offence like an obedient son of the Church.

A crusader excommunicated by the Head of Christendom first for not fulfilling his vow and then for fulfilling it! This was a degrading and ridiculous sight; and Frederick, now definitely hostile to Rome, continued on his way, determined with obstinate pride that, if not for the Catholic Faith, then for his own glory, he would carry out his purpose. The Templars refused him support: the Christians still left in the neighbourhood of Acre helped him half-heartedly or stood aloof, frightened by the warnings of their priests; but Frederick achieved more without the Pope's aid than other crusaders had done of late years with his blessing. By force of arms, and still more by skilful negotiations, he obtained from the Sultan possession of Jerusalem, and entering in triumph placed on his head the crown of the Latin kings.

His vow fulfilled, he sailed for Sicily, and the Pope, whose

troops in Frederick's absence had been harrying 'the Kingdom', hastily patched up a peace at San Germano. 'I will remember the past no more,' cried Frederick, but anger burned within him at papal hostility. 'The Emperor has come to me with the zeal of a devoted son,' said Gregory, but there was no trust in his heart that corresponded to his words.

A Hohenstaufen, who had taken Jerusalem unaided, supreme in Naples, supreme also in Germany, stretching out his imperial sceptre over Lombardy! What Pope, who believed that the future of the Church rested on the temporal independence of Rome, could sleep tranquilly in his bed with such a vision?

It is not possible to describe here in any detail the renewed war between Empire and Papacy that followed the inevitable breakdown of the treaty of San Germano. Very bitter was the spirit in which it was waged on both sides. Frederick, whatever his intentions, could not forget that it was the Father of Christendom who had tried to ruin his crusade. The remembrance did not so much shake his faith as wake in him an exasperated sense of injustice that rendered him deaf to those who counselled compromise. Unable to rid himself wholly of the fear of papal censure, he yet saw clearly enough that the sin for which Popes relentlessly pursued him was not his cruelty, nor profligacy, nor even his toleration of Saracens, but the fact that he was King of Naples as well as Holy Roman Emperor.

To a man of Frederick's haughty temperament there was but one absolution he could win for this crime, so to master Rome that he could squeeze her judgements to his fancy like a sponge between his strong fingers. 'Italy is my heritage,' he wrote to the Pope, 'and all the world knows it.'

In his passionate determination to obtain this heritage statesmanship was thrown to the winds. He had planned a strong monarchy in Naples, but in Germany he undermined the foundations of royal authority that Barbarossa and Henry VI had begun to lay. 'Let every Prince', he declared, 'enjoy in peace, according to the improved custom of his land, his immunities, jurisdictions, counties and hundreds, both those which belong to

him in full right, and those which have been granted out to him in fief.'

The Italian Hohenstaufen only sought from his northern kingdom, whose good government he thus carelessly sacrificed to feudal anarchy, sufficient money to pay for his campaigns beyond the Alps and leisure to pursue them. In the words of a modern historian, 'he bartered his German kingship for an immediate triumph over his hated foe.'

At first victory rewarded his energy and skill. His hereditary enemy, the 'Lombard League', had tampered with the loyalty of his eldest son, Henry, King of the Romans, whom he had left to rule in Germany: but Frederick discovered the plot in time and deposed and imprisoned the culprit. In despair at the prospect of lifelong imprisonment held out to him, the young Henry flung himself to his death down a steep mountain-side; and Conrad, his younger brother, a boy of eight, was crowned in his stead.

In North Italy Frederick pursued the policy not so much of trampling down resistance with his German levies, like his grandfather Barbarossa, as of employing Italian nobles of the Ghibelline party, whom he supported and financed that they might fight his battles and make his wrath terrible in the popular hearing. Such were Eccelin de Romano and his brother Alberigo, lords of Verona and Vicenza, whose tyranny and cruelties seemed abnormal even in their day.

'The Devil's own Servant' Eccelin is called by a contemporary, who describes how he slaughtered in cold blood eleven thousand prisoners.

'I believe, in truth, no such wicked man has been from the beginning of the world unto our own days: for all men trembled at him as a rush quivers in the water... he who lived to-day was not sure of the morrow, the father would seek out and slay his son, and the son his father or any of his kinsfolk to please this man.'

Alberigo 'hanged twenty-five of the greatest men of Treviso who had in no wise offended or harmed him'; and as the prisoners struggled in their death agonies he thrust among their

feet their wives, daughters, and sisters, whom he afterwards turned adrift half-naked to seek protection where they might.

Revenge when this 'Limb of Satan' fell into the hands of his enemies was of a brutality to match ; for Alberigo and his young sons were torn in pieces by an infuriated mob, his wife and daughters burned alive, 'though they were noble maidens and the fairest in the world and guiltless.'

Passions ran too deep between Guelf and Ghibelline to distinguish innocence, or to spare youth or sex. Cruelty, the most despicable and infectious of vices, was the very atmosphere of the thirteenth century, desecrating what has been described from another aspect as 'an age of high ideals and heroic lives'.

It is remarked with some surprise by contemporaries that Frederick II could pardon a joke at his own expense ; but on the other hand we read of his cutting off the thumb of a notary who had misspelt his name, and callously ordering one of his servants, by way of amusement, to dive and dive again into the sea after a golden cup, until from sheer exhaustion he reappeared no more.

At Cortenuova the Lombard League was decisively beaten by the imperial forces, the *carroccio* of Milan seized and burned. Frederick, flushed with success, now declared that not only North but also Middle Italy was subject to his allegiance, and replied to a new excommunication by advancing into Romagna and besieging some of the papal towns. Gregory, worn out by grief and fury, died as his enemy approached the gates of Rome : and his immediate successor, unnerved by excitement, followed him to the grave before the cardinals who had elected him could proceed to his consecration.

Innocent IV, who now ascended the papal throne, had of old shown some sympathy to the imperial cause ; but Frederick, when he heard of his election, is reported to have said, 'I have lost a friend, for no Pope can be a Ghibelline.' With the example of Otto IV in his mind he should have added that no Emperor could remain a Guelf.

Frederick had indeed gained an inveterate enemy, more dangerous than Gregory IX, because more politic and discreet

From Lyons, whither he had fled, Innocent IV maintained unflinchingly the claims he could no longer set forth in Rome, declaring the victorious Emperor excommunicate and deposed. 'Has the Pope deposed me?' asked Frederick scornfully, when the news came. 'Bring me my crowns that I may see what he has taken away!'

One after another he placed on his head the seven crowns his attendants brought him, the royal crown of Germany and imperial diadem of Rome, the iron circlet of Lombardy, the crowns of Jerusalem, of Burgundy, of Sardinia, and of Sicily and Naples. 'See!' he said, 'Are they not all mine still? and none shall take them from me without a struggle.'

So the hideous war between Welf and Waiblingen, between Guelf and Ghibelline continued, and Germany and Italy were deluged with blood and flames. 'After the Emperor Frederick was put under the ban,' says a German chronicler, 'the robbers rejoiced over the spoils. Then were the ploughshares beaten into swords and reaping-hooks into lances. No one went anywhere without flint and steel to set on fire whatever he could kindle.'

The ebb from the high-water mark of the Emperor's fortunes was marked by the revolt and successful resistance of the Guelf city of Parma to the imperial forces—a defeat Frederick might have wiped out in fresh victory had not his own health begun to fail. In 1250 he died, still excommunicate, snatched away to hell, according to his enemies, not dead, according to many who from love or hate believed his personality of more than human endurance.

Yet Frederick, whether for good or ill, had perished, and with him his imperial ambitions. Popes might tremble at other nightmares, but the supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire over Italy would no more haunt their dreams for many years. Naples also, to whose conquest and government he had devoted the best of his brain and judgement, was torn from his heirs and presented by his papal enemy to the French House of Anjou. Struggling against these usurpers the last of the royal line of Hohenstaufen, Conradin, son of Conrad, a lad of fifteen, gallant

and reckless as his grandfather, was captured in battle and beheaded.

Frederick had destroyed in Germany and built on sand elsewhere; and of all his conquests and achievements only their memory was to dazzle after-generations. *Stupor et Gloria Mundi* he was called by those who knew him, and in spite of his ultimate failure and his vices he still remains a 'wonder of the world', set above enemies and friends by his personality, the glory of his courage, his audacity, and his strength of purpose.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 363-73.

Pope Alexander III	1159-81
Emperor Philip II	1197-1208
Emperor Otto IV	1197-1215
Fourth Lateran Council	1215
The Sixth Crusade	1228-9
Battle of Cortenuova	1237
Death of Conradin	1268

XV

LEARNING AND ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE word 'progress' implies to modern men and women a moving forward towards a perfection as yet unknown, freshly imagined indeed by each generation: to the Middle Ages it meant rather a peering back through the mist of barbarian invasions to an idealized Christian Rome. Inspiration lay in the past, not merely in such political conceptions as the Holy Roman Empire, but in the domain of art and thought, where too often tradition laid her choking grip upon originality struggling for expression.

The painting of the early Middle Ages was stereotyped in the stiff though beautiful models of Byzantium, that 'Fathers of the Church' had insisted, by means of decrees passed at Church councils, should be considered as fitting representations of Christian subjects for all time. Less impressive but more life-like were the illuminations of missals and holy books, that, in illustrating the Gospels or lives of the Saints, reproduced the artist's own surroundings—the noble he could see from the window of his cell ride by with hawk or hounds, the labourer sowing or delving, the merchant with his money-bags, the man of fashion trailing his furred gown.

Vignettes such as these, with their neat craftsmanship of line and colour, their almost photographic love of detail, lend a reality to our glimpses of life in Europe from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries; yet great as is the debt we owe them, the real art of the Middle Ages was not consummated with the brush but with the builder's tools and sculptor's chisel.

Like the painter's, the architect's impulse was at first almost entirely religious, though guild-halls and universities followed

on the erection of churches and monasteries. Nourished on St. Augustine's belief in this life as a mere transitory journey towards the eternal 'City of God', mediaeval men and women saw this pilgrimage encompassed with a vast army of devils and saints, ranged in constant battle for the human soul. Only through faith and the kindly assistance of the Saints could man hope to beat off the legions of hell which hung like a pack of wolves about his footsteps, and nowhere with greater efficacy than in the sanctuary from which human prayer arose daily to God's throne.

Churches and chapels in modern times have become the property of a section of the public—that is, of those who think or believe in a certain way; and sometimes through poverty of purse or spirit, through bad workmanship or material, the architecture that results is shoddy or insignificant. In the Middle Ages his parish church was the most certain fact in every Christian's existence, from the day he was carried to the font for baptism until his last journey to rest beneath its shadow. Here he would make his confessions, his vows of repentance and amendment, and offer his worship and thanksgiving: here he would often find a fortified refuge from violence in the street outside, a school, a granary, a parish council-chamber.

What more natural than that mediaeval artists, their souls attune with the hopes and fears of their age, should realize their genius best in constructing and ornamenting buildings that were to all citizens alike the symbol of their belief? 'Let us build,' said the people of Siena in the thirteenth century, 'such a church to the glory of God that all men shall wonder!'

The cathedral, when completed, was but a third in size and grandeur of the original design, for the Black Death fell upon Siena and carried off her builders in the midst of their work; yet it remains magnificently arresting to modern eyes, as though the faith of those who planned and fashioned its slabs of black and white marble for the love of God and their city had breathed into their workmanship something of the mediaeval soul.

The same is true of 'Nôtre Dame de la Victoire' in Paris, founded by Philip Augustus, of which Victor Hugo says 'each

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face, each stone, is a page of history'. It is true of nearly all mediaeval churches that have outlived the ravages of war and fire, memorials of an age, that if it lagged behind our own in ultimate achievement, was pre-eminent in one art at least—ecclesiastical architecture.

Where the architect stopped the mediaeval sculptor took up his work, at first with simple severity but later in a riot of imagination that peopled façades, vaulted roofs, and capitals of columns with the angels, demons, and hybrid monsters that haunted the fancy of the day. The flying buttress, the invention of which made possible lofty clerestories with vast expanses of window, brought to perfection another art, the painting of glass. Here also the mediaeval artist excelled, and the crucibles in which he mixed the colours that hold us wrapt before the windows of Leon, Albi, and Chartres, still keep unsolved the secret of their transparent delicacy and depth.

In the architecture, the sculpture, and in the stained glass of the Middle Ages we see original genius at work, but in learning and culture Europe was slower to throw off the giant influence of Rome. Even under the crushing inroads of barbarian ignorance Italy had managed to keep alive the study of classical authors and of Roman law. Latin remained the language of the educated man or woman, the language in which the services of the Church were recited, sermons were preached, correspondence carried on, business transacted, and students in universities and schools addressed by their professors.

The advantages of a common tongue can be imagined: the comparative ease with which a pope or king could keep in touch with bishops or subjects of a different race; the accessibility of the best books to students of all nations, since scarcely a mediaeval author of repute would condescend to employ his own tongue: above all perhaps the ease with which an ambassador, a merchant, or a pilgrim could make himself understood on a journey across Europe, instead of torturing his brain with struggles after the right word in first one foreign dialect and then another.

This classical form, so rigidly withholding knowledge from the

grasp of the ignorant, had also its disadvantage; for many a mediaeval pen, that could have flown across the vellum in joyful intimacy in its owner's tongue, stumbled clumsily amidst Latin constructions, leaving in the end not a spontaneous record of current events, but a 'dry-as-dust' catalogue, in bad imitation of some Latin stylist. The modern world is more grateful to mediaeval culture for such lapses as Dante's *Divina Commedia* than for all the heavy Latin tomes, whose authors hoped for laurelled immortality.

For those in England and France who could not easily master Latin or found its stately periods too cumbrous for ordinary conversation, French, descended from the spoken Latin of the Roman soldier or merchant in Gaul, was in the Middle Ages, as to-day, the language of polite society. It possessed two distinct dialects, the 'langue d'œil' and the 'langue d'oc', so called because the northern* Frenchman, including the Norman, was supposed to pronounce *oui* as *œil*, while his southern fellow countryman pronounced it as *oc*.

England, where, ever since the Conquest of William I, French had been the natural tongue of a semi-foreign court, owed an enormous literary impulse to the 'langue d'œil' during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; while the 'langue d'oc' that gave its name to a district in the south of France shared its poetry and romance between Provençals and Catalans. The descendants of the former are to-day French, of the latter Spanish: but in the eleventh century they were fellow subjects of the Counts of Toulouse, who ruled over a district stretching from the source of the Rhone to the Mediterranean, from the Italian Alps to the Ebro.

In this semi-independent kingdom there developed a civilization and culture of hot-house growth, precocious in its appreciation of the less violent pleasures of life, such as love, art, music, literature, but often corrupt in their enjoyment. The gay court of Toulouse paid no heed to St. Augustine's hell, whose fears haunted the rest of Europe in its more thoughtful moments. Joyous and inconsequent, it lived for the passing hour, and out of its atmosphere of dalliance and culture was born a race of

poet-singers. These troubadours (*trouvers* = discoverers) sang of love, whose silken fetters could hold in thrall knights and fair ladies; and their golden lyrics, now plaintive, now gay, were carried to the crowded cities of Italy and Spain, or found schools of imitators elsewhere, as in Germany amongst her thirteenth-century *minnesingers* (love-singers). In the north of France and in England appeared minstrels also, but their themes were less of love than of battle; and audiences revelled by castle and camp-fire in the 'gestes' or 'deeds' of Charlemagne and his Paladins, the chivalry of Arthur and his Knights, or in stirring Border ballads such as Chevy Chase.

The market-place, the camp, and the baronial hall, where were sung or recited these often imaginary stories of the past, were the schools of the many unlettered; just as the conversation of Arabs and Jews around the desert fires had stimulated the imagination of the young Mahomet; but for the few who could afford a sounder education there were the universities—Paris, Bologna, Oxford, to name but three of the most famous.

The word *universitas* implied in the Middle Ages a union of men; such a corporation as the 'guilds' formed by fishmongers and drapers to protect their trade interests; and the universities had indeed originated for a similar purpose. Cities to-day that have universities in their midst are proud of the fact, and welcome new students; but in early mediæval times an influx of young men of all ages from every part of Europe, many of them wild and unruly, some so poor that they must beg or steal their daily bread, was at first sight a very doubtful blessing. Street fights between nationalities who hated one another on principle, or between bands of students and citizens, were a common occurrence in the towns that learning honoured with her presence, and had their usual accompaniment of broken heads, fires, and looting. But for the *universitas* formed by masters and students to control and protect their members, these centres of education would probably have been stamped out by indignant tradesmen: as it was they had to fight for their existence.

Municipalities looked with no lenient eye upon a corporation



Scene in a garden with a Minstrel singing

From: Harley MS. 4425. 12



In School. From a sixteenth-century MS. in Lyons



A University Lecture in the fifteenth century

Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 17 E. III. 209

that seemed to them a 'state within a state', threatening their own right to govern all within the city. It was not until after many generations that they understood the meaning of the word co-operation, that is, the possibility of assisting instead of hindering the work of the *universitas*. Sometimes a king like Philip Augustus insisted on toleration by granting to his students the 'privilege of clergy', but as the University grew it became able to enforce its own lessons. In the thirteenth century the Masters of Paris closed their lecture-halls and led away their flock, in protest for what they considered unfair treatment by the city authorities during a riot, and their absence taught Parisians that, in spite of head-breakings, the students were an asset, not a loss, to municipal life. Under the protection therefore of a papal 'bull', they returned a few weeks later in triumph to the Latin Quarter.

It was only by degrees that colleges where the students could live were erected, or that anything resembling the elaborate organization of a modern university was evolved. Students lodged where they could, and 'masters' lived on the goodwill of those who paid their fees, and starved if their popularity waned and with it their audience. The life of both teacher and pupil was vague and hazardous, with a background of poverty and crime lurking at the street corners to ruin the unwary or foolish. Nor was the period of study a mere 'passing sojourn' like some modern 'terms': the Bachelor of Arts at Oxford or Paris must be a student of five years' standing, the Master of Arts calculated on devoting three years more to gaining his final degree, a Doctor of Theology would be faced with eight years' hard work at least. It might almost be said that higher education under these circumstances became a profession.

To Bologna, the greatest of Italian universities, went those who wished to study Roman law at the fountain-head. This does not mean to stir up the legal dust of a dead empire out of a student's curiosity, but to master a living system of law that barbarian invaders had gradually grafted on to their own national codes. In the eleventh century the laws of Justinian¹

¹ See p. 49.

were as much or more revered than in his own day. We have seen that Frederick Barbarossa set the lawyers of Bologna to work to justify from old legal documents the claims he wished to establish over Lombardy; and when they had succeeded to his satisfaction he rewarded them with gifts and knighthood, showing what value he put on their achievement. This is a very good example of the respect felt by mediaeval minds for the laws and title-deeds of an earlier age, even though the tyranny that resulted led the 'Lombard League' to dispute such claims.

Still more closely allied than the civil codes of Europe to the old Roman legal texts was the 'Canon' law of the Church that had been directly based upon classic models; and with the rise of Hildebrand's world-wide ambitions its decisions assumed a growing importance and demanded an enormous army of trained lawyers to interpret and arrange them. For youths of a practical and ambitious turn of mind here was a course of study leading to a profession profitable in all ages; and a text-book was provided for such budding lawyers in the *decretum* of Gratian, a monk who in the twelfth century compiled a full and authoritative text of Canon law.

The existence of the Ecclesiastical Courts, in which Canon law was administered, we have already mentioned in discussing the quarrel of Henry II of England and Thomas Becket.¹ Founded originally to deal with purely ecclesiastical cases and officials, they tended in time to draw within their competence any one over whom the Church could claim protection and any causes that affected the rites of the Catholic Church. It was a wide net with a very small mesh, as the Angevin Henry II and other lay rulers of Europe found. The protection that spread its wings over priests and clerks stretched also to crusaders, widows, and orphans: the jurisdiction of the Church Courts claimed not merely moral questions such as heresy, sacrilege, and perjury, but all matters connected with probate of wills, marriage and divorce, and even libel.

Rome became a hive of ecclesiastical lawyers, with the Pope, like the Roman emperors of old, the supreme law-giver and

¹ See p. 164.

final court of appeal for all Church Courts of Europe. His rule was absolute, at least in theory, for by his power of 'dispensation' he could set aside, if he considered advisable, the very Canon law his officials administered. He could also summon to his *curia*, or papal court, any case on which he wished to pronounce judgment, at whatever stage in its litigation in an inferior ecclesiastical court.

Under the Pope in an ordered hierarchy, corresponding to the feudal arrangement of lay society, came the metropolitans, who received from his hand or from those of his legates the narrow woollen scarf, or *pallium*, that was the symbol of their authority. Next in order came the diocesan bishops with their 'officials', the archdeacons and rural deans, each with their own court and measure of jurisdiction.

The Pope's will went forth to Christendom in the form of letters called 'bulls', from the *bulia* or heavy seal that was attached to them. Against those who paid no heed to their contents he could hurl either the weapon of excommunication—that is, of personal outlawry from the Church—or else, if the offender were a king or a city, the still more blasting 'interdict' that fell on ruler and ruled alike. The land that groaned under an interdict was bereft of all spiritual comfort: no priest might say public Mass, baptize a new-born child, perform the marriage service, console the dying with 'extreme unction', or bury the dead. The very church bells would ring no more.

It was under this pressure of spiritual starvation, when the Saints seemed to have withdrawn their sheltering arms and the demons to have gathered joyfully to a harvest of lost souls, that John of England was brought by the curses of his people to turn to Rome in repentance and submission. Yet, as in the case of most weapons, familiarity bred contempt, and too frequent use of powers of 'interdict' and 'excommunication' was to blunt their efficacy—a Frederick II, the oft-excommunicated, proved able to conquer Jerusalem and dominate Italy even under the papal ban.

The Church, in her claims to world empire, demanded in truth an obedience it was beyond her ability to enforce. She also laid herself open to temptations to which from the nature of her

temporal ambitions she must inevitably succumb. No such elaborate and expensive administration as emanated from her *curia* could continue without an inexhaustible flow of money into her treasury. Lawyers, priests, legates, cardinals, the Pope himself, had each to be maintained in a state befitting their office in the eyes of a world, as ready in the thirteenth century as in the twentieth to judge by appearances and offer its homage accordingly.

In addition to the ordinary expenses of a ruler, whose court was a centre of religious and intellectual life for Europe, there was the constant burden of war, first with neighbouring Italian rulers and then with the Empire. Innocent IV triumphed over the Hohenstaufen; but largely by dipping his hands into English money-bags, to such an extent indeed during the reign of John's son, Henry III, that England gained the scoffing name of the 'milch cow of the Papacy'.

At first, when the ecclesiastical courts had offered to criminals a justice at once more humane and comprehensive than the rough-and-ready tyranny of a king or feudal lord, the upholders of the rights of Canon law were regarded as popular heroes. Later, however, with the growth of national feeling and the development and better administration of the civil codes, men and women began to falter in their allegiance. Canon law was found to be both expensive and tardy, especially in the case of 'appeals', that is, of cases called from some inferior court to Rome. The key also to the judgements given at Rome was often too obviously gold and of heavy weight.

Nor was justice alone to be bought or sold. A large part of the money that filled the Roman treasury was derived from benefices and livings in different countries of Europe that had by one means or another accumulated in papal hands. The constant pressure of the wars with emperors and Italian Ghibellines made it necessary for the Popes to administer this patronage as profitably as possible; and so the spiritual needs of dioceses and parishes became sacrificed to the military calls on the Roman treasury.

Sometimes it was not a living itself for which a clerical candidate

paid heavily, but merely the promise of 'preferment' to the next vacancy; or he would pledge himself in the case of nomination to send his 'firstfruits', that is, his first year's revenue, to Rome. Those who could afford the requisite sum might be natives of the country in which the vacant bishopric or living occurred: often they were not, and the successful nominee, instead of going in person to exercise his duties, would merely send an agent to collect his dues. These dues came from many different sources, but in the case of livings principally from the 'tithe', a tax for the maintenance of the Church, supposed to represent one-tenth of every man's income.

People usually grumble when they are continually asked for money, and mediaeval men and women were no exception to this rule. Thus, to take the case of England, while the wars between Emperor and Pope left her comparatively indifferent as to the issues involved, the growing exactions of the Roman *curia* that touched her pockets awoke a smouldering resentment that every now and then flared into hostility

'In these times', wrote the chronicler, Matthew Paris, 'the small fire of faith began to grow exceeding chill, so that it was well nigh reduced to ashes . . . for now was simony practised without shame. . . . Every day illiterate persons of the lowest class, armed with bulls from Rome, feared not to plunder the revenues which our pious forefathers had assigned for the maintenance of the Religious, the support of the poor, and the sustaining of strangers.'

At Oxford in the reign of Henry III (1216-72), the papal legate was forced to fly from the town by indignant 'clerks' of the university, or undergraduates as we should call them to-day. 'Where is that usurer, that simoniac, that plunderer of revenues, that thirster for money?' they cried, as they hunted him and his retinue through the streets, 'it is he who perverts the King and subverts the kingdom to enrich foreigners with our spoils.'

At Lincoln Bishop Grosstete indignantly refused to invest Innocent IV's nephew, a boy of twelve, with the next vacant prebendary of his cathedral. Other papal relatives were absorbing livings and bishoprics elsewhere in Europe, for under Innocent IV began the open practice of 'nepotism', that is, of

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Popes using their revenues and their office in order to provide for their nephews and other members of their families.

'He laid aside all shame,' says Matthew Paris of this Pope, 'he extorted larger sums of money than any before him.' The 'sums of money' enabled Rome to cast down her imperial foe, but the extortion was a dangerous expedient. Throughout the early Middle Ages the Pope had been accepted by Western Christendom as speaking for the Church with the voice of Christ's authority. In his disputes with kings the latter could never be sure of the loyalty of their people, should they call on them to take up arms against the 'Holy Father'.

With the growth of nations and of Rome as a temporal power a gradual change came over the European outlook; subjects were more inclined to obey rulers whom they knew than a distant potentate whom they did not; they were also less ready to accept papal interference without criticism. Thus a distinction was for the first time drawn between the Pope and the Church.

When King Hako of Norway was offered the imperial crown on the deposition of Frederick II by Innocent IV, he refused, saying, 'I will gladly fight the enemies of the Church, but I will not fight against the foes of the Pope.' His words were significant of a new spirit. In the feuds of Guelfs and Ghibellines that racked the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were laid the foundations of a movement to control the Popes by Universal Councils in the fifteenth, and of that still more drastic opposition to his powers in the sixteenth that we call the Reformation.



A mediæval service. From the Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 22



A Friar preaching. From the Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 22 (fifteenth century)

XVI

THE FAITH OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A MODERN student, when he passes from school to a university, soon finds that he is standing at a cross-roads: he cannot hope, like a philosopher of the sixteenth century, to 'take all knowledge for his province', but must choose which of the many signposts he will follow—law, classics, science, economics, chemistry, medicine, to name but a few of the more important. Mediaeval minds would have been sorely puzzled by some of these avenues of knowledge, while the rest they would denounce as mere sidetracks, leading by a devious route to the main high road of theology. Science, for instance, the patient searching after truth by building up knowledge from facts, and accepting nothing as a fact that had not been verified by proof, was a closed book in the thirteenth century.

Roger Bacon, an English friar, one of the first to attempt scientific experiments, was regarded with such suspicion on account of his researches and his sarcastic comments on the views of his day that he was believed to be in league with the devil; and even the favour of a pope more enlightened than most of his contemporaries could not save him in later years from imprisonment as a suspected magician.

Men and women hate to change the ideas in which they have been brought up; and in the thirteenth century they readily accepted as facts such fabulous stories told by early Christian writers as that of the phoenix who at five hundred years old casts herself into a sacred fire, emerging renewed in health and vigour from her own ashes, or of the pelican killing her young at birth and reviving them in three days, or of the unicorn resisting all the wiles of the hunter but captured easily by a pure maiden. The charm of such natural history lay to mediaeval

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minds not in its legendary quaintness but in the use to which it could be turned in pointing a moral or adorning the doctrines of theology.

Theology was the chief course of study at Paris, just as Roman law reigned at Bologna. It comprised a thorough mastery of the Scriptures as expounded by 'Fathers of the Church', and also of what was then known through Latin and Arabic translations of the works of the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Although he had been a pagan, Aristotle was almost as much revered by many mediaeval theologians as St. Jerome or St. Augustine, and it was their life-work to try and reconcile his views with those of Catholic Christianity.

The philosophy that resulted from the study of these very different authorities is called 'scholasticism', and those who gave patient years of thought to the arguments that built up and maintained its theories the 'schoolmen'.

The first of the great Paris theologians was Peter Abelard, a Breton—handsome, self-confident, ready of tongue and brain. Having studied 'dialectics', that is, the system of reasoning by which the mediaeval mind constructed its philosophy, he aroused the disgust of his masters by drawing away their pupils, through his eloquence and originality, as soon as he understood the subject-matter sufficiently to lecture on his own account.

In Paris so many young men of his day crowded round his desk that Abelard has been sometimes called the founder of the university. This is not true, but his popularity may be said to have decided that Paris rather than any other town should become the intellectual centre of France. Greedily his audience listened while he endeavoured to prove by human reason beliefs that the Church taught as a matter of faith; and, though he had set out with the intention of defending her, it was with the Church that he soon came into conflict.

One of his books, called *Yes and No*, contained a brief summary of the views of early Christian Fathers on various theological questions. Drawn into such close proximity some of these views were found to conflict, and the Breton lecturer became an object of suspicion in ecclesiastical quarters, especially

to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who believed that human reason was given to man merely that he might accept the teaching of the Church, not to raise arguments or criticisms concerning it.

‘Peter Abelard’, he wrote to the Pope, ‘is trying to make void the merit of Christian faith when he deems himself able by human reason to comprehend God altogether . . . the man is great in his own eyes . . . this scrutinizer of Majesty and fabricator of heresies.’

The minds of the two men were indeed utterly opposed—types of conflicting human thought in all ages. St. Bernard, in spite of his frank denunciations of the sins of the Church, was docile to the voice of her authority, and hated and feared the pride of the human intellect as the deadliest of all sins. Abelard, by nature inquisitive and sceptical, regarded his deft brain as a surgeon’s knife, given him to cut away diseased or worn-out tissues from the thought of his day in order to leave it healthier and purer.

As antagonists they were no match, for St. Bernard was infinitely the greater man, without any of the other’s petty vanity and worldliness to confuse the issue for which they struggled: he had behind him also the sympathy of mediaeval minds not as yet awakened to any spirit of inquiry, and so the Breton was driven into the retirement of a monk’s cell and his condemned works publicly burned.

One of his pupils, Peter Lombard, adopted his master’s methods without arousing the anger of the orthodox by any daring feats of controversy, and produced a *Book of Sentences* (*sententiae*=opinions) that became the text-book for scholasticism, just as the *Decretum* was the authority for students of Roman law. Without being a work of genius the *Sentences* cleared a pathway through the jungle of mediaeval thought for more original minds, while the discovery in the latter half of the twelfth century of several hitherto unknown works of Aristotle gave added zest to the researches of the ‘Schoolmen’. Greatest of all these ‘Schoolmen’ was Thomas Aquinas, ‘the Angelic Doctor’, as he has sometimes been called.

Aquinas was a Neapolitan of noble family, who ran away

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from home as a boy to join the Dominicans, an Order of wandering preachers of whose foundation we shall shortly speak. Thomas was recaptured and brought home by his elder brother, a noble at the court of Frederick II; but neither threats nor imprisonment could persuade the young novice to give up the life he had chosen. After a year he broke the bars of his window, escaped from Naples, and went to Cologne and Paris, where he studied theology, emerging from this education the greatest lecturer and teacher of his day. In his *Summa Theologiae*, his best-known book, he set forth his belief in man's highest good as the chief thought of God, using both the commentaries of the Church Fathers and the works of Aristotle as quarries to provide the material for fashioning his arguments. Like Abelard, he believed in the voice of reason, but without any of the Breton's probing scepticism. Human reason bridled by divine grace was the guide he sought to lead his pen through the maze of theology; and so clear and judicial were his methods, so brilliant the intellect that shone through his writings, that Aquinas became for later generations an authority almost equal to St. Augustine.

The intense preoccupation of mediaeval minds with theology and the importance attached to 'right belief' are the most striking mental characteristics of the period with which we are dealing. To-day we are inclined to judge a man by his actions rather than by his beliefs, to sum up a character as good or bad because its owner is generous or selfish, kind or cruel, brave or cowardly. In the twelfth or thirteenth centuries this would have seemed a wholly false standard. The ideal of conduct, for one thing, maintained by monks like St. Bernard of Clairvaux was so exalted that, to the ordinary men and women in an age of cruelty and fierce passions, a good life seemed impossible save for Saints. The sins and failings of the rest of the world received a very easy pardon except from ascetics; and it was generally felt that God in His mercy, through the intercession of the kindly Saints, would be compassionate to human weakness so long as the sinner repented, confessed, and clung to a belief in the teaching of the Church. This teaching, or 'Faith',

declared to have been given by Christ to His Apostles, set forth in the writings of the Christian Fathers, gathered together in the Creeds and Sacraments defined by Church Councils, preached and expounded by the clergy and theologians, defended by the Pope, was the torch that could alone guide man's wavering footsteps to the 'City of God'.

'Do you know what I shall gain,' asked a French Count of the thirteenth century, 'in that during this mortal life I have believed as Holy Church teaches? I shall have a crown in the Heavens above the angels, for the angels cannot but believe inasmuch as they see God face to face.'

Heresy—the refusal to accept the teaching of the Church—was the one unpardonable sin, a moral leprosy worse in mediaeval eyes than any human disease because it affected the soul, not the body, and the life of the soul was everlasting. The heretic must be suppressed, converted if possible, but if not, burned and forgotten like a diseased rag, lest his wrong beliefs should infect others and so lose their souls also eternally. To-day we know that neither suppression nor burnings can ultimately extinguish that independence of thought and spirit of inquiry that are as much the motive power of some human natures as the acceptance of authority is of others. Tolerance, and how far it can be extended to actions as well as beliefs, is one of the problems that the world is still studying. The towns and provinces, where the first battles were fought, are sown with the blood and ashes of those who neither sought nor offered the way of compromise as a solution.

Another of Abelard's pupils, besides the orthodox Peter Lombard, was an Italian, Arnold of Brescia—in many ways a man of like intellect with his master, self-centred, restless, and ambitious. When he returned home from the University he at once took a violent part in the life of the Brescian commune, declaring publicly that the Church should return to the days of 'apostolic poverty', and urging the citizens to cast off the yoke of their bishop. Exiled from Italy by the anger of the Pope and clergy at his views he went again to Paris, where he taught in the University until by the King's command he was driven

away. He next found a refuge in Germany under the protection of a papal legate, who had known and admired him in earlier days; but this news aroused the furious anger of St. Bernard.

‘Arnold of Brescia,’ he wrote to the legate, ‘whose speech is honey . . . whose doctrine poison, the man whom Brescia has vomited forth, whom Rome abhors, whom France drives into exile, whom Germany curses, whom Italy refuses to receive, obtains thy support. To be his friend is to be the foe of the Pope and God.’

The legate contrived by mediation to reconcile the heretic temporarily with the Church; but Arnold was by nature a fire-brand, and, having settled in Rome, soon became leader in one of the many plots to make that city a ‘Free Town’, owing allegiance only to the Emperor. Largely through his efforts the Pope was compelled to go into exile; but later the Romans, under the fear of an interdict that would deprive them of the visits of pilgrims out of whom they usually made their living, deserted him; and the republican leader was forced to fly. Captured amongst the Italian hills, he was taken to Rome and burned, his ashes being thrown into the Tiber lest they should be claimed as relics by those of the populace who still loved him. His judges need not have taken this precaution, for neither Arnold’s religious nor political views could claim any large measure of public approval in his own day. Elsewhere, indeed, heresy and rebellion were seething, but it was not till the beginning of the thirteenth century that the outbreak became a vital problem for the Papacy.

The widest area of heresy was in the provinces of Languedoc and Provence, to whose precocious mental development we have already referred.¹ The Counts of Toulouse no longer ruled in the thirteenth century over any of modern Spain, but north of the Pyrenees they were tenants-in-chief to the French king for one of the most fertile provinces of southern France, while as Marquesses of Provence they were vassals of the Emperor for the country beyond the Rhone.

Semi-independent of the control of either of these overlords,

¹ See p. 199.

Count Raymond VI presided over a court famed for its luxury and gaiety of heart, its light morals, and unorthodox religious views. When he received complaints from Rome that his people were deriding the Catholic Faith and stoning his bishops and priests, he scarcely pretended regret, for his sceptical nature was quite unshocked by heresy, and both he and his nobles fully approved of popular insistence on 'apostolic poverty', a doctrine that enabled them to appropriate ecclesiastical lands and revenues for their own purposes.

The heretical sects in Languedoc were many: perhaps the most important those of the Albigenses and Waldensians. The former practically denied Christianity, maintaining that good and evil were co-equal powers, and that Christ's death was of no avail to save mankind. The Waldensians, or 'Poor men of Lyons', on the other hand, had at first tried to find acceptance for their beliefs within the Church. Peter Waldo, their founder, a rich merchant of Lyons, had translated some of the Gospels from Latin into the language of the countryside, and, having given away all his goods, he travelled from village to village, preaching, and trying with his followers to imitate the lives of the Apostles in simplicity and poverty.

In spite of condemnation from the Pope, who was suspicious of their teaching, the Waldensians increased in number. They declared that the authority of the Bible was superior to that of the Church, appointed ministers of their own, and denied many of the principal articles of Faith that the Church insisted were necessary to salvation.

The mediaeval Church taught that only through belief in these articles of Faith, that is, in the Creeds and Sacraments (*sacramentum* = something sacred), as administered by the clergy, could man hope to be saved. The most important of the Sacraments, of which there were seven, was the miracle of the Mass, sometimes called 'transubstantiation'. Its origin was the Last Supper, when Christ before His crucifixion gave His disciples bread and wine, saying 'Take, eat, this is my body. . . .' 'Take, drink, this is my blood which was shed for you.' The mediaeval Church declared that every time at the service of

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Mass the priest offered up 'the Host', or consecrated bread, Christ was sacrificed anew for the sins of the world, and that the bread became in truth converted into the substance of His body.

The Waldensians, and many sects that later broke away from the tenets of the mediaeval Church, denied this miracle and also the sacred character of the priests who could perform it. According to the Church, her clergy at ordination received through the laying on of the bishop's hands some of the mysterious power that Christ had given to St. Peter, conferring on them the power also to forgive sins. No matter if the priest became idle or vicious, he still by virtue of his ordination retained his sacred character, and to lay hands upon him was to incur the wrath of God.

Even in the twelfth century, when St. Bernard travelled in Languedoc, he had been horrified to find 'the sacraments no longer sacred and priests without respect'. His attempts at remonstrance were met with stones and threats, while the establishment of an 'episcopal inquisition' to inquire into and stamp out this hostility only increased Provençal bitterness and determination.

'I would rather be a Jew,' was an expression of disdain in the Middle Ages; but in Toulouse the people said, 'I had rather be a priest,' and the clergy who walked abroad were forced to conceal their tonsures for fear of assault.

'Heresy can only be destroyed by solid instruction' was Innocent III's first verdict. 'It is by preaching the truth that we sap foundations of error.' He therefore sent some Cistercians to hold a mission in Languedoc, and in their company travelled a young Spaniard, Dominic de Guzman, burning to win souls for the Faith or suffer martyrdom. The Cistercians rode on horses with a large train of servants and with wagons drawn by oxen to carry their clothes and their food. This display aroused the scornful mirth of the Albigenes and Waldensians. 'See,' they cried, 'the wealthy missionaries of a God who was humble and despised, loaded with honours!'

Everywhere were the same ridicule and contempt, and it was in

this moment of failure that Dominic the Spaniard interposed, speaking earnestly to those who were with him of the contrast between the heretic ministers in their lives of poverty and self-denial with the luxury and worldliness of the local clergy, and even with the ostentatious parade of his fellow preachers. Because he had long practised austerities himself, wearing a hair shirt, fasting often, and denying himself every pleasure, the young Spaniard received a respectful hearing, and so fired the Cistercians with his enthusiasm that they sent away their horses and baggage-wagons, and set out on foot through the country to try and win the populace by different methods. With them went Dominic, barefoot, exulting in this opportunity of bearing witness in the face of danger to the Faith he held so precious.

The attitude of the men and women of Languedoc towards the papal mission was no longer derisive but it remained hostile, for they also held their Faith sacred, while all the racial prejudice of the countryside was thrown into the balance of opposition to Rome. Thus converts were few, and angry gatherings at which stones were thrown at the strangers many; and so matters drifted on and the mission grew more and more discouraged.

In 1208 occurred a violent crisis, for the papal legate, having excommunicated Count Raymond of Toulouse for appropriating certain Church lands and refusing to restore them, was murdered, and the Count himself implicated in the crime, seeing that, as in the case of Henry II and Becket, it had been his angry curses that had prompted some knights to do the deed. Innocent III at once declared the Count deposed, and preached a crusade against him and his subjects as heretics.

Twenty years of bloodshed and cruelty followed; for under the command of the French Count Simon de Montfort, an utterly unscrupulous and brutal general, the orthodox legions of northern France gathered at the papal summons to stamp out the independence of the south that they had always hated as a rival. Languedoc, her nobles and people united, fought hard for her religious and political freedom; but the struggle was uneven, and she was finally forced into submission. Thirty

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thousand of her sons and daughters had perished, and with them the civilization and culture that had made the name of Provence glorious in mediaeval Europe.

The name of Dominic the Spaniard does not appear in the bloodstained annals of the Albigensian Crusade. He had advocated very different measures; and in 1216, pursuing his ideal, received from the Pope leave to form an Order of 'Preaching Brothers', modelled on the Monastic Orders, except that the 'Friars' (*Fratres* = brothers), as these monks were called, were commanded not to live permanently in communities but to spend their lives travelling about from village to village, preaching as they went. They were to beg their daily bread; and the very Order itself was forbidden to acquire wealth, their founder hoping by this stringent rule to prevent the worldliness that had corrupted the other religious communities.

Dominic, or St. Dominic, for the enthusiasm of the mediaeval Church soon canonized him, was a son of his age in his intense devotion to the Faith; but his spiritual outlook was beyond the comprehension of all save a few. In Innocent III may be found a more typical figure of the early thirteenth century; and to Innocent's standard, and not to that of their founder, the followers of St. Dominic for the most part conformed.

Pope Innocent had advocated the driving out of error by right teaching; but his failure by this method woke in him an exasperation that made the obstinate heresy of Languedoc seem a moral and social plague to be suppressed ruthlessly. Thorough in this undertaking as in all to which he set his mind and hand, he added to the slaughter of Simon de Montfort's Crusade the terrible and efficient machinery of the Inquisition, and this during the pontificate of Gregory IX was transferred from the jurisdiction of local bishops to that of the Papal See. The Inquisitors, empowered to discover heresy and convert the heretic by torture and fire, were mainly Dominicans, selected for this task on account of their theological training and the very devotion to the Faith on which their founder had laid such stress.

The most important political fruits of the Albigensian Crusade

were gathered by Philip II of France, who had himself stood aloof from the struggle, although permitting and encouraging his nobles to take the Cross. By the deposition and fall of his powerful tenant-in-chief, the Count of Toulouse, the centre and south of France, hitherto so proudly independent, lost a formidable ally; and large tracts of Poitou and Aquitaine fell under royal influence and were incorporated amongst the crown lands.

This process continued under Philip's son, Louis VIII, who himself joined in the Crusade and marched with an army down the valley of the Rhone, capturing Avignon, and arriving almost at the gates of Toulouse. His sudden illness and death brought the campaign to an end; but his widow, Blanche of Castile, acting as regent for her son the boy King Louis IX, concluded a treaty with the new Count of Toulouse, Raymond VII, that left that noble a chastened and submissive vassal of both king and pope. Amongst other things he was forced to acknowledge one of the French king's younger brothers as his successor in the County of Provence.

It is pleasant to turn from the Albigensian Crusade, one of the blackest pictures of the Middle Ages, to its best and brightest, the story of St. Francis of Assisi.

In 1182 there was born at Assisi, a little Umbrian village, a boy whom his mother named John, but whom his father, a rich merchant, who had lately travelled in France, nicknamed 'Francis', or 'the Frenchman'. St. Dominic had developed his fiery faith in an austere and intensely religious home; but Francis shared the light-hearted sociable intercourse of an Italian town, and in boyhood was distinguished only from his fellows by his generosity, innate purity, and irrepressible joy in life.

When he grew up, Francis went to fight with the forces of Assisi against the neighbouring city of Perugia, and was taken prisoner with some others of his fellow townsmen and thrown into a dungeon. The grumbling and bitterness of the majority during that twelve months of captivity were very natural; but Francis, unlike the rest, met the general discomfort with serene good-

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humour, even merriment, so that not for the last time in his career he was denounced as crazy.

On his release and return home, the merchant Bernadone wished his son to cut some figure in the world; and when the young man dreamed of shining armour and military glory, he provided him with all he had asked in the way of clothes and accoutrements and sent him in the train of a wealthy noble who was going to fight in Naples.

Half-way on his journey Francis turned back to Assisi. God, he believed, had told him to do so—why he could not tell. He tried to follow the frivolous life he had led before, but now the laughter of his companions seemed to ring hollow in his ears. It was as if they found pleasure in a shadow, while he alone was conscious that somewhere close was a reality of joy that, if he could only discover it, would illumine the whole world.

Then his call came; but to the comfortable citizens of Assisi it seemed the voice of madness. The young Bernadone, it was rumoured, had been seen in the company of lepers and entertaining beggars at his table. Almost all the money and goods he possessed he had given away; nay, there came a final word that he had sold his horse and left his home to live in a cave outside the town. The people shook their heads at such folly and sympathized with the old Bernadone at this end to his fine ambitions for his son.

Pietro Bernadone in truth had developed such a furious anger that he appealed to the Bishop of Assisi, entreating him either to persuade Francis to give up his new way of life or else to compel him to surrender the few belongings he had still left. Francis was then summoned, and in the bishop's presence handed back to his father his purse and even his very clothes. Penniless he stood before Assisi who had often ridden through the streets a rich man's heir, and it was a beggar's grey robe with a white cross roughly chalked upon it that he adopted as the uniform of his new career.

His fellow townsmen had been moved by this complete renunciation; but mingled at first with their admiration was a half-scornful incredulity. They could understand saints ardent

in defence of the Faith against heresy, fiery in their denunciation of all worldly pleasures, for such belonged to the religious atmosphere of the Middle Ages; but this son of Assisi, who raised no banner in controversy, and found an equal joy of life in the sunshine on a hill-side, in the warmth of a fire, in the squalor of a slum, was at first beyond their spiritual vision.

Yet Francis Bernadone belonged as truly to the mediaeval world as St. Dominic or St. Bernard of Clairvaux. In his spirit was mingled the self-denial of the 'Poor Men of Lyons' and the romance of the Provençal singers. These troubadours sang of knights whose glory and boast were the life-service of some incomparable lady. Francis exulted in his servitude to 'My Lady Poverty', his soul aflame with a chivalry in contrast to which the conventional devotion of poets burned dim.

In honour of 'My Lady Poverty' the rich merchant's son had cast away his father's affection, his military ambitions, his comfortable home and gay clothes; and because of the strength and depth of his devotion the surrender left no bitterness, only an intense joy that found beauty amid the rags, disease, and filth of the most sordid surroundings.

For some time it never occurred to Francis to found an Order from amongst the men who, irresistibly drawn by his sincerity and joy, wished to become his followers and share his privations and work amongst the poor and sick. When they asked him for a 'rule of life', such as that possessed by the monastic foundations, he led them to the nearest church. In the words of a chronicler:

'Commencing to pray (because they were simple men and did not know where to find the Gospel text relating to the renouncing of the world), they asked the Lord devoutly that He would deign to show them His will at the first opening of the Book.

'When they had prayed, the blessed Francis, taking in his hands the closed Book, kneeling before the Altar opened it, and his eye fell first upon the precept of the Lord, "If thou wouldst be perfect, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven": at which the blessed Francis was very glad and gave thanks to God.'

Thus, in dedication to the service of 'My Lady Poverty', the

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Order of the 'Lesser Brethren' (Minorites), or the 'Poor Men of Assisi', was founded and received permission from Innocent III to carry on its work amongst lepers and outcasts, though it was not till 1223 that formal sanction for an Order was received from Rome.

Three years later St. Francis died, and the Friars who had lived with him declared that he had followed Christ so closely that in his hands and feet were found the 'stigmata' or marks of the wounds his Master had endured in the agony of crucifixion. Tales have been handed down of his humility and gentleness, of how, in the early days of the Order, he would go himself and beg the daily bread for his small community rather than send his companions to encounter possible insults; of how, in an age that set little store even by human lives, he would rescue doves in their cages that lads carried about for sale, and set them free; and of how, because he read something of God's soul in every creature that had life, he preached to the birds as well as to men.

Brotherhood to the friar of Assisi meant the union not only of all human souls but of all creation in the praise of God, and daily he offered thanks for the help of his brothers, the sun, the fire, and the wind; and for his sisters, the moon and the water; and for his mother, the earth. It was his love of nature, most strange to the thirteenth century, that is one of the strongest bonds between St. Francis and the men and women of to-day.

'He told the brother who made the garden', says his chronicler, 'not to devote all of it to vegetables, but to have some part for flowering plants, which in their season produce "brother flowers" for love of Him who is called "Flower of the Field" and "Lily of the Valley"'. He said, indeed, that Brother Gardener always ought to make a beautiful patch in some part of the garden and plant it with all sorts of sweet-smelling herbs, and herbs that produce beautiful flowers, so that in their season they may invite men, seeing them, to praise the Lord. For every creature cries aloud, "God made me for thy sake, O Man!"'

Once the true beauty of St. Francis's life was recognized, his followers increased rapidly and no longer had to fear insult or injury when they begged. Crowds, indeed, collected to hear

them preach and to bring them offerings. Some Franciscans settled in France and Germany, and others went to England during the reign of Henry III and lived amid the slums of London, Oxford, and Norwich, wherever it seemed to them that they could best serve 'Lady Poverty'.

St. Francis himself before he died had been puzzled and almost alarmed by the popularity he had never courted, and he confessed sadly that, instead of living the lives of Saints, some of those who professed to follow him were 'fain to receive praise and honour by rehearsing and preaching the works that the Saints did themselves achieve'.

He was right in his fear for the future. Rules are a dead letter without the spirit of understanding that gives them a true obedience; and the secret of his joyous and unassuming self-denial Francis could only bequeath to a few. Preaching, not for the sake of helping man and glorifying God, but in order to earn the wealth and esteem their founder had held as dross—this was the temptation to which the 'Grey Brethren' succumbed, even within the generation that had known St. Francis himself. Avarice and self-satisfaction, following their wide popularity, soon led the Franciscans into quarrels with the other religious Orders and with the lecturers of the Universities and the secular clergy. These looked upon the 'Mendicants' as interlopers, trying to thieve congregations, fees, and revenues to which they had no right.

'None of the Faithful', says a contemporary Benedictine sourly, 'believe they can be saved unless they are under the direction of the Preachers or Minorites.' The power of the Franciscans, as of the Dominicans, was encouraged by the majority of Popes, who, like Innocent III, recognized in their enthusiasm a new weapon with which to defend Rome from accusations of worldliness and corruption. In return for papal sympathy and support the Friars became Rome's most ardent champions, and in defence of a system rather than in devotion to an ideal of life they deteriorated and accepted the ordinary religious standard of their day.

Once more a wave of reform had swept into the mediaeval

Church in a cleansing flood, only to be lost in the ebb tide of reaction. Yet this ultimate failure did not mean that the force of the wave was spent in vain. St. Francis could not stem the corruption of the thirteenth century; but his simple sincerity could reveal again to mankind an almost-forgotten truth that the road to the love of God is the love of humanity.

'The Benedictine Order was the retreat from the World, the Franciscan the return to it.' These words show that the mediaeval mind, with its suspicion and dread of human nature, was undergoing transformation. Already it showed a gleam of that more modern spirit that traces something of the divine in every work of God, and therefore does not feel distrust but sympathy and interest.

To St. Augustine the way to the *Civitas Dei* had been a precipitous and narrow road for each human soul, encompassed by legions of evil in its struggle for salvation. To St. Francis it was a pathway, steep indeed and rough, but bright with flowers, and so lit by the joy of serving others that the pilgrim scarce realized his feet were bleeding from the stones.

In the dungeons of Perugia the mirth of Francis Bernadone had been called by his companions 'craziness', and to those whose eyes read evil rather than good in this world his message still borders on madness. Yet the Saint of Assisi has had his followers in all ages since his death, distinguished not necessarily by the Grey Friar's robe, but by their silent spending of themselves for others and their joyous belief in God and man.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Roger Bacon	1214-92
Peter Abelard	1079-1142
Thomas Aquinas	1227-74
Arnold of Brescia (burned)	1155
St. Dominic	1170-1221
The Albigensian Crusade	1209
Louis VIII of France	1223-6
St. Francis of Assisi	1182-1226
Foundation of Franciscan Order	1223

XVII

FRANCE UNDER TWO STRONG KINGS

WE have seen that Philip Augustus laid the foundations of a strong French monarchy, but his death was followed by feudal reaction, the nobles struggling in every way by fraud or violence to recover the independence that they had lost.

Louis VIII, the new king, in order to checkmate their designs, determined to divide his lands amongst his sons, all the younger paying allegiance to the eldest, but each directly responsible for the administration of his own province. Perhaps at the time this was the most obvious means of ruling in the interests of the crown a kingdom that, in its rapid absorption of Normandy, Anjou, Poitou, and Toulouse, had outrun the central government. Yet it was in truth a short-sighted policy for, since these 'appanages', or royal fiefs, were hereditary, they ended by replacing the old feudal nobility with a new, the more arrogant in its ambitions because it could claim kinship with the House of Capet.

Louis VIII did not live long enough to put his plan into execution; and Louis IX, a boy of twelve at the time of his accession, though accepting later the provision made for his younger brothers in his father's will, was enabled, partly by the administrative ability of his mother and guardian, Queen Blanche, partly by his own personality, to maintain his supremacy undiminished. On one occasion his brother, the Count of Anjou, had imprisoned a knight, in anger that the man should have dared to appeal to the king's court against a judicial decision he himself had given. 'I will have but one king in France,' exclaimed Louis when he heard, and ordered the knight to be released and that both he and the count should bring their case to Paris for royal judgement.

Heavy penalties were also inflicted by Louis on any promoters

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of private warfare, while the baronage was restricted in its right to coin money. At this time eighty nobles besides the King are said to have possessed their own mints. Louis, who knew the feudal coinage was freely debased, forbade its circulation except in the province where it had been minted ; while his own money, which was of far higher value, was made current everywhere. Men and women naturally prefer good coins to bad in exchange for merchandise ; and so the King hoped that the debased money, when restricted in use, would gradually be driven out of existence.

If Louis believed in his rights as an absolute king, he had an equally high conception of the duties that such rights involved. 'Make thyself beloved by thy people,' he said to his son, 'for I would rather that a Scotchman came from Scotland and governed my subjects well and equitably than that thou shouldst govern them badly.'

Royal justice, like the coinage, must be superior to any other justice ; and so the chroniclers tell us that Louis selected as his bailiffs and seneschals those who were 'loyal and wise, of upright conduct and good reputation, above all, men with clean hands'. Knowing the ease with which even well-meaning officials could be corrupted by money and honours, he ordered his deputies neither to receive nor give presents, while he warned his judges always to lean rather to the side of the poor than of the rich in a case of law until evidence revealed the truth.

Philip Augustus had followed justice because he believed that it paid, and his subjects had feared and respected him. His grandson, with his keen sense of honour, shrank from injustice as something unclean ; and we are told that the people 'loved him as men love God and the Saints'.

Like nearly all the kings of France, Louis was a devout son of the Church, and it was under his protection that Innocent IV resided safely at Lyons when Frederick II had driven him from Rome.¹ Nevertheless the King's sincere love of the Faith, that later won him canonization as a Saint, never hindered his determination that he would be master of all his subjects,

¹ See p. 194.

both lay and ecclesiastical. If the clergy sinned after the manner of laymen he was firm that they should be tried in the lay courts ; and while his contemporary, Henry III of England, remained a feeble victim of papal encroachments, Louis boldly declared, 'It is unheard of that the Holy See, when it is in need, should impose subsidies on the Church of France, and levy those contributions on temporal goods that can only be imposed by the King.'

No storm of protest was aroused, for the Papacy in its bitter struggle with the Empire was largely dependent on French support ; while Louis's transparent purity of motive in maintaining his supremacy disarmed indignation. An Italian friar, who saw him humbly sharing the meal of some Franciscan brethren, described him as 'more monk than king'. This assumption was at first sight borne out by his daily life : his simple diet and love of sombre clothes ; his habit of rising from his bed at midnight and in the early mornings to share in the services of the Church ; his hatred of oaths, lying, and idle gossip ; his almost reckless charity ; the eager help he offered in nursing the sick amongst his Paris slums and in washing the feet of the most repulsive beggars who crowded at his gate. 'He was frail and slender,' says the same Italian, 'with an angelic expression, and dove's eyes full of grace.'

Perhaps, if Louis had not been called to the life of a king, he might have become a friar ; but living in the world he loved his wife and children, and would sometimes tease the former by protesting, when she complained how poorly he dressed, that if he put on gaudy clothes to please her she also must go in drab attire to please him.

Those of his subjects who saw Louis on the battle-field describe him as 'the finest knight ever seen', and recount tales of their difficulty in restraining his hot courage, that would carry him into the fiercest hand-to-hand conflict without any thought of personal danger. Yet this king was a lover of peace in his heart. He wished to be friends with all his Christian neighbours, and, well content with the lands that already belonged to the French crown, he negotiated a treaty by which he recognized English claims to the Duchy of Guienne. Less

successful was his effort to act as mediator between popes and emperors; but if he could not secure peace he determined at least to remain as neutral in the struggle as possible, refusing the imperial crown when the Pope deposed Frederick II. Nor would he reap advantage out of the anarchy that followed on that emperor's death.

War between Christians was hateful to Louis because it prevented any combined action against the Turks; for in him, as in Innocent III, burned the old crusading spirit that had never quite died out in France.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century a French peasant lad, Stephen, had preached a new crusade, saying that God had told him in a vision that it was left for Christian children to succeed where their elders had failed in recovering the Holy Sepulchre. Thousands of boys and girls, some of them only twelve or thirteen years of age, collected at Marseilles in eager response to this message. They expected that a pathway would be opened to them across the sea as in the days of Moses and the Chosen People, and when they had waited for some time in vain for this miracle, they allowed themselves to be entrapped by false merchants, who, though Christian in name, would allow nothing to stand in the way of the gold that they coveted. Enticed on board ship, disarmed, bound, and manacled, the unfortunate young crusaders were sold in the market-places of Egypt and Syria to become the slaves of the Moslems whom they had hoped to conquer.

When he had first heard of the Children's Crusade, Innocent III had exclaimed, 'The children shame us indeed!' and St. Louis, the inheritor of their spirit, felt that his kingship would be shamed unless he used his power and influence to convert and overthrow the Turk.

One of his subjects, who loved him, the Sieur de Joinville, has left a graphic personal account of the expedition undertaken against Egypt. From Cyprus, the head-quarters of the crusaders, a fleet of some one thousand eight hundred vessels, great and small, sailed to Damietta, at the mouth of the Nile; and Louis, seeing his ensign borne ashore, would not be restrained, but

leaped himself into the water, lance in hand, shouting his battle-cry of 'Mont-joie St. Denys!'

Before the impetuosity of an army inspired by this zeal the town soon fell; but the mediaeval mind had reckoned little with difficulties of climate, and soon the unhealthy mists that hung over the delta of the Nile were decimating the Christian ranks with fever and dysentery, while many of the best troops perished in unimportant skirmishes into which daring rather than a wise judgement had led them. The advance once checked became a retreat, the retreat a rout; and St. Louis, refusing to desert his rear-guard, was taken prisoner by the Mahometans.

The disaster was complete, for only on the surrender of Damietta and the payment of a huge ransom was the King released, but his patience and chivalry redeemed his failure from all stain of ignominy. Instead of returning to France he sailed to the Holy Land; where, though Jerusalem had again fallen to the Turks after Frederick II's temporary possession of it, yet a strip of seaboard, including the port of Acre, remained to the Christians.

Louis believed that, unless he persevered in fulfilling his vow, crusaders of a lesser rank would lose their hope and courage, and so, enfeebled by disease, he stayed for three years in Palestine, until the death of his mother, Queen Blanche, whom he had left as regent in France, compelled him to return home. Joinville relates how on this voyage, because of the fierceness of the storm, the sailors would have put the King ashore at Cyprus, but Louis feared a panic amongst the terrified troops if he agreed. 'There is none', he said, 'that does not love his life as much as I love mine, and these peradventure would never return to their own land. Therefore I like better to place my own person . . . in God's hands than to do this harm to the many people who are here.'

Louis reached France in safety, but, chafing at his crusading failures, he once more took the Cross, against the advice of his barons, in 1270. It was his aim to regain Tunis, and so to free part of North Africa at least from Mahometan rule. To this task he brought his old religious enthusiasm, but France was weary of

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crusades, and many of those who had fought willingly in Syria and Egypt now refused to follow him, leaving the greater part of his army to be composed of mercenaries, tempted only by their pay.

Landing near Carthage, the crusaders soon found themselves outnumbered, and were blockaded by their foes amid the ruins of the town. Pestilence swept the crowded, insanitary camp, and one of the first to fall a victim was the delicate king. 'Lord, have pity on Thy people whom I have led here. Send them to their homes in safety. Let them not fall into the hands of their enemies, nor let them be forced to deny Thy Holy Name.'

The dying words of the saint are characteristic of his love of the Faith and of his people; and everywhere in the camp and in France, when the news of his death reached her, there was mourning for this king among kings who had sacrificed his life for his ideals. Yet the flame of enthusiasm he had tried to keep alight quickly flickered out into the darkness, and his son and successor, Philip III, made a truce with the Sultan of Tunis that enabled him to withdraw his army and embark for home. The only person really annoyed by this arrangement was the English prince Edward, afterwards Edward I, who arrived on the scene just at the time of St. Louis's death, thirsting for a campaign and military glory; but owing to the general indifference he was forced to give up the idea of war in Africa and continue his journey alone to the Holy Land.

Philip III of France has left little mark on history. He stands, with the title of 'the Rash', between two kings of dominant personality—his father, canonized as a saint before the century had closed, and his son Philip IV, 'the Fair', anything but a saint in his hard, unscrupulous dealings with the world, but yet one of the strongest rulers that France has known.

Philip IV was only seventeen when he became king. From his nickname 'le Bel' it is obvious that he was handsome, but no kindly Joinville has left a record of his personal life and character. We can only draw our conclusions from his acts, and these show him ruthless in his ambitions, mean, and vindictive.

In his dealings with the Papacy Philip's conduct stands con-

trasted with the usual affectionate reverence of his predecessors ; but this contrast is partly accounted for by the fact that, at the end of the quarrel between Empire and Papacy, Rome found herself regarding France from a very changed standpoint to the early days of that encounter.

Ever since the time of Gregory VII the Hohenstaufen emperors had loomed like a thunder-cloud on the papal horizon, but with the execution of Conradin, the last of the royal line,¹ this threatening atmosphere had cleared. The Empire fell a prey to civil war during the Great Interregnum, that is, during the seventeen years when English, Spanish, and German princes contended without any decisive results for the imperial crown. Count Rudolf of Habsburg, who at last emerged triumphant, had learned at least one diplomatic lesson, that if he wished to have a free hand in Germany he could do so best as the friend of the Pope, not as his enemy. One of his earliest acts was to ratify a concordat with Rome in which he resigned all those imperial claims to the lands belonging to the Holy See that Frederick II had put forward. He also agreed to acknowledge Count Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis and the Pope's chief ally, as Count of Provence and King of Naples and Sicily.

Italy was thus freed from German intervention, but her cities remained torn by the factions of Guelfs and Ghibellines ; and the iron hand of the French lay as heavily on 'The Kingdom' as ever the Hohenstaufen's despotic sceptre. The Sicilians, restless under the yoke, began to mourn Frederick, who, whatever his sins, had been born and bred in the south, the son of a southern princess ; while these French were cruel with the indifferent ferocity of strangers who despised those whom they oppressed.

Out of the sullen hatred of the multitude, stirred of a sudden to white heat by the assault of a French soldier on a woman of Palermo, sprang the 'Sicilian Vespers', the rebellion and massacre of an Easter Monday night, when more than four thousand of the hated strangers, men, women, and children, were put to death and their bodies flung into an open pit.

¹ See p. 195.

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Charles of Anjou prepared a fitting revenge for this insult to his race, a revenge that he intended to exact to the uttermost farthing, for he had little of his brother's sense of justice and tender heart; but while he made his preparations a Spanish prince, Peter III of Aragon, came to the rescue of the Sicilians with a large fleet. A fierce war followed, but in spite of defeats, treaties that would have sacrificed her to the interests of kings, and continuous papal threats, Sicily clung staunch to her new ally, gaining at last as a recognized Aragonese possession a triumphant independence of the Angevin kingdom of Naples.

Rome, under a pope who was merely the puppet of Charles of Anjou, had hurled anathemas at Peter III; but his successors of more independent mind envied the Sicilians. It was of little use for Rome to throw off Hohenstaufen chains if she must rivet in their stead those of the French House of Anjou. This was the fear that made her look with cold suspicion on her once well-beloved sons the kings of France, whose relations of the blood-royal were also kings of Naples.

In 1294 Pope Boniface VIII, sometimes called 'the last of the mediaeval Popes' because any hopes of realizing the world-wide ambitions of a Hildebrand or of an Innocent III died with him, was elected to the Chair of St. Peter. His jubilee, held at Rome in 1300 to celebrate the new century, was of a splendour to dazzle the thousands of pilgrims from all parts of Europe who poured their offerings into his coffers; but its glamour was delusive.

Already he had suffered rebuffs in encounters with the kings of England and France: for, when he published a Bull, *Clericis Laicos*, that forbade the clergy to pay taxes any longer to a lay ruler, Edward I at once condemned the English Church to outlawry, until from fear of the wholesale robbery of their lands and goods his bishops consented to a compromise that made the Bull a dead letter. Philip IV of France, on his part, was even more violent, for he retaliated by ordering his subjects to send no more contributions to Rome of any kind.

A wiser man than Boniface might have realized from his failures that the growth of nationality was proving too strong for



Margaret, second wife of Edward I. From a statue on Lincoln Cathedral

Photograph by Mr. S. Smith, The Minster Bookshop, Steephill, Lincoln



The Palace of the Popes, Avignon

any theories of world-government, whether papal or imperial; but, old and stubborn, he could not set aside his Hildebrandine ideals. When one of his legates, a Frenchman, embarked on a dispute with Philip IV, Boniface told him to meet the King with open defiance, upon which Philip immediately ordered the ecclesiastic's arrest, and that his archbishop should degrade him from his office. Boniface then fulminated threats of excommunication and deposition, to which the French king replied by an act of open violence.

The agent he chose to inflict this insult was a certain Nogaret, grandson of an Albigenian heretic who had been burned at the stake, and this man joined himself to some of the nobles of the Roman Campagna, who had equally little reverence for the Head of Christendom. Heavily armed, they appeared in the village of Anagni, where Boniface VIII was staying, and demanded to see him. Outside in the street their men-at-arms stood shouting 'Death to the Pope!'

Boniface could hear them from his audience-chamber, but though he was eighty-six his courage did not fail him. Clad in his full pontifical robes, his cross in one hand, his keys of St. Peter in the other, he received the intruders. Nogaret roughly demanded his abdication. 'Here is my head! Here is my neck!' he replied. 'Betrayed like Jesus Christ, if I must die like Him I will at least die Pope.' At this one of the Roman nobles struck him across the face with his mailed glove, felling him to the ground, and would have killed him had not Nogaret interfered. It was the Provençal's mission to intimidate rather than to murder, and while he argued with the Italians a hostile crowd assembled to rescue their Vicar, and the French agents were forced to fly.

The proud old man survived the indignities he had suffered only by a few weeks, and his successor, having dared to excommunicate those who took part in the scene at Anagni, died also with mysterious suddenness. No definite suspicion attached to Philip IV, but rumour whispered the fatal word 'poison', and the conclave of cardinals spent ten uneasy months in trying to find a new pope. At last a choice emerged from the conclave,

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the Archbishop of Bordeaux, with the title of Clement V. He was crowned at Lyons, and never ventured into Italy, choosing as his residence the city of Avignon in Provence.

Here for just over seventy years, during the 'Babylonish Captivity' as it was usually called, a succession of popes reigned under French influence, having exchanged the imperial yoke for one still more binding.

Philip IV at once made use of this French Head of Christendom to condemn the Order of Templars, which from their powerful organization and extensive revenues he had long regarded with dislike and envy.

The crusades at an end, the Templars had outlived the object of their foundation; while the self-denial imposed upon them and their roving, uncloistered life, exposed them to constant temptations to which many of the less spiritual succumbed. Thus their suppression was probably wise; but Philip IV, a pitiless enemy, did not merely suppress, he pursued the Knights of the Temple with vindictive cruelty. Hundreds were thrown into dungeons, and there tortured into confessing crimes, the committal of which they afterwards recanted in vain; while their principal officers were burned at the stake in the market-places of the large French towns. By papal commands the revenues of the Templars passed into the exchequer of the Knights of St. John, who still guarded one of the outposts of Christendom, the island of Rhodes; but the French king took care that a substantial part of the money confiscated in France went instead to his own treasury.

Philip was indeed in serious financial straits, for the revenues of the royal demesnes were proving quite inadequate to meet the expenses of a government that now extended its sway over the length and breadth of France. Philip tried many expedients to meet the deficiency, most of them bad. Such were the frequent debasement of the coinage and the imposition of the *gabelle*, that is of a tax on the sale of goods. This was justly hated because instead of encouraging commerce it penalized industry by adding to the price of nearly every commodity put on the market. Thus a *gabelle* imposed on grain would mean that a man must

pay a tax on it three times over, first in the form of grain, then of flour, and finally as bread.

Worse even than the *gabelle* was Philip's method of 'farming' the taxes, that is, of selling the right to collect them to some speculator, who would make himself responsible to the government for a round sum, and then squeeze what extra money he could out of the unfortunate populace in order to repay his efforts.

It is not, then, for any improved financial administration that the reign of Philip IV is worthy of praise. His was no original genius, but rather a practical ability for developing the schemes invented by his predecessors. Like them he hated and distrusted his insubordinate baronage; and, seeking to impose his fierce will upon them, turned for advice and obedience to men of lesser rank, employing as the main instrument of his government the lawyer class that Philip Augustus and Louis IX had introduced in limited numbers amongst the feudal office-holders at their court.

The employment of trained workers in the place of amateurs resulted in improved administration, so it followed that under Philip IV the French government began to take a definitely modern stamp and became divided into separate departments for considering different kinds of work. Thus it was the duty of the *Conseil du Roi*, or King's Council, to give the Sovereign advice; of the *Chambre des Comptes*, or Chamber of Finance, to deal with financial questions; of the *Parlement*, or chief judicial court, to sit in Paris for two months at least twice a year to hold assizes and give judgements.

The *Parlement de Paris* resembles the English Parliament somewhat in name; but except for a right, later acquired, of registering royal edicts, its work was entirely judicial, not legislative. The body in France that most nearly corresponded to the English Parliament was the 'States-General', composed of representatives of the three 'Estates' or classes, of clergy, nobles, and citizens. The peasants of France, who composed the greater part of her population, were not represented at all.

Philip IV summoned the 'States-General' several times to

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approve his suggestions; but, unlike the 'Model Parliament' called by his English contemporary Edward I for similar reasons, it never developed into a legislative assembly that could act as a competent check upon royal tyranny, but existed merely as it seemed to accept responsibility for its ruler's laws and financial demands, whether good or bad. Its weakness arose partly from the fact that it often sat only for a day at a time and so had no leisure to discuss the measures laid before it, but still more owing to the class selfishness that prevented the three classes from combining to insist on reforms before they would vote any taxes.

This was very unfortunate for France, since on the one occasion that the nobles and burghers actually did combine in refusing to submit to an especially obnoxious *gabelle* that hit both their pockets, Philip IV was forced to yield, reluctantly enough because the loss of the money led to his failure in a war in Flanders.

Flanders was a fief of the French crown, and because its count, his tenant-in-chief, had dared to rebel against him, Philip had flung him into prison and declared his lands confiscated. Then with his queen he had ridden north to visit this territory now owning direct allegiance to himself, in the belief that he had nothing to do but to give orders to its inhabitants and await their immediate fulfilment. The chroniclers tell us that the royal pair were overcome with astonishment at the display of fine clothes and jewels made by the burghers of Bruges to do them honour.

'I thought that there was only one Queen in France,' exclaimed Philip's consort discontentedly. 'Here I see at least six hundred.' The King, always with an eye to the main chance, regarded the brilliant throng more philosophically. They seemed to him very suitable subjects for taxation; but the Flemings had won their wealth by a sturdy independence of spirit both in the market-place and on the high seas: they had been indifferent to the fate of their count, but at any time preferred the risks of rebellion to being plucked like geese by the King of France.

On the field of Courtrai, where Philip brought his army to

punish their insolence, the Flemish burghers taught Europe, as their Milanese fellows had at Legnano in the twelfth century, that citizen levies could hold their own against heavily-armed feudal troops; and though the King's scareful generalship redeemed this defeat two years later, he found the victory he obtained barren of fruit. Within a few weeks of the burghers' apparent collapse yet another citizen army had rallied to attack the royal camp, and Philip, declaring angrily that 'it rained Flemings', was driven to conclude a peace.

Besides hating the independence of the Flemings, Philip IV grudged the English supremacy over the Duchy of Guienne that his grandfather had so willingly acknowledged. To his jealous eyes it ran its wedge like an alien dagger into the heart of his kingdom; and watching his opportunity until Edward I was involved in wars with Wales and Scotland, Philip crossed the borders of the Duchy, and by force or craft obtained control of the greater number of its fortresses. There is little doubt that had he lived he would gradually have absorbed the whole of the southern provinces; but when only forty-six he died, mourned by few of his subjects, and yet one of the kings who had set his stamp with the most lasting results upon the government of France.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

The Children's Crusade	1212
Philip III of France	1270-85
Edward I of England	1272-1307
Clement V	1305-14
Battle of Courtrai	1302

XVIII

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

DURING fourteen years, from 1314 to 1328, three sons of Philip IV reigned in rapid succession; but with the death of the last the main line of the House of Capet came to an end, and the crown passed to his nephew and namesake Philip of Valois.¹ The latter declared that his claims were based on a clause of the old Salic Law² forbidding a woman to inherit landed property, because as it happened Philip IV had left a daughter Isabel, who had married Edward II of England, and their son Edward III loudly protested that his right to the throne of France was stronger than that of the Valois. The Salic Law, Edward maintained, might prevent a woman from succeeding to the throne, but there was nothing in this restriction to forbid the inheritance passing to her male heirs.

The question of the Salic Law is important because its different interpretations were the immediate excuse for opening hostilities between England and France in that long and weary struggle called the 'Hundred Years' War'. There were of course other and far deeper reasons. One of these reasons was that English kings had never forgotten or forgiven John's expulsion from Normandy. They wanted to avenge this ignominious defeat and also Philip IV's encroachments in the Duchy of Guienne, that, united to his policy of supporting the Scottish chieftains in their war of independence, had been a steady source of disaster to England since the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Because of his failure in Scotland and the revolts of his turbulent barons Edward II was murdered; and Edward III,

¹ See Genealogical Table, p. 378.

² See p. 55.

taking warning from his father's fate, welcomed the war with France, not merely in the hope of revenge and glory, but still more in order to find an occupation for the hot English blood that might otherwise in the course of its embittered feuds murder him.

He rode forth to battle, the hero of his court and of the chivalry of England; but no less, as it happened, the champion of her middle classes, who cheerfully put their hands in their pockets to pay for his first campaigns. The reason of their enthusiasm for this war was that Philip of Valois, in order to annoy his rival, had commanded his Flemish subjects to trade no longer with the English. Now English sheep were the best in Europe (so valuable that their export was forbidden lest another nation should obtain the breed), and English wool was the raw material of all others on which Flanders depended for the wealth and prosperity gained by her looms and factories. Before this time English kings had encouraged Flemish trade, establishing 'Staple' markets in certain towns under their protection, where merchants of both countries could meet and bargain over their wares. Wishing to retaliate on Philip VI, however, Edward III stopped the export of wool, though at the same time he offered good terms and advantages to any of the manufacturers of Bruges and Ghent who might care to settle in Norfolk or on the East Coast and set up factories there as English subjects.

Such a suggestion could not satisfy the Flemish national spirit, and in the large towns discontent with the French king grew daily. At last one of the popular leaders, Jacob van Artevelde, 'the Brewer of Ghent', began to rouse his countrymen by inflammatory speeches. 'He showed them', says the chronicler, 'that they could not live without the King of England'; and his many commercial arguments he strengthened with others intended to win those who might hesitate to break their oath of allegiance, assuring them that Edward III was in truth by right King of France.

Rebellion sprang up on all sides in response; and when, in 1338, Edward III actually embarked on the war, he had

behind him not only the English wool-farmers, but also the majority of Flemish merchants and artisans, alike convinced that his victory would open Flemish markets to trade across the Channel.

The Hundred Years' War falls into two distinct periods: the first, the contest waged by the Angevin Edward III against the House of Valois, a struggle that lasted until 1375; the second, a similar effort begun by the Lancastrian Kings of England in 1415 after a time of almost suspended hostilities under Richard II. In each period there is the same switchback course to the campaigns, as they rise towards a high-water mark of English successes only to sink away to final French achievement.

The first of the great English victories was fittingly a naval battle, destined to avenge long years during which French raiders had harried the south coast, penetrated up the Solent, and even set fire to large towns like Southampton. In June 1340, near the entrance to the port of Sluys, some two hundred English vessels of all makes and sizes came upon the French fleet, drawn up in four lines closely chained together so as to form a kind of bulwark to the harbour. On the decks of the tall ships, the turrets of which were piled with stones and other missiles, were hundreds of Genoese archers; but the English bowmen at this time had no match in Europe for long-distance accuracy and steadiness, and the whistling fire of their arrows soon drove their hired rivals into hiding and enabled the English men-at-arms to board the vessels opposite them almost unopposed.

From this moment panic set in along the French lines, and the greater number of ships, unable to escape because of the chains that bound them together, were sunk at anchor, with, according to the chroniclers, twenty-five thousand of their crews and fighting-material.

The English were now masters of the Channel, and Edward III was enabled to transplant an army to Flanders, but no triumph in any way corresponding to the victory of Sluys rewarded his efforts in this field of warfare. The campaign

became a tedious affair of sieges; and the Flemings, cooling from their first sympathies, came to dislike the English and to accuse Jacob van Artevelde of supplying Edward III with money, merely in order to forward his personal ambitions. This charge the Flemish leader stoutly denied, but when, hearing the people of Ghent hooting him in the street outside his house, he stepped out on to the balcony and tried to clear himself, the mob surged forward, and, refusing to listen to a word, broke in through the barred doors and murdered him. This was ill news for Edward III, but angry though he was at the fate of his ally, he had neither sufficient men nor money to exact vengeance. Instead he himself determined to try a new theatre of war, for, as well as his army in Flanders, he had other forces fighting the French in Normandy and Guienne.

Edward landed in Normandy; and at Creci, to the north of the Somme, as he marched towards Calais, he was overtaken by Philip of Valois in command of a very large but undisciplined force.

‘You must know’, says Froissart, the famous chronicler of this first period of the Hundred Years’ War, ‘that the French troops did not advance in any particular order, and that as soon as their King came in sight of the English his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his Marshals, “Order the Genoese forward and begin the battle in the name of God and St. Denys!”’

These Genoese were archers, who had already marched on foot so far and at such a pace that they were exhausted; and when, against their will, they sullenly advanced, their bows that were wet from a thunderstorm proved slack and untrue. The sun also, that had just emerged from behind a cloud, shone in their eyes and dazzled them. Silently the English bowmen waited as they drew near, shouting hoarsely, and then of a sudden poured into the weary ranks such a multitude of arrows that ‘it seemed as though it snowed’.

The Genoese, utterly disheartened, broke and fled; at which the French king, choking with rage, cried, ‘Kill me this rabble that cumber our road without any reason’; but the English

fire never ceased; and the French knights and men-at-arms that came to take the place of the Genoese and rode them underfoot fell in their turn with the shafts piercing through the joints of their heavy armour.

Again, at Creci it was made evident to Europe that the old feudal order of battle was passing away. Victory fell not to the knight armoured with his horse like a slowly-moving turret, but to the clear-eyed, leather-clad bowman, or the foot-soldier quick with his knife or spear. The French fought gallantly at Creci, and none more fiercely than Philip of Valois, whose horse was killed beneath him; but courage cannot wipe out bad generalship, and when at last he consented to retreat he left eleven princes of the blood-royal and over a thousand of his knights stretched on the battle-field.

The defeat of Creci took from Calais any hope of French succour, and in the following year after a prolonged siege it surrendered to the English and became the most cherished of all their possessions across the seas. 'The Commons of England', wrote Froissart, 'love Calais more than any town in the world, for they say that as long as they are masters of Calais they hold the keys of France at their girdle.'

Death at the battle of Creci, decked in all the panoply of mediaeval warfare, had taken its toll of the chivalry of France and England. Now, in an open and ghastly form, indifferent alike to race or creed, it stalked across Europe, visiting palace and castle but sweeping with a still more ruthless scythe the slum and the hovel. [Somewhere in the far East the 'Black Death', as it was later called, had its origin, and wherever it passed, moving westward, villages, nay, even towns, disappeared.

More than thirteen million people are said to have perished in China, India was almost depopulated, and at last in 1347 Europe also was smitten. Very swift was the blow, for many victims of the plague died in a few hours, the majority within five days; and contemporary writers tell us of ships, that left an eastern harbour with their full complement of crew, found drifting in the Mediterranean a few weeks later without a living soul on board to take the helm; of towns where the dead

were so many that there was none to bury them ; of villages where the peasants fell like cattle in the fields and by the wayside unnoticed.

In Italy, in France, in England, there is the same record of misery and terror. Boccaccio, the Italian writer, describes in his book, the *Decameron*, how the wealthy nobles and maidens of Florence fled from the plague-stricken town to a villa without the walls, there to pass their days in telling one another tales. These tales have made Boccaccio famous as the first great European novelist ; but in reality not many even of the wealthy could keep beyond the range of infection, and Boccaccio himself says elsewhere 'these who first set the example of forsaking others languished where there was no one to take pity on them'.

Neither courage, nor devotion, nor selfishness could avail against the dread scourge ; though like all diseases its ravages were most virulent where small dwellings were crowded together or where dirt and insanitary conditions prevailed. 'They fell sick by thousands,' says Boccaccio of the poorer classes, 'and having no one whatever to attend them, most of them died.' According to a doctor in the south of France, 'the number of those swept away was greater than those left alive.' In the once thriving port of Marseilles 'so many died that it remained like an uninhabited place'. Another French writer, speaking of Paris, says, 'there was so great a mortality of people of both sexes . . . that they could hardly be buried.' 'There was no city, nor town, nor hamlet,' writes an Englishman of his own country, 'nor even, save in rare instances, any house, in which this plague did not carry off the whole or the greater portion of the inhabitants.'

One immediate result of the Black Death was to put a temporary stop to the war between England and France ; for armies were reduced to a fraction of their former strength and rival kings forgot words like 'glory' or 'conquest' in terrified contemplation of an enemy against whom all their weapons were powerless.

Other and more lasting effects were experienced everywhere, for town and village life was completely disorganized : magis-

trates, city officials, priests, and doctors had perished in such numbers that it was difficult to replace them : criminals plundered deserted houses unchecked : the usually law-abiding, deprived of the guidance to which they had been accustomed, gave themselves up to a dissolute life, trying to drown all thoughts of the past and future in any enjoyment they could find in the present. Work almost ceased : the looms stood idle, the ships remained without cargoes, the fields were neither reaped of the one harvest nor sown for the next. The peasants, when reproached, declared that the plague had been a sign of the end of the world and that therefore to labour was a waste of time. 'All things were dearer,' says a Frenchman : 'furniture, food, and merchandise of all sorts doubled in price : servants would only work for higher wages.'

In the years following the Black Death the labouring classes of Europe discovered for the first time their value.] They were the necessary foundation to the scheme of mediaeval life, the base of the feudal pyramid ; and, since they were now few in number, masters began to compete for their services. Thus they were able to demand a better wage for their work and improved conditions ; but here the governments of the day, that ruled in the interests of the nobles and middle classes, stepped in, forbade wages to be raised, or villeins and serfs to leave their homes and seek better terms in another neighbourhood. The discontent of those held down with an iron hand, yet half awake to the possibilities of greater freedom, seethed towards revolution ; but few mediaeval kings chose to look below the surface of national life, and in the case of England Edward III was certainly not enough of a statesman to do so.

In 1355 he renewed the war with France, hoping that by victories he would be able to fill his own purse from French ransoms and pillage as well as to drug the disordered popular mind at home with showy triumphs. His eldest son, Edward, the Black Prince, who had gained his spurs at Creci, landed at Bordeaux and marched through Guienne, the English armies like the French being mainly composed of 'companies', that is, of hired troops under military captains, the terror of friends and



The Mediaeval doctor bleeding his patient

From Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 15 E. 11. 165



Life of the fifteenth century

From Durrien, 'Les très riches heures du duc de Berry'

foes alike ; for with impartial ruthlessness they trampled down corn and vineyards as they passed, pillaged towns, and burned farms and villages.

Philip of Valois was dead, but his son, John 'the Good', had succeeded him, and earned his title, it must be supposed, by his punctilious regard for the laws of mediaeval chivalry. His reckless daring, extravagance, and rash generalship made him at any rate a very bad ruler according to modern standards. Froissart says that on the field of Poitiers, where the two armies met, 'King John on his part proved himself a good knight; indeed, if the fourth of his people had behaved as well, the day would have been his own.'

This is extremely doubtful, for the French, though far the larger force, were outmanœuvred from the first. The Black Prince had the gift of generalship and disposed his army so that it was hidden amid the slopes of a thick vineyard, laying an ambush of skilled archers behind the shelter of a hedge. As King John's cavalry charged towards the only gap, in order to clear a road for their main army, they were mown down by a merciless fire at short range from the ambush ; while in the ensuing confusion English knights swept round on the French flank and put the foot-soldiers to flight. The Black Prince's victory was complete, for King John and his principal nobles were surrounded and taken prisoners after a fierce conflict in which for a long time they refused to surrender. 'They behaved themselves so loyally', says Froissart, 'that their heirs to this day are honoured for their sake': and Prince Edward, waiting on his royal captive that night at dinner, awarded him the 'prize and garland' of gallantry above all other combatants.

Evil days followed in France, where her king's chivalry could not pay his enormous ransom nor those of his distinguished fellow prisoners. For this money merchants must sweat and save, and the peasants toil longer hours on starvation rations ; while the 'companies', absolved by a truce from regular warfare, exacted their daily bread at the sword-point when and where they chose.

Famous captains, who were really infamous brigands, took

their toll of sheep and corn and grapes ; and those farmers and labourers who refused, or could not give what they required, they flung alive on to bonfires, while they tortured and mutilated their wives and families. Against such wickedness there was no protection either from the government or overlords ; indeed, the latter were as cruel as the brigand chiefs, extorting the very means of livelihood from their tenants and serfs to pay for the distractions of a court never more extravagant and pleasure-seeking than in this hour of national disaster.

'Jacques Bonhomme,' the French noble would say mockingly of the peasant, 'has a broad back . . . he will pull out his purse fast enough if he is beaten.' The day came, however, when Jacques Bonhomme, grown reckless in his misery, pulled out his knife instead, and, in the words of Froissart, became like a 'mad dog'. He had neither leaders nor any hope of reform, nothing but a seething desire for revenge ; and in the 'Jacquerie', as the peasant rebellion of this date was called, he inflicted on the nobles and their families all the horrors that he himself, standing by helpless, had seen perpetrated on his own belongings. Castles were burned, their furniture and treasures looted and destroyed, their owners were roasted at slow fires, their wives and daughters violated, their children tortured and massacred.

This is one of the most hideous scenes in French history, the darker because France in her blindness learned no lesson from it. The nobles, who soon gained the upper hand against these wild undisciplined hordes, exacted a vengeance in proportion to the crimes committed, and fixed the yoke of serfdom more surely than ever on the shoulders of Jacques Bonhomme. This was the only way, in their conception, to deal with such a mad dog ; but Jacques Bonhomme was in reality an outraged human being of flesh and blood like those who loathed and despised him ; and during centuries of tyranny his anger grew in force and bitterness until in the Revolution of 1789 it burst forth with a violence against both guilty and innocent that no power in France was strong enough to stem.

The outrages of the Jacquerie unfortunately discredited real efforts at reform that had been initiated in Paris by the leader

of the middle classes, the Provost of Merchants, Étienne Marcel. This Marcel had demanded that the States-General should be called regularly twice a year, that the Dauphin Charles,¹ eldest son of King John, who was acting as regent during his father's imprisonment, should send away his favourites, and that instead of these fraudulent ministers a standing council of elected representatives should be set up to advise the crown.

To these and many other reforms the Dauphin pretended to yield under the pressure of public opinion; but he soon broke all his promises and began to rule again as he chose. Marcel, roused to indignation, summoned his citizen levies, and, breaking into the Prince's palace, ordered his men-at-arms to seize two of the most hated ministers and drag them to the royal presence. 'Do that quickly for which you were brought,' he said to the soldiers; whereupon they slew the favourites as they crouched at Charles's feet, their fingers clinging to his robe.

This act of violence won for Étienne Marcel the undying hatred of the Dauphin and his court, and from this time the decline of his influence may be traced. In order to maintain his power the popular leader was driven to condone the excesses of the peasants, in their rebellion, that had shocked the whole of France, and to ally himself with Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, to whom he promised to deliver the keys of Paris in return for his support against the Dauphin.

This was a fatal move, for Charles the Bad did not care at all for the interests of the middle classes: he only wished to gain some secret or advantage worth selling, and at once betrayed Étienne to his foes as soon as the Dauphin paid him a sufficient price. Then a trap was arranged, and Marcel killed in the gateway of Paris as he was about to open its strong bars to his treacherous ally. With his death all attempts at securing a more liberal and responsible government failed.

The country, indeed, had sunk into the apathy of exhaustion;

¹ The province of Dauphiné, formerly an imperial fief, was acquired by the French crown in 1349, and became a regular 'appanage' of the King's eldest son, conferring on him the title of 'Dauphin', equivalent to the English title 'Prince of Wales'.

**The Treaty of
BRETAGNI**

English Possessions
Boundary of France

The map illustrates the territorial divisions of France in 1284. Key regions and their English possessions are labeled: D. NORMANDY, D. BRITTANY, D. ANJOU, D. BERRY, D. BOURBON, D. GASCONY, and D. ARAAGON. Major cities and towns shown include Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Poitiers, La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Najara. Rivers such as the Seine, Rhone, and Ebro are depicted. The map also shows the boundaries of neighboring regions like Flanders, Brabant, Champagne, Burgundy, Dauphine, and Castile.

Peace now seemed possible for an indefinite period ; but, in truth, so long as two hostile nations divided France there was

always the likelihood of fresh discord ; and the Dauphin, who had succeeded his father, King John, gently fanned the flames whenever he thought that the political wind blew to his advantage. From a timid, peevish youth, one of the first to fly in terror from the field of Poitiers, he had developed into an astute politician, whose successful efforts to regain the lost territories of France earned him the title of ' Wise '.

King Edward III and his son professed to despise this prince, who knew not how to wield a lance to any purpose ; but Charles, though feeble in body and a student rather than a soldier at heart, knew how to choose good captains to serve him in the field ; and one of these—the famous Bertrand du Guesclin, said to have been the ugliest knight and best fighter of his time—became the hero of many a battle against the English, first of all in France, and later in Spain.

It was owing to the war in Spain that the English hold over the south of France was first shaken ; for the Black Prince, who had been created Duke of Guienne, unwisely listened to the exiled King of Castile, Pedro the Cruel, who came to Bordeaux begging his assistance against the usurper of his throne. This was his illegitimate brother, Henry of Trastamara. The English Prince at once declared that chivalry demanded that he should help the rightful king. Perhaps he remembered the strong bond that there had been between England and Castile ever since his great-grandfather, Edward I, had married the Spanish Eleanor : perhaps it was the promise of large sums of money that Pedro declared would reward the victorious troops : it is more likely, however, that the fiery soldier was moved by the news that Henry of Trastamara had gained his throne through French assistance and by the deeds of arms of the renowned Du Guesclin.

In 1367 the English Prince crossed the Pyrenees, and at Navarette, near the river Ebro, his English archers and good generalship proved a match once more for his foes. Although the Spaniards were in vastly superior numbers they were mown down as they rashly charged to the attack ; and Henry of Trastamara was driven from the field, leaving Du Guesclin

a prisoner and his brother Pedro once more able to assert his kingship.

The real victors of Navarette now had cause to repent their alliance. Sickness, due to the heat of the climate and strange food, had thinned their ranks even more than the actual warfare: the money promised by Pedro the Cruel was not forthcoming; indeed, that wily scoundrel, after atrocities committed against his helpless prisoners that fully bore out his nickname, had slipped away to secure his throne, while the Black Prince was in no position to pursue him, and could gain little satisfaction by correspondence. Sullen and weary, with the fever already lowering his vitality that was finally to cut short his life, Edward of Wales arrived in Bordeaux with his almost starving 'companies'. Because he had no money to pay them, he set them free to ravage southern France, while in order to fill his exchequer he imposed a tax on every hearth in Guienne.

These measures proved him no statesman, whatever his generalship. In the early days of the Hundred Years' War Guienne had looked coldly on Paris, and appreciated a distant ruler who secured her liberty of action; now, victim of a policy of mingled pillage and exactions, she soon came to regard her English rulers as foreign tyrants. Thus an appeal was made by the men of Guienne to Charles V, and he, in defiance of the terms of the Treaty of Bretigni, summoned Prince Edward to Paris—as though he were his vassal—to answer the charges made against him. 'Gladly we will answer our summons,' replied the Prince, when he heard. 'We will go as the King of France has ordered us, but with helm on head and sixty thousand men.'

They were bold words; but the haughty spirit that dictated them spoke from the mouth of a dying man, and the Black Prince never lived to fulfil his boast. His place in France was taken by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who proved himself an indifferent general. In 1373 Duke John marched from Calais into the heart of France, his army burning villages as it went; but though he pressed deeper and ever deeper into the enemy's country, he met no open foes nor towns

that he could take without a siege. 'Let them be,' said Charles 'the Wise', when his indignant nobles pleaded for leave to fight a pitched battle; 'by burnings they shall not seize our heritage. Though a storm and tempest rage together over a land they disperse themselves: so will it be with these English.'

Ever since the Treaty of Bretigni Charles had been planning profitable alliances with foreign rulers that would leave the English friendless; while, like Henry the Fowler of Germany, he had fortified his cities against invasion. With the advent of winter Lancaster and his men could find no food nor succour from any local barons; and when at last the remnant of his once proud army reached Bordeaux, it was without a single horse, and leaving a track of sick and dying to be cut off by guerrilla bands. He had not lost a single battle, but he was none the less defeated, and had imperilled the English cause in France.

The truce of 1375 that practically closed the first period of the Hundred Years' War left to Edward III and his successors no more than the coast towns of Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bayonne, and Bordeaux.

When in 1415 Henry V of England formally claimed the throne of France, and by so doing renewed the war that had languished since 1375, he had no satisfactory argument save his sword to uphold his demands. Grandson of John of Gaunt, and son of the royal usurper Henry IV, who had deposed and killed his cousin Richard II, Henry V hoped by a successful campaign to establish the popularity of the Lancastrian dynasty. He wished also, like most mediaeval rulers, to find a battle-ground for his barons in any territory except his own. It is only fair to add that of the modern belief that the one possible excuse for shedding human blood is a righteous cause he had not the faintest conception.

'War for war's sake' might have been the motto of this most mediaeval of all English sovereigns; but if his purpose is indefensible to-day in its selfish callousness, he at any rate chose an admirable time in which to put it into execution; for France, that had begun to recover a semblance of nationality under the rule

of Charles 'the Wise', had degenerated into anarchy under his son Charles 'the Mad'.

First as a minor, for he was only eleven at the time of his accession, and later when he developed frequent attacks of insanity, Charles VI was destined to be some one else's tool, while round his person raged those factions for which Louis VIII had shortsightedly prepared when he set the example of creating appanages.¹ First one 'Prince of the Lilies' and then another strove to control the court and government in their own interests; but the most formidable rivals at the beginning of the fifteenth century were the Houses of Burgundy and Armagnac.

The latter centred in the person of the young Charles, Duke of Orleans, the King's nephew and a son-in-law of Count Bernard of Armagnac, who gave his name to the party: the other was his cousin, John 'the Fearless', Duke of Burgundy, who was also by inheritance from his mother Count of Flanders, and therefore ruler of that great middle province lying between France and the Empire.

The King himself in his moments of sanity inclined to the side of Charles of Orleans and the Armagnacs; and it happened that just at the time when Henry V of England landed in Normandy and laid siege to Harfleur the Armagnacs controlled Paris. It was their faction therefore that raised an army and sent it northwards to oppose the invaders, while John of Burgundy stood aloof, for besides being unwilling to help the Armagnacs he was reluctant to embroil himself in a war with England, on whose wool trade the commercial fortunes of his Flenish towns depended.

At Agincourt Henry V, who had taken Harfleur and was marching towards Calais, came upon his foes drawn up across the road that he must follow in such vastly superior numbers that they seemed overwhelming. The battle that followed, however, showed that the French had learned no military lesson from previous disasters. The heavily-armed, undisciplined noble on horseback was still their main hope, and on this dark October day he floundered helplessly in the mud, unable to charge, scarcely able to extricate himself, an easy victim for his

¹ See p. 223.



A medieval Siege. From a Flemish MS. made for Edward IV about 1480

Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 16. F. 11



Jousting; from the Cotton MS. Nero D. ix (fifteenth century)

enemy's shafts. The slaughter was tremendous; for Henry, receiving a false report that a new French army was appearing on the horizon, commanded his prisoners to be killed, and numbers had perished before the mistake was discovered and the order could be reversed.

When the news of the defeat and massacre at Agincourt reached Paris, that had always hated the Armagnacs, the indignant populace broke into rebellion, crying, 'Burgundy and Peace!' but the movement was suppressed, and it was not till 1418 that John 'the Fearless' succeeded in entering the capital. By this time Henry V, who had returned to England after his victory, was once more back in France conquering Normandy; and French indignation was roused to white heat when it was known that Rouen, the old capital of the Duchy, had been forced to surrender to his victorious arms.

Even the Duke of Burgundy, who still disliked war with England, felt that he must take some steps to prevent further encroachments; and, after negotiations with the enemy had failed owing to their arrogant demands, he suggested an agreement with the Armagnacs, in order that France, if she must fight, should at least present a united front to her foes.

Here was the moment for France's regeneration; for the head of the Armagnac faction at this date was the Dauphin Charles, son of Charles 'the Mad', and in response to his rival's olive branch he consented to meet him on the bridge of Montereau in order that the old rift might be cemented. In token of submission and goodwill John of Burgundy knelt to kiss the Prince's hand; but, as he did so, an Armagnac still burning with party hate sprang forward and plunged his dagger into his side. A shout of horror and rage arose from the Burgundians, and as they carried away the body of John 'the Fearless' they swore that this murder had been arranged from the beginning and that they would never pay allegiance again to the false Dauphin.

In the Treaty of Troyes that was forthwith negotiated with the English they ratified this vow, for Henry V of England received the hand of the mad king's daughter Catherine in marriage and was recognized as his heir to the throne of France.

Two years later died both Henry V and Charles VI, leaving France divided into two camps, one lying mainly in the north and east, that acknowledged as ruler the infant Henry VI, son of Henry V and Catherine; the other in the south and south-west, that obeyed the Valois Charles VII.

The Treaty of Troyes marks the high-water mark of English power in France during the second period of the Hundred Years' War; for, though the banners that Henry V had carried so triumphantly at Agincourt were pushed steadily southward into Armagnac territory after this date, yet the influence of the invaders was already on the wane. The agreement that gave France to a foreigner and a national enemy had been made only with a section of the French nation; and some of those who in the heat of their anger against the Armagnacs had consented to its terms were soon secretly ashamed of their strange allegiance.

When Charles the Dauphin became Charles VII he ceased to appear merely the leader of a party discredited by its murder of the Duke of Burgundy. He became a national figure; and though his enemies might call him in derision 'King of Bourges' because he dared not come to Paris but ruled only from a town in central France, yet he remained in spite of all their ridicule a king and a Frenchman. Had he been less timid and selfish, more ready to run risks and exert himself rather than to idle away his time with unworthy favourites, there is no doubt that he could have hastened the English collapse. Instead he allowed those who fostered his indolence and hatred of public affairs in order to increase their own power to hinder a reconciliation with the Burgundians that might have been the salvation of France.

Philip 'the Good', son of John 'the Fearless', disliked the Dauphin as his father's murderer, but he had little love for his English allies. By marriage and skilful diplomacy he had absorbed a great part of modern Holland into his already vast inheritance and could assume the state and importance of an independent sovereign. With England he felt that he could treat as an equal, and now regarded with dismay the idea that

she might permanently control both sides of the Channel. So long as John, Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V, acted as regent for his young nephew with statesmanlike moderation, an outward semblance of friendship was maintained ; but Bedford could with difficulty keep in order his quarrelsome, irresponsible younger brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who ruled in England, and with still greater difficulty quell the sullen discontent of the people of Paris who, suffering from starvation as the result of a prolonged war, professed to regard a foreign king as the source of all their troubles.

Only the prestige of English arms retained the loyalty of northern France. 'Two hundred English would drive five hundred French before them,' says a chronicler of the day ; but salvation was to come to France from an unexpected quarter, and enable the same writer to add proudly, 'Now two hundred French would chase and beat four hundred English.'

In the village of Domremy on the Upper Meuse there lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century a peasant maid, Jeanne d'Arc, who was, according to the description of a fellow villager, 'modest, simple, devout, went gladly to Church and sacred places, worked, sewed, hoed in the fields, and did what was needful about the house.' Up till the age of thirteen Jeanne had been like other light-hearted girls, but it was then that a change came into her life : voices seemed to draw her away from her companions and to speak to her from behind a brilliant cloud, and later she had visions of St. Catherine and of St. Michael, whose painted effigies she knew in church.

'I saw them with my bodily eyes as clearly as I see you,' she said when questioned as to these appearances, and admitted that at first she was afraid but that afterwards they brought her comfort. Always they came with the same message, in her own words, 'that she must change her course of life and do marvellous deeds, for the King of Heaven had chosen her to aid the King of France.'

Jeanne d'Arc was no hysterical visionary : she had always a fund of common sense, and knew how ridiculous the idea that she, an uneducated peasant girl, was called to save France would

seem to the world. For some time she tried to forget the message her Voices told her ; but at last it was borne in upon her that God had given her a mission, and from this time neither her indignant father nor timid friends could turn her from her purpose.



Of all the difficulties and checks that she encountered before at last, at the age of seventeen, she was allowed to have audience with Charles VII, there is no space to tell here. News of her persistence had spread abroad, and the torch-lit hall of the castle into which Jeanne was shown was packed with gaily-clad courtiers, and standing amongst them the King, in no way distinguished from the others by his dress or any outward

pomp. Every one believed that the peasant-maid would be dazzled; but she, who had seen no portrait of the King and lived all her life in the quiet little village of Domremy, showed no confusion at the hundreds of eyes fixed on her. Recognizing at once the man with whom her mission was concerned she went straight to him and said, 'My noble lord, I come from God to help you and your realm.'

There must have been something arresting in Jeanne's simplicity and frankness contrasted with that corrupt atmosphere. Even the feeble king was moved; and, when she had been questioned and approved by his bishops, he allowed her to ride forth, as she wished, with the armies of France to save for him the important town of Orleans that was closely besieged by the English. She went in armour with a sword in hand and a banner, and those who rode with her felt her absolute belief in victory, and into their hearts stole the magic influence of her own gay courage and hope.

We have often spoken of 'chivalry', the ideal of good conduct in the Middle Ages. The kings, princes, and knights, whose prowess has made the chronicles of Froissart famous, were to their journalist veritable heroes of chivalry, exponents of courage, courtesy, and breeding. Yet to modern eyes these qualities seem often tarnished, since the heroes who flaunted them were in no way ashamed of vices like cruelty, selfishness, or snobbery. A King John of France would die in a foreign prison rather than break his parole, but he would disdainfully ride down a 'rabble' of archers whom his negligence had left too tired to fight his battles. The Black Prince would wait like a servant on his royal prisoner, but accept as a brother-in-arms to be succoured a human devil like Pedro the Cruel; or put a town to the sword, as he did at Limoges, old men, women, and children, because it had dared to set him at defiance.

There is nothing of this tarnish in the chivalry of the peasant-maid who saved France. Pure gold were her knightly deeds, yet achieved without a trace of the prig or the boaster. Jeanne d'Arc was always human and therefore lovable, quick in her anger at fraud, yet easily appeased; friendly to king and soldier

alike, yet never losing the simple dignity that was her safeguard in court and camp. Of all mediaeval warriors of whom we read she was the bravest; for she knew what fear was and would often pray not to fall into the hands of her enemies alive, yet she never shirked a battle or went into danger with a downcast face. A slim figure, with her close-cropped dark hair and shining eyes, she rode wherever the fight was thickest, always, in the words of a modern biographer, 'gay and gaily glad,' quick to see her opportunities and follow them up, joyful in victory, generous to her foes, pitiful to the wounded and prisoners.

The sight of her awoke new courage in her countrymen, dismay as at the supernatural in her enemies, who dubbed her a witch and vowed to burn her.

'Suddenly she turned at bay,' says a contemporary account of one of her battles, 'and few as were the men with her she faced the English and advanced on them swiftly with standard displayed. Then fled the English shamefully and the French came back and chased them into their works.'

Orleans was relieved and entered, the reluctant, still half-doubting Charles led to Reims, and there in the ancient capital of France crowned, that all Frenchmen might know who was their true king. 'The Maid' urged that the ceremony should be followed by a rapid march on Paris; but favourites who dreaded her influence whispered other counsels into the royal ear, and Charles dallied and hesitated. When at last he advanced it was to find that the bridges over the Seine had been cut, not by the retreating English but by French treachery.

Paris was ripe for rebellion, and at the sight of 'the Maid' would have murdered her foreign garrison and opened her gates. Bedford was in the north suppressing a revolt, yet Charles, clutching at the excuse of the broken bridges, retreated southwards, disbanding his army and leaving his defender to her fate.

Her Voices now warned Jeanne of impending capture and death, but her mission was to save France, and hearing that the Duke of Burgundy planned to take the important town of Compiègne she rode to its defence with a small force. Under the walls, in the course of a sortie, she was captured, refusing to

surrender. 'I have sworn and given my faith to another than you, and I will keep my oath,' she declared; and through the months that followed, caged and fettered in a dark cell of the castle of Rouen, exposed to the insults of the rough English archers, she maintained her allegiance, saying to her foes of the prince who had failed her so pitifully, 'My King is the most noble of all Christians.'

Frenchmen (some of them bishops, canons, and lawyers of the University of Paris), as well as Englishmen, were amongst those who, after the mockery of a trial, sent Jeanne to be burned as a heretic in the market-place of Rouen. Bravely as she had lived she died, calling on her saints, begging the forgiveness of her enemies, pardoning the evil they had done her. 'That the world', says a modern writer, 'might have no relic of her of whom the world was not worthy, the English threw her ashes into the Seine.'

France, that had betrayed Jeanne d'Arc, needed no relic to keep her memory alive. To-day men and women call her Saint, and one miracle she certainly wrought, for she restored to her country, that through years of anarchy had almost lost belief in itself, the undying sense of its own nationality. 'As to peace with the English,' she had said, 'the only peace possible is for them to return to their own land.' Within little more than twenty years from her death the mission on which she had ridden forth from Domremy had been accomplished, and Calais, of all their French possessions, alone remained to the enemies of France.

In summary of the Hundred Years' War it may be said that from the beginning the English fought in a lost cause. Fortune, military genius, and dogged courage gave to their conquests a fictitious endurance; but nationality is a foe invincible because it has discovered the elixir of life; and when the tide of fortune turned with the coming of 'the Maid' the ebb of English discomfiture was very swift.

In 1435 died the Duke of Bedford, and in the same year Charles VII, moved from his sluggishness, concluded at Arras a treaty with Philip of Burgundy that secured his entry into Paris. By good fortune his young rival in the ensuing campaigns, the English King, Henry VI, had inherited, not the energy and valour of his father, but an anaemic version of his French grandfather's

insanity. Even before his first lapse into melancholia, he was the weak puppet of first one set of influences, then another ; and the factions that strove to govern for their own interests in his name lost him first Normandy and then Guienne. Finally they carried their feuds back across the Channel to work out what seemed an almost divine vengeance for the anarchy they had caused in France, in the troubled 'Wars of the Roses'.

Under Charles VII, well named *le bien servi*, France, as she gradually freed herself from a foreign yoke, developed from a mediæval into the semblance of a modern state. Wise ministers, whom in his later years the King had the sense to substitute for his earlier worthless favourites, built up the power of the monarchy, restored its financial credit, and established in the place of the disorderly 'companies' a standing army recruited and controlled by the crown.

These things were not done without opposition, and the rebellion of 'the Praguerie', in which were implicated nearly all the leading nobles of France, including the King's own son, the Dauphin Louis, was a desperate attempt on the part of the aristocracy to shake off the growing pressure of royal control. It failed because the nation, as a whole, saw in submission to an absolute monarch a means, imperfect perhaps but yet the only means available at the moment, of securing the regeneration of France.

It is significant that when Louis XI succeeded to Charles VII he inevitably followed in his father's footsteps, forsaking the interests of the class with which he had first allied himself, in order to rule as an autocrat and fulfil the ideal of kingship in his day.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Philip VI of France . . .	1328-50	Henry V of England . . .	1413-22
John II of France . . .	1350-64	Henry VI of England . . .	1422-61
Charles V of France . . .	1364-80	Boccaccio	1313-75
Charles VI of France . . .	1380-1422	Jeanne d'Arc	1412-30
Charles VII of France . . .	1422-61		

XIX

SPAIN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

SPAIN has been rightly described as 'one of the most cut up portions of the earth's surface'. A glance at her map will show the numerous mountain ranges that pierce into the heart of the country, dividing her into districts utterly unlike both in climate and soil. Even rivers that elsewhere in Europe, as in the case of the Rhine and the Danube, act as roads of friendship and commerce, are in Spain for the most part unnavigable, running in wild torrents between precipitous banks so as to form an additional hindrance to intercourse.

Geography thus came to play a very great part in the history of mediæval Spain, deciding that though overrun by Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, and Saracens, no conquest should be ever quite complete, since the invaded could always find inaccessible refuges amongst the mountains. A spirit of provincial independence was also fostered, as in Italy¹—men learning to say first not 'I am a Spaniard,' but 'I am of Burgos,' or 'of Andalusia,' or of 'Barcelona,' according to their neighbourhood.

When the Saracens defeated King Rodrigo and his Christian army at the battle of Guadalete,² we have seen that they found the subjugation of southern and central Spain an easy matter. Rich towns and districts passed into their hands almost without a blow: the Gothic nobles and their families who should have defended them, weakened by tribal dissensions, fled away northwards to the mountains of Leon and Asturias, while the down-trodden masses that they left behind soon welcomed their new masters.

It was the policy of the Moors to grant a slave his freedom on

¹ See p. 53.

² See p. 62.

his open acknowledgement of Allah as the one God and Mahomet as his Prophet, while they allowed those Christians and Jews who refused to surrender their faith to live in peace on the payment of a poll-tax not required from Moslems.

The capital of the Saracen kingdom, or 'Caliphate', that was destined to survive practically unmolested for some three hundred years, was the town of Cordova, whose capture the Moors believed had been divinely inspired by Allah, since as their army under



cover of the darkness swept up to the walls, a terrific hail-storm descended that deadened the clatter of approaching hoofs. From a treacherous shepherd one of the captains learned of a part of the fortifications easy to scale; and, climbing up undetected by means of a fig-tree, he let down his long turban to assist his fellows until a sufficient number had mounted to overpower the guards and open the gates to the main army.

To the Spaniards, thus defeated almost in their sleep, Cordova was a fallen city, disgraced by the presence of infidels; yet these

same infidels were to make her luxury and brilliance rival the almost fabulous glories of Bagdad and to win for her culture the grudging admiration of Christian Europe. As we read of her 'Palace of Pleasures', ornamented with gold and precious stones, of her woods of pomegranate and sweet almond, of her gardens and perfumed fountains, of her luxurious rest-houses for travellers without the walls, we are back in the atmosphere of some Eastern fairy tale that clings also around the history of her Caliphs, tinged with romance their loves, their hatreds, and their rivalries.

There are other aspects of Moorish Spain hardly less wonderful when contrasted with the haphazard national development of the rest of Europe. Here were agriculture and industry deliberately stimulated by a close and practical study of such branches of knowledge as science and botany, algebra and arithmetic. Arid soil, that under ordinary mediæval neglect would have been left a desert, became through canals and irrigation a fertile plain, the garden of rice, sugar, cotton, or oranges. Mathematics applied to everyday needs produced the mariner's compass; scientific brains and intelligent workmen the steel blades of Toledo and Seville, the woven silk fabrics of Granada, and the pottery and velvets of Valencia.

Yet, though knowledge was consciously applied for commercial purposes, the Moors did not set up 'Utility' as an idol for their scholars and tell them that only information that brought material wealth in its train was worth having. Philosophy and literature, as well as science, had their lecture-halls: Greece and the East were searched by Caliphs' orders for manuscripts to fill their libraries; and so world-famous became Cordovan professors that in the twelfth century Christian students hastened to sit at their feet; and the translations of Aristotle by the Arabic professor Averroës became one of the chief sources of authority for the most orthodox 'schoolmen'.

In their search after knowledge for its own sake, the Moors accorded toleration to the best brains of all races. Elsewhere in Europe the Jews were held accursed, protected by Christian rulers so long as their money-bags could be squeezed like a

sponge, but exposed to insult, torture, and death whenever popular fury, aroused by a crusade or an epidemic, demanded an easy outlet for zeal in burning and pillaging houses.

Christian fanaticism had closed nearly every avenue of life to the Jew save that of money-lender, in which he found few competitors, since the law of the Church forbade usury. It then proceeded to condemn him as a blood-sucker because of the high rate of interest that his precarious position induced him to charge for his loans. Thus, despised, hated, and feared, persecution helped to breed in the average Jew the very vices for which he was blamed, namely, the determination to sweat his Christian neighbours, and an arrogant absorption in his own race to the exclusion of all others.

In the cities of the Moors alone the Jew could rise to public eminence, as in Cordova, where teachers of the race were especially noted for their researches in medicine and surgery. Many Spanish Israelites indeed became doctors, and proved themselves so unmistakably superior in knowledge and skill to the ordinary quacks that rulers of Christian states were thankful to employ them when their health was in danger.

It would seem at first sight as if this happy kingdom of the Moors, where culture, comfort, and toleration reigned, must in time succeed in spreading its civilizing influence over Europe; but there was another and darker side to Moslem Spain. The Caliphate of Cordova, like other Moslem states, was the victim of a form of government whose sole bond was the religion of Islam. Its ruler was a tyrant independent of any popular control, and could send even his Grand Vizier, or chief minister, to death by a word. Such an exalted position had its penalties, and the Caliph must keep continual watch lest he should find enemies ready to slay him, not merely amongst his servants, but even more amongst his sons or brothers. Since polygamy prevailed, in nearly every family there were children of rival mothers, who learned from their cradles to hate and fear each other. It depended only, as it seemed, on a little luck or cunning who would succeed to the royal title, and few scrupled to use dagger or poison to ensure themselves the coveted honour.



*Moorish Architecture in Spain. The Mosque of El Cristo de la Luz (tenth century)
in Toledo*

Photograph by Mr. J. R. H. Weaver



Gothic Architecture in Spain. View across the transepts of Burgos Cathedral

Photograph by Mr. J. R. H. Weaver

Out of the feuds and plots of the Moorish court and the rise and fall of Emirs and Sultans in the provinces, Moorish Spain prepared its own downfall during the three centuries that it dominated southern and central Spain.

Away in the north, in Asturias, the 'cradle of the Spanish race', where every peasant considers himself an 'hidalgo' or noble, in the kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, in the counties of Castile and Barcelona, the descendants of the once enfeebled Goths were meanwhile developing into a race of warriors.

Though ardent in his devotion to Christianity, weaving supernatural aid around every victory, the Spaniard did not, in what might be called the first period of 'the Reconquest', show any acute dislike of the Moor. His early struggles were not for religion but for independence, and often a Prince or Count would join with some friendly Emir to overthrow a Christian rival. 'All Kings are alike to me so long as they pay my price!' These words of Rodrigo (Ruy) Diaz, the greatest of Spanish heroes, were typical of his race in the age in which he lived.

This Ruy Diaz, 'El Campeador', or 'the Challenger', as the Christians named him, but more popularly called by his Arabic title 'Al Said' or 'the Cid', meaning 'the Chief', was brave, generous, boastful, and treacherous. A Castilian by race, he held his allegiance to the King of Leon, whose wars he sometimes condescended to wage, as in no way sacred; but when banished by that monarch, who had well-founded suspicions of his loyalty, proceeded unabashed to fight on behalf of his late master's enemy, the Moorish Sultan of Saragossa.

It is evident from the old chronicles and ballads that the Cid himself could rouse and keep the affection of those who served him. When he sent for his relations and friends to tell them that he had been banished by the King of Leon and to ask who would go with him into exile, we are told that 'Alvar Fañez, who was his cousin, answered, "Cid, we will all go with you through desert and through peopled country, and never fail you. In your service will we spend our mules and horses, our wealth and our garments, and ever while we live be unto you loyal friends and vassals": and they all confirmed what Alvar Fañez had said.'

Mediaeval Spain was always ready to admire a warrior; and a great part of the Cid's charm lay, no doubt, in his prowess on the battle-field, when, charging with his good sword 'Tizona' in hand, none could withstand the onslaught. To this admiration was added the deeper feeling of fellowship. Their hero might spill the blood of hundreds to attain his ambitions, but he was yet no noble after the mediaeval French type, despising those of inferior rank; rather a full-blooded Spaniard, keen in his sympathy with all other Spaniards.

As he rode from the town of Burgos on his way to exile the Cid called Alvar Fañez to his side and said, 'Cousin, the poor have no part in the wrong which the King hath done us . . . See now that no wrong be done unto them along our road.' 'And an old woman who was standing at her door said, "Go in a lucky minute and make spoil of whatever you wish."'

The Cid's 'luck', or perhaps it would be truer to say his admirable discretion, carried him triumphantly through many campaigns—at times reconciled with the Christian king and fighting under his banner, at others laying waste his lands as a Moorish ally. At length he reached the summit of his fortunes and carved himself a principality out of the Moorish province of Valencia; and as ruler of this state made little pretence of being any one's vassal, but boasted that he, a Rodrigo, would free Andalusia as another Rodrigo had let her fall into bondage.

This kingly achievement was denied him, for even heroes fail; so that a time came when he fell ill, and the Moors invaded his land, and because he could no longer fight against them he turned his face to the wall and died. Yet his last victory was still to come; for his followers, who had served him so faithfully, embalmed his body, and they set him on his war-horse and bound 'Tizona' in his hand, and so they led him out of the city against his foes. Instead of weeping and lamentations the Cid's widow had ordered the church bells to be rung and war trumpets to be blown so that the Moors did not know their great enemy was dead; but imagining that he charged amongst them, terrible in his wrath as of old, they broke and fled.

In spite of this victory Valencia fell back under the rule of the

Moors, but she never forgot 'Ruy Diaz', and is proud to this day to be called 'Valencia of the Cid'.

The second period of the reconquest of Spain by the Christians may be called the crusading period, and continued until the fall of Granada in 1492. It began not at any fixed date, but in the gradual realization by the Christian states during the twelfth century that their war with the Moors was something quite distinct and ever so much more important than their almost fraternal feuds with one another. This dawning conviction was intensified into a faith, when the Moorish kingdom, that, owing to the feebleness and corruption of its government, had almost ceased to be a kingdom and split up into a number of warring states, was towards the end of the twelfth century overrun and temporarily welded together by a fierce Berber tribe from North Africa, the Almohades.

The Almohades, like earlier followers of Mahomet, were definitely hostile to both Christians and Jews, and so the feeling of religious bitterness grew; and the war that at first was a series of victories for the infidel developed its character of a crusade.

Other crusades, we have seen, gained public support; and at the beginning of the thirteenth century Pope Innocent III, no less alive to his responsibility towards Spain than towards the Holy Land, sent a recruiting appeal to all the countries of Europe. This was answered by the arrival of bands of Templars, Hospitallers, and other young warriors anxious to win their spurs against the heathen. Spain herself founded several Military Orders, of which the most famous was the Order of Santiago, that is, of St. James, called after the national saint, whose tomb at Compostella in the north was one of the favourite shrines visited by pilgrims.

At the head of the Christian host, when it rode across the mountains to the plain of Las Navas de Tolosa, where it was destined to fight one of the most decisive of Spanish battles, was Alfonso VIII, 'the Good', of Castile, who had warred against the Moors ever since his coronation as a lad of fifteen. With him went his allies, the King of Navarre, commanding the

right wing, and Pedro II, King of Aragon, commanding the left.

All day long the battle raged ; and the Christian kings and their knights fought like heroes ; but in spite of their efforts they were pressed back and defeat seemed almost certain. 'Here must we die,' exclaimed Alfonso bitterly, determined to sell his life at a high price ; but Rodrigo Ximenez, the fiery Archbishop of Toledo, replied, 'Not so, Señor, here shall we conquer !' and with his cross-bearer he charged so resolutely against the foe that the Christians, rallying to save their sacred standard, drove the Moors headlong from the field. So overwhelming was the victory that the advance of the Almohades was completely checked, and the Christian states became the dominating power in the peninsula.

At first in their battles amongst themselves it had been Navarre that took the lead amongst the Christian states ; but later this little mountain kingdom, that lay across the Pyrenees like a saddle and was half French in her sympathies and outlook, lost her supremacy. Spanish interest ceased to be centred in France, and focused itself instead in the lands that were slowly being recovered from the Moors. Portugal declared itself an independent kingdom, Castile broke off the yoke of Navarre and united with Leon, Aragon absorbed the important province of Catalonia, with its thriving seaport Barcelona.

One of the most famous of Aragonese heroes in the thirteenth century was James 'the Conqueror', son of Pedro II of Aragon, who during the Albigensian Crusade had died fighting on behalf of his brother and vassal, the Count of Provence, against Simon de Montfort.¹ James, who was only six at the time, was taken prisoner by the cruel Count, but Innocent III insisted that he should be handed back to his own people, and these gave him to the Templars to educate. It was natural that in such a military environment the boy should grow up a soldier ; but he was to prove himself a statesman as well, and a lover of literature, writing in the Catalan dialect a straightforward, manly chronicle of his reign, and encouraging his Catalan subjects in

¹ See p. 215.

the devotion to poetry they had shared from early days with their Provençal neighbours.

According to contemporary accounts the young king was handsome beyond all ordinary standards, nearly seven feet tall, and well built in proportion. Unfortunately he was so attractive that he became thoroughly spoilt, and was dissolute in his way of life and uncontrolled in his temper. When in one of his rages he was capable of any crime, though ordinarily so generous and tender-hearted that he hated to sign a death-warrant. In his chronicle he tells us how on one of his campaigns he found a swallow had built her nest by the roundel of his tent: 'So I ordered the men not to take it down,' he says, 'until the swallow had flown away with her young, since she had come trusting to my protection.'

The combination of good looks, brains, and chivalry found in James I appealed to the imagination of the Aragonese, but still more did his fighting qualities that were typically Spanish. 'It has ever been the fate of my race', he wrote, 'to conquer or die in battle'; and when quite a small boy he made up his mind that he would become a crusader.

For many years after he was declared old enough to reign for himself King James was forced to spend his time and energy in subduing the nobles who during his long minority had been allowed to become a law unto themselves. This vindication of his authority accomplished, he led his armies against the Moors, and under his conquering banner 'Valencia of the Cid' passed finally into Christian hands.

The Moorish kingdom was now reduced to Granada in the south and the dependent province of Murcia to the north-east that was claimed by the Castilians, though Alfonso 'the Learned' of Castile was quite unable to make himself master of it.

Hearing of the Aragonese victories in Valencia, Alfonso, who was 'the Conqueror's' son-in-law, asked King James if he would help him by invading Murcia, a project that first aroused the anger of the Aragonese because it seemed to them that they were expected to do the hard work in order that some one else might reap the spoils.

King James was more far-seeing than his subjects and held a different view. The Moors were weak at the moment; but, owing to the influx of fresh warriors from North Africa, they had always been able to rally their power in the past and might do so again. 'If the King of Castile happen to lose his land I shall hardly be safe in mine,' was his shrewd summary of the case; and with this he invaded and overran Murcia, which he gave to his son-in-law in 1262.

This date, 1262, though it marked no fresh acquisition of territory for Aragon, was nevertheless an epoch in her history. Hitherto her main interest had been identical with Castile's—namely, the freedom of Spain from the infidel—but now, owing to the conquest of Murcia, she was surrounded by Christian neighbours, and what remained of the crusade had become the business of Castile alone. Early in his reign also, King James had closed another chapter in Aragonese history, when, as a result of his father's defeat and death, he had been forced to cede all Catalanian claims to Provence, and thus to put away for ever the prospect of absorbing France that had dazzled his ancestors.

Where, then, should Aragon turn her victorious arms? King James, a true Aragonese, had already answered this question, when in 1229 he began the conquest of the Balearic Islands, thus clearly recognizing that his country's natural outlook for expansion was neither north nor south, but eastwards. Already Catalan fishermen and the merchants of Barcelona were disputing the commercial overlordship of the Mediterranean with their fellows of Marseilles and the Italian Republics, and thenceforward Aragonese kings were to take a hand in the game, supporting commerce with diplomacy and the sword.

James 'the Conqueror' did not die in battle-harness, as he had predicted, but in the robe of a Cistercian monk, expiating in the seclusion of a monastery the sins of his tempestuous, pleasure-loving youth. His tradition as a warrior descended to his son Pedro III, under whose rule Aragon entered on her campaign of Italian conquests.

Both the excuse for this undertaking and the occasion have been noticed elsewhere in another connexion. The excuse was

the execution of Conradin,¹ last legitimate descendant of the Neapolitan Hohenstaufen. As he stood on the scaffold calmly awaiting his death, the boy, for he was little more, had flung his gauntlet amongst the crowd. The action spoke for itself, the one bitter word 'revenge'; and a partisan who witnessed it, kneeling swiftly, picked up the glove and bore it away to Spain. Here he presented it to Pedro III, to whose wife Constance, the daughter of an illegitimate son of Frederick II, the claims of the Italian Hohenstaufen had descended.

Pedro did not forget the glove or its message; and when the Sicilians, rising in wrath at the Easter Vespers,² massacred their Angevin tyrants, it was Aragonese ships that brought them succour, and Pedro who defied the anathemas of the Pope and the power of France to drive him from his new throne.

All the failures and victories of the years that followed, when Aragonese and Angevin claimants deluged 'the Kingdom' and adjoining island with blood, are more a matter of Italian than Spanish history, and it is with Castile that the interests of the peninsula become mainly concerned.

Castile in later mediaeval times consisted of some two-thirds of the whole area of Spain, stretching from the Bay of Biscay in the north to the confines of the Moorish kingdom of Granada in the south. As her name suggests, she was a land of castles, built originally, not like the strongholds of Stephen's lawless barons in England—to maintain a tyranny over the countryside—but as military outposts in each fresh stage of the reconquest from Islam. Naturally those who lived in such outposts, and might be wakened any night to take part in a border foray or to withstand a surprise attack, expected to receive special privileges in compensation. This was as it should be, and grateful Kings of Castile, in order to encourage traders as well as knights and princes to settle on their dangerous southern border, offered concessions in the form of charters and revenues with a reckless prodigality at which other European monarchs would have shuddered.

¹ See p. 195.

² See p. 229.

Trouble began when, with the steady advance of the crusading armies, outposts ceased to be outposts ; and yet their inhabitants, naturally enough again, saw no reason why they should be deprived of the privileges and riches that they had won in the past. Had they known how to use their independence, when danger from the Moors diminished, in securing a government conscious of national needs and aspirations, Spain might have become the political leader of Europe. Unfortunately the average Castilian felt only a selfish sense of the advantages that liberty might afford, without realizing in the least that their possession entailed heavy responsibilities. Thus he allowed his country to degenerate into anarchy.

War seemed the natural atmosphere of life to the Castilian of pure blood, whose ancestors had all been crusaders. Unable to compete in agriculture or industry with the thrifty Moslems or Jews who remained behind on the lands that he reconquered, he decided that labour, except with the sword, was the hall-mark of slaves ; and this unfortunate fallacy, widely adopted, became the ultimate ruin of Spain. It turned her from the true road of national prosperity, which can be gained only by solid work, while it prevented nobles and town representatives from understanding one another, and so rendered them incapable of common action in the 'Cortes', or national parliament. The fallacy went farther, for it made war between noble and noble seem a natural outlet for martial zeal when no Moslem force was handy on which to whet Christian swords.

The part played by the King in this land of independent crusaders and aristocratic cut-throats was difficult and precarious. Though not so legally bound by the concessions he had been forced to make as in Aragon—where no king might pass a law without the consent of his Cortes and where the 'Justiciar', a popular minister, disputed his supreme right of justice—mediaeval Castilian monarchs were in practice very much at the mercy of their subjects.

Henry II of England had been able to burn down his barons' castles and hang some of their owners, thus paving the way of royal supremacy ; but kings of Castile could scarcely adopt

such drastic measures against subjects usually more wealthy than themselves, whose castles were required as national fortresses, and whose retainers formed the main part of Christian armies against the Moors. Instead, custom and circumstances seemed ever forcing the rulers of Castile to grant new liberties, and to alienate their lands and revenues in constant rewards and bribes.

This was one of the failings of Alfonso 'the Learned', who in spite of his boast, 'Had I been present at the Creation I would have arranged the world better,' was certainly not 'the Wise', as he is sometimes called. Alfonso was a great reader and a scientist in advance of his day; but the best work that he ever did for his kingdom was the publication of the *Siete Partidas* (Seven Divisions), a compilation of all the previous laws of Spain, both Roman and Gothic, drawn up and arranged in a single code. For the rest, apart from his somewhat academic cleverness, he was vain, irresolute, and superficial. On one occasion he divorced his wife; and then, when the new wife he had chosen, a Norwegian princess, had already arrived at a Spanish port, he decided to send her away and retain the old. This capriciousness was of a piece with the rest of his actions.

During the 'Great Interregnum'¹ Alfonso was one of the claimants for the imperial crown, but had neither money nor sufficient popularity to carry through this foolish project, for which he heavily overtaxed his people. He also planned an invasion of Africa in grand crusading style, but had to turn his attention instead to struggling against unruly sons. He died with little accomplished save his reputation for wisdom.

The reign of Alfonso X was a prelude to a century and a half of anarchy in Castile, a period when few of her kings could claim to be either 'wise' or 'learned', and when four of them by ill fortune ascended the throne in childhood, and so presented their nobles with extra opportunities for seeking their own ambitions at the royal expense.

On one struggle during this century and a half we have already touched—the bitter feud between Pedro 'the Cruel', the Nero of Spain, and his half-brother, Henry of Trastamara.² There is

¹ See p. 229.

² See p. 247.

no end to the list of crimes of which this monster has been accused, from strangling his rival's mother, and calmly watching while his half-brother, a twin of Henry of Trastamara, was pursued and cut down unarmed by the royal guard, to ordering that the young bride with whom he had refused to live should be given poisonous herbs that she might die.

Stained, indeed, must the Black Prince have felt his honour when he discovered what a brother-in-arms he had crossed the Pyrenees to aid—one who would massacre prisoners for sheer love of butchery, burn a priest for prophesying his death, and murder an archbishop in a fit of savagery. It is probably true to describe this worst of the Spanish kings as mad: many of his atrocities were so meaningless, such obvious steps to his own downfall, because they alienated those who tried to remain loyal to his cause. His end, when it came, rejoiced the popular heart and imagination, for Pedro, according to tradition, was at last entrapped by the crafty Du Guesclin, lately released from imprisonment by the Black Prince, and once more in the service of Henry of Trastamara.

King Pedro believed that every man had a price, and, on Du Guesclin's pretence that he might be bought over, stole secretly one night to the Frenchman's tent. Here he found his hated brother with some of his courtiers who cried aloud 'Look, Señor, it is your enemy.' 'I am! I am!' screamed Pedro furiously, seeing he was betrayed, and flung himself on his brother, while the latter struck at him with his dagger. Over and over they rolled in the half-light of a tallow candle, until Pedro, who had gained the upper hand, fumbled for his poignard with which to strike a fatal blow. Then, according to the old ballad, Du Guesclin interfered. 'I neither make king nor mar king, but I serve my master,' he said, and turned Pedro over on his back, enabling those who were standing by to dispatch him with their knives. The tale, if creditable to Du Guesclin's loyalty, is hardly so to his love of fair play, but the murdered king had lived like a wild animal, and it is difficult to feel any regret that he died like one instead of in battle as a knight.

The House of Trastamara was now established on the

Castilian throne by the triumphant Henry II. Some years later it gave also a king to its eastern neighbour, when the royal House of Aragon had become extinct in the male line. This was the Infante Ferdinand, a man of mature judgement, who had already won golden opinions for his honesty and statesmanship when acting as guardian for his young nephew, John II of Castile.

Both kingdoms, but more especially Castile, were to remain victims of civil wars and of frequent periods of anarchy for another half-century. John II, deprived of his uncle's wise guidance, devoted his time to composing love-songs and surrendered his weak will to a royal favourite, Alvaro de Luna, without whose consent, tradition says, he dared not even go to bed. The result was incessant turbulence, for the nobles hated the arrogant and all-powerful upstart, who managed the court as he pleased, and steadily added to his own estates and revenues. Yet, having brought about his downfall and death, they had no better government with which to replace his tyranny.

Under John's son and successor Castile fared even worse; for Henry IV was not merely weak but vicious, so that he rolled the crown in the mire of scandal and degradation. Government of any sort was now at an end. 'Our swords', wrote a contemporary Castilian, recalling this time of nightmare, 'were employed, not to defend the boundaries of Christendom, but to rip up the entrails of our country. . . . He was most esteemed among us who was strongest in violence: justice and peace were far removed.'

In their efforts to save something of their lives and fortunes from this wreck, towns and villages formed *Hermaduras* or 'brotherhoods'—that is, troops of armed men who pursued and punished criminals; but these leagues without support from the crown were not strong enough to deal with the worst offenders, the wealthy nobles, who could cover their misdeeds with lavish bribery or threats.

At this moment in Castile's history, when she had sunk to a depth from which she could not save herself, Henry IV died,

and was succeeded on the throne by his sister, Isabel, a girl in years but already a statesman in outlook and discretion. Henry IV had attempted to secure personal advantages in his lifetime by arranging various marriages for Isabel, first with a French prince, then with the King of Portugal, and finally with one of his own worthless favourites, and his sister had won his dislike by her steady refusal to agree to any of these alliances. Secretly, indeed, she had married her cousin Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Aragon, a youth already distinguished for his military abilities and shrewd common sense.

As joint rulers of Castile and Aragon Isabel and Ferdinand dominated Spain, and were able to impose their will even on the most powerful of their rebellious subjects, taking back the crown lands that had been recklessly given away, organizing a *Santa Hermandad*, or 'Holy Brotherhood', on the model of previous local efforts to ensure order, and themselves holding supreme tribunals to judge important cases of robbery and murder. In this display of authority the land not merely acquiesced but rejoiced, utterly weary of an independence the misuse of which had produced licence instead of freedom.

Thus it was that a strong monarchy, such as Louis XI was able to establish in France at the end of the Hundred Years' War, and the Tudors in England after the Wars of the Roses, was also organized and maintained in Spain. Under its despotic sway many popular liberties were lost, but peace was gained at home, and glory and honour abroad above all expectations. The perpetual crusade against the Moors had always touched the imagination of Europe—now its crowning achievement, the Conquest of Granada, dazzled their eyes with all the pageantry and pomp of victory so dear to mediaeval minds.

Hardly was this wonder told when news came that a Genoese adventurer had discovered, in the name of Isabel and Ferdinand, a Spanish empire of almost fabulous wealth beyond the Atlantic.¹ To these triumphs were added conquests in Italy, fruits of Ferdinand's Aragonese ambitions.

The glory of Spain belongs to modern not to mediaeval

¹ See p. 312.

history; but just as a man or woman is a development of the child, so this, the first nation in Europe as she became in the sixteenth century, proved the outcome of the qualities and vices of an earlier age. Above all things she became, as we should expect, a nation of warriors, inspired with ardour for the Catholic Faith, arrogant and ambitious. To her strength was added a fatal weakness bred of conceit and a narrow outlook, that is the intolerance that admired Ferdinand and Isabel's ruthless Inquisition and rejoiced in the expulsion of thousands of thrifty Jews and Moors.

Spain was a born conqueror among nations, but what she conquered she had learned neither the sympathy nor adaptability to govern. Thus the empire won by her courage and endurance was destined to slip from her grasp.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Saracen rule in Spain	711-1031
The Cid (died)	1099
James I of Aragon	1213-76
Pedro III of Aragon	1276-85
Alfonso X of Castile	1252-84
Pedro I of Castile	1350-69
John II of Castile	1407-54
Henry IV of Castile	1454-74
Isabel I of Castile	1474-1504
Ferdinand II of Aragon	1479-1516

XX

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN EUROPE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

THE accession of Rudolf of Habsburg¹ as King of the Romans in 1273 is a turning-point in the history of mediæval Germany. Hitherto private or imperial ambitions had prevented even well-intentioned emperors from exerting their full strength against anarchy at home ; while a few like Frederick II had deliberately ignored German interests. The result had been a steady process of disintegration, perpetuating racial and class feuds ; but now at last the tradition was broken and an Emperor chosen who was willing to forgo the glory of dominating Rome and Lombardy in order to build up a nation north of the Alps.

The election itself was somewhat of a surprise ; for Rudolf belonged to an obscure and far from wealthy family, owning territory in Alsace and amongst the Swiss mountains. What is interesting to the modern world is that the man who did most to influence the Electors in their choice, and thus helped to plant a Habsburg with his feet on the ladder of greatness, was a Hohenzollern.

Count Rudolf at the time of his election was a middle-aged man of considerable military experience, kindly, simple, and resolute. He had won the affection of his own vassals by helping them in their struggles against the unjust demands of local tyrants, such as feudal bishops or the barons who built castles amongst the crags and sent out armed retainers to waylay merchants and travellers. One tale records how, with an apparently small force, he advanced boldly against a robber fastness, thus encouraging the garrison to issue out and attack him. When the robbers approached, however, they found to their horror that each of their mounted opponents had another armed man seated behind

¹ See p. 229.

him, and so, hopelessly outnumbered as well as outwitted, they were forced to surrender or fly.

Rudolf needed all his military ability when he was chosen Emperor ; for the most powerful ruler in central Europe at that time, King Ottocar of Bohemia, refused to recognize him, being furious that he himself had not received a single vote, while an obscure count from the Swiss mountains had been elected his master. The truth was that Ottocar was well known to be arrogant and bad-tempered, so that all the Electors were afraid of him ; and there was general rejoicing when, in a battle against King Rudolf near Vienna, he was killed and the throne of Bohemia passed to his son, a boy of twelve.

This victory was the real beginning of the Habsburg fortunes ; for Rudolf by the confiscation of the Austrian provinces of Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, that had belonged to his rival, established his family as one of the great territorial powers of the Empire. Unfortunately his character seemed to deteriorate with success, and his greed for lands and power to increase with acquisition.

Instead of finding Rudolf the protector of their liberties, his sturdy Swiss vassals now had to defend themselves against his encroachments ; and in the year 1291 some of them in self-defence formed what they called a 'Perpetual League', whose covenant, drawn up a few years later in a simplified form, is just as sacred a charter of liberty to the Swiss as Magna Charta to the English.

'Know, all men,' it began, 'that we, the people of the Valley of Uri, the Community of the Valley of Schwyz, and the mountaineers of the Lower Valley, seeing the malice of the times, have solemnly agreed and bound ourselves by oath to aid and defend each other with all our might and main, with our lives and property, both within and without our boundaries, each at his own expense, against every enemy whatever who shall attempt to molest us, whether singly or collectively.'

This was the first 'Confederation of the Swiss', the union of the three provinces of Uri, Schwyz, and the 'Lower Valley', or 'Unterwalden' ; but Rudolf died in the same year 1291, so that the Swiss struggle for liberty really began against his son, Albert of Austria.

Rudolf, in spite of the Concordat he had made with the Pope renouncing his claims over papal territory, had never been to Italy to be crowned Emperor, so that he died merely 'King of the Romans'; and the Electors of Germany made this one of their excuses for not immediately choosing his son to succeed him.

Like Ottocar, Albert was overbearing and ambitious, and had at once on his father's death obtained possession of the entire family estates, without allowing any of them to pass to Count John of Habsburg, a son of his elder brother who had died some years before. Albert was a persistent man when he wished for anything very ardently, and, having failed to be elected Emperor a first time, he set himself to win friends and allies amongst the powerful families all over Germany. So successful was he that when a fresh imperial vacancy occurred in 1298 the choice of the Electors fell on him.

This realization of his ambitions spurred Albert's energies to fresh efforts. He was now overlord of the Empire, but on his own estates amongst the Swiss mountains his will was often disputed by citizens and peasants, who claimed to have imperial permission for their independence. As Emperor, Rudolf could withdraw privileges light-heartedly granted by predecessors who were not Habsburgs; and with this in view he sent bailiffs and stewards to govern in his name, with orders to enforce complete submission to his demands.

Concerning the events that followed, fiction has built round fact a wonderful tale, that, whether true or false in its main incidents, is characteristic of mediaeval Swiss daring, and a fit introduction to a great national struggle for liberty.

Gessler, legend tells us, was the most hated of all Albert's Austrian governors. So narrow-minded was he that he hated to see the peasants building themselves stone houses instead of living in mud hovels, and would take every opportunity of humbling and oppressing them.

Once he set up a hat on a pole in the market-place of one of the principal towns, and ordered every one who passed to salute it. A certain William Tell, either through obstinacy or carelessness, failed to do so, on which Gessler, who had found out that

he was an archer, ordered him as a punishment to shoot at long range an apple placed on his son's head. In vain the father begged for any other sentence: Gessler only laughed. Seeing that entreaty was useless, Tell took two shafts, and with one he pierced straight through the apple. Gessler was annoyed at his success and, looking at him suspiciously, asked, 'What, then, is the meaning of thy second arrow?' The archer hesitated; and not until he had been promised his life if he would answer the truth would he speak. Then he said bluntly, 'Had I injured my child my second shaft should not have missed thy heart.' There was a murmur of applause from the townsmen, but the governor was enraged at such a bold answer. 'Truly,' he shouted, 'I have promised thee life; but I will throw thee into a dungeon, where never more shall sun nor moon let fall their rays on thee.' The legend goes on to relate how, though bound and closely guarded, the gallant archer made his escape, and hiding in the bushes not far from the road where Gessler must pass to his castle, he shot him and fled. 'It is Tell's shaft,' said the dying man, as he fell from his horse. By his daring struggle against the tyrant William Tell became one of Switzerland's national heroes.

Fortunately for the Swiss, Albert was so busy as ruler of all Germany that he could not give the full attention to subduing his rebellious vassals that he would have liked; and when at last he found time to visit his own estates, just as he was almost within sight of the family castle of the Habsburgs, he was murdered, not by a peasant, but by his nephew Count John, who considered that he had been unjustly robbed of his inheritance.

The task of attempting to reduce the Swiss to submission fell on a younger son of King Albert, Duke Leopold, a youth who despised the peasants of his native valleys quite as heartily as the French their 'Jacques Bonhomme'. His army, as it wandered carelessly up the Swiss mountains, without order or pickets, resembled a hunting-party seeking a day's amusement; and on their saddles his horsemen carried bundles of rope to hang the rebels and bind together the cattle they expected to capture as spoils.

Meeting with no opposition, Duke Leopold began to ascend the frozen side of the Morgarten; and here, as he advanced between high ridges, discovered himself in a death-trap. From the heights above, the Swiss of the Forest Cantons rained a deadly fire of stones and missiles that threw the horses below into confusion, slipping and falling on the smooth surface of the track. Then there descended from all sides small bodies of peasants armed with halberds, so sure-footed amid the snow and ice that they cut down the greater part of the Duke's forces before they could extricate themselves and find safe ground.

Leopold escaped, but he rode from the carnage, according to his chronicler, 'distracted and with a face like death'. Swiss independence had been vindicated by his defeat; and round the nucleus of the forest republics there soon gathered others, bound together in a federal union that, while securing the safety of all, guaranteed to each their liberties.

Other campaigns still remained to be fought on behalf of complete Swiss independence; and one of the most important of these occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century, and was waged against a military leader of Europe, Charles, Duke of Burgundy, son and successor of that Philip 'the Good' who had played so great a part in the latter half of the Hundred Years' War.¹

This Charles 'the Bold', sometimes called also 'the Rash' or 'the Terrible', was in many ways a typical mediaeval soldier. From his boyhood he had loved jousting—not the magnificent tourneys, in which as heir to the dukedom he could count on making a safe as well as a spectacular display of knightly courage, but real contests in which, disguised in plain armour, his strength and skill could alone win him laurels and avoid death. Strong and healthy, brave and impetuous, he loved the atmosphere of war with all its hazards and hardships. 'I never heard him complain of weariness,' wrote Philip de Commines, a French historian who was at one time in his service, 'and I never saw in him a sign of fear.'

To qualities like courage and endurance Charles added failings

¹ See p. 252.

that were often his undoing—a hot temper, impatience, and a tendency to under-estimate the wits of his opponents. His clever, ambitious brain was always weaving plans, but he did not realize that he had neither the skill nor the political vision to keep many irons in the fire without letting one get too hot or another over-cold.

Like all mediaeval rulers of Burgundy, he was faced by the problem of his middle kingdom, with its large commercial population, whose trade interests must be considered alongside his own territorial ambitions. To the rulers of both France and the Empire he was tenant-in-chief for different provinces, and either of these potentates could cause him discomfort by stirring up trouble amongst his subjects, or else unite with him to his great advantage in order to defy the authority of the other.

At first Charles tried to increase his territory in the west at the expense of Louis XI of France, and even gained some showy triumphs, but gradually he found that he was no match in diplomacy for that astute king, 'the universal spider', as a contemporary christened him; and so he turned his attention to his eastern border.

Here he discovered that a Habsburg, Sigismund of the Tyrol, had become involved in a quarrel with the Swiss Cantons, and had been forced to promise them a large sum of money that he was quite unable to pay. When Charles offered to lend him the sum required if he would hand over as security his provinces of Alsace and Breisgau, Sigismund, seeing no other alternative, reluctantly agreed. So remote was the prospect of repayment that the Duke of Burgundy at once began to rule the territories that he held in pawn as though they were his own, and might indeed have absorbed them quietly amongst his possessions had not the French 'Spider' chosen to take a hand in the game. Louis XI had never forgiven Charles for his clumsy attempts to rob him of French territory, and now, weaving a web that was to entangle the Burgundian to his ultimate ruin, he secretly pointed out to the Swiss how much more dangerous a neighbour was Charles 'the Bold' than Sigismund 'the Penniless'. Let Sigismund, he suggested, agree to withdraw all Habsburg claims

to towns and lands belonging to the Cantons, and let the Cantons in return pledge themselves to pay for the restoration of the lost provinces.

This compromise was finally arranged, and the exasperated Charles called upon to hand back the lands he already considered his own. Instead of complying he made overtures to both Louis and the Emperor, with such success that when the Swiss troops invaded Alsace in order to gain possession of that province for Sigismund, they found themselves without the powerful allies on whose support they had counted.

Charles, ever too prone to over-estimate his importance, now believed that he was in a position to crush these presumptuous burghers once and for all. With a splendidly equipped army of some fifty thousand men, and some of the new heavy artillery that had already begun to turn battle-fields into an inferno, he crossed the Jura mountains and marched towards the town of Granson, that had been occupied by the Swiss. This he speedily reduced, hanging the entire garrison on the trees without the gates as an indication of how he intended to deal with rebels, and then continued on his way, since he heard that the army of the Cantons, some eighteen thousand men in all, had gathered in the neighbourhood.

On the slopes of a vineyard he could soon see their vanguard, kneeling with arms outstretched. 'These cowards are ours,' he exclaimed contemptuously, and at once ordered his artillery to fire; for he thought that the peasants begged for mercy, whereas, believing God was on their side, they really knelt in prayer. Mown down in scores, the Swiss maintained their ground; and Charles, to tempt them from their strong position, ordered a part of his army to fall back as if in rout. This ruse his own Burgundians misunderstood, the more that at the moment they received the command they could see the main Swiss forces advancing rapidly across the opposite heights and blowing their famous war-horns. Confusion ensued, and soon, in the words of an old Swiss chronicler, 'the Burgundians took to their heels and disappeared from sight as though a whirlwind had swept them from the earth.'

Battles of Granson and Morat 283

Such was the unexpected victory of Granson, that delivered into Swiss hands the silken tents and baggage-wagons of the richest and most luxurious ruler in Europe. Carpets and Flemish lace, fine linen and jewellery, embroidered banners, beautifully chased and engraved weapons: these were some of the treasures, of which specimens are still to be found in the museums of the Cantons.

Charles was defeated, 'overcome by rustics whom there would have been no honour in conquering,' as the King of Hungary expressed the situation in the knightly language of the day. Such a disgrace intensified Burgundian determination to continue the war; while the Swiss on their part found their resolution hardened by the sight of the garrison of Granson hanging from the trees.

'There are three times as many of the foe as at Granson, but let no one be dismayed. With God's help we will kill them all.' Thus spoke a Swiss leader on the eve of the battle of Morat, where savage hand-to-hand fighting reduced the Burgundian infantry to a fragment and drove the Duke with a few horsemen in headlong flight from the field.

Twice defeated, a wise prince might have done well to consider terms of peace with those who, though rustics, had proved more than his equals; but Charles, a brave soldier, would not recognize that his own bad generalship had largely contributed to his disasters. He chose to believe instead in that convenient but somewhat thin excuse for failure, 'bad luck', and prophesied that his fortune would turn if he persevered.

More dubious of their ruler's ability than his fortune, the Flemings, as they grudgingly voted money for a fresh campaign, besought their Duke to make peace. His former allies, once dazzled by his name and riches, were planning to desert him: but Charles was deaf alike to hints of prudence or tales of treachery.

Near the town of Nanci he met the Swiss for a third time, and once more the famous horns, 'the bull' of Uri and 'the cow' of Unterwalden, bellowed forth their calls to victory, and the Burgundians, inspired by treachery or forebodings of defeat, turned and fled. None knew what had happened to the Duke,

until a captured page reported that he had seen him cut down as he fought stubbornly against great numbers. Later his body was discovered, stripped for the sake of its rich armour, and half-embedded in a frozen lake.

Thus fittingly died Charles 'the Rash', leaving the reputation as a warrior that he would gladly have earned to his enemies the Swiss, now regarded as amongst the invincible veterans of Europe.

The voice of freedom had spoken so loudly through the Forest Cantons that mediaeval Europe had been forced to acknowledge her claim, and elsewhere also democratic forces were openly at work. We have spoken in previous chapters of the 'Communes' of northern France and Italy, precocious in their civilization, modern in their demands for self-government. In Italy, at least, they had been strong enough to form Leagues and defeat Emperors; but commercial jealousy and class feuds had always prevented these Unions from developing into a federation.

This is true also of southern Germany, where towns like Augsburg and Nuremberg become, as the central mart for trade between Eastern and Western Europe and also between Venice, Genoa, and the lands north of the Alps, rivals in wealth and luxury of Mediterranean ports. During periods like the 'Great Interregnum', when German kingship was of no avail to preserve peace or order, it was associations of these towns that sent out young burghers to fight the robber knights that were the pest of the countryside, and to protect the merchandise on which their joint fortunes depended.

Union for obvious purposes of defence was thus a political weapon forged early in town annals; but, on the other hand, it was only slowly that burghers and citizens came to realize the advantages of permanent combination for other ends, such as commercial expansion, or in order to secure stable government.

This limited outlook arose partly from the very different stages of development at which mediaeval towns were to be found at the same moment. Some would be just struggling out of dependence on a local bishop or count by the payment of huge tolls,

at the same time that others, though enjoying a good deal of commercial freedom, were still forced to accept magistrates appointed by their neighbouring overlord. Yet again, a privileged few would be 'free' towns, entirely self-governed, and owing allegiance only to the Emperor. Perhaps a master mind could have dovetailed all these conflicting systems of government into a federation that would have helped and safeguarded the interests of all, but unfortunately the mediaeval mind was a slave to the fallacy that commercial gain can only be made at the expense of some one else.

The men of one town hated and feared the prosperity of another and were convinced that the utmost limit of duty to a neighbour was their own city walls. Nothing, for instance, is more opposed to modern codes of brotherhood than the early mediaeval opinion on the subjects of wrecks. Men and women of those days saw no incongruity in piously petitioning God in public prayer for a good wreckage, or in regarding the shipwrecked sailor or merchant cast on their rocks as prey to be knocked on the head and plucked.

The towns of North Germany shared to the full this primitive savagery, but they learned the secret of co-operation that their wealthy southern neighbours utterly missed, and in so doing became for a time a political force of world-wide fame.

Such was the commercial league of 'the Hansa', formed first of all by a few principal ports, Lübeck, Danzig, Bremen, and Hamburg, lying on the Baltic or North Sea, but afterwards increased to a union of eighty or more towns as the value of mutual support and obligations was realized.

Law in the Middle Ages was personal rather than territorial—that is to say, a man when he travelled abroad would not be judged or protected by the law of the country to which he went, but would carry his own law with him. If this law was practically non-existent, as for a German during years of anarchy when the Holy Roman Empire was thoroughly discredited in the eyes of Europe, the merchant stood a small chance of safeguarding himself and his wares.

It was here, when emperors and kings of the Romans failed,

that the Hanseatic League stepped in, maintaining centres in foreign towns where the merchants of those cities included in the League could lodge and store their goods, and where permanent representatives of the League could make suit to the government of the country on behalf of fellow merchants who had suffered from robbery or violence.

As early as the tenth century German traders had won privileges in English markets, for we find in the code of Ethelred 'the Rede-less' the following statement: 'The people of the Emperor have been judged worthy of good laws like ourselves.'

Later, 'steelyards,' or depots somewhat similar to the Flemish 'staple-towns', were established for the convenience of imperial merchants; and owing to the energy of the Hanseatic League these became thriving centres of commerce, respected by kings of England if jealously disliked by their subjects.

Protection of the merchants belonging to 'the Hansa' while in foreign countries soon represented, however, but a small part of the League's duty towards those who claimed her privileges. The merchant must travel safely to his market by land and sea; but in North Germany he had not merely to fear robber knights but national foes: the hostile Slav tribes that attacked him as he rode eastwards to the famous Russian market of Nijni-Novgorod to negotiate for furs, tallow, and fats: or even more dangerous Scandinavian pirates who sought to sink his vessel as he crossed the Baltic or threaded the Danish isles.

One of the chief sources of Hanse riches was the fishing industry, since the law that every Christian must abstain from meat during the forty days of Lent, and on the weekly Friday fast, made fish a necessity of life even more in the Middle Ages than in modern times. Now the cheapest of all fish for anxious housekeepers was the salted herring, and as the herring migrated from one ocean-field to another it made and unmade the fortune of cities. From the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century it chose the Baltic as a home of refuge from the North Sea whales, and in doing so built the prosperity of Lübeck, just as it broke that prosperity when it swam away to the coasts of Holland.

For two months every year the North German fishermen cast nets for their prey as it swept in millions through the narrow straits past the coast of Skaania; but here lay trouble for 'the Hansa', since Skaania, one of the southernmost districts of modern Sweden, was then a Danish province, and the Danes, who were warriors rather than traders, hated the Germans heartily.



NOTE: U = Unterwalden. The Empire is shaded.

In early mediaeval times we have noticed Scandinavia as the home of Norse pirates; as the mother of a race of world-conquerors, the Normans; under Cnut, who reigned in England, Norway, and Denmark, as an empire-builder. The last ideal was never quite forgotten, for as late as the Hundred Years' War King Valdemar III of Denmark planned to aid his French ally by invading England; but the necessary money was not forthcoming, and other and more pressing political problems intervened and stopped him.

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Valdemar inherited from his Norse ancestors a taste for piracy that he pursued with a restless, unscrupulous energy very tiring to his people. Sometimes it brought him victory, but more often disaster, at least to his land. 'In the whole kingdom', says a discontented Dane, 'no time remained to eat, to repose, to sleep—no time in which people were not driven to work by the bailiffs and servants of the King at the risk of losing his royal favour, their lives, and their goods.' Because of his persistence Valdemar was nicknamed 'Atterdag', or 'There is another day': his boast being that there was always time to return to any task on completing which he had set his heart.

Valdemar's chief ambition was to make Denmark the supreme power in northern Europe, and in endeavouring to achieve this object he was always forming alliances with Norway and Sweden that broke down and plunged him into wars instead. The Hanse towns he hated and despised, and in 1361, moved by this enmity, he promised his army that 'he would lead them whither there was gold and silver enough, and where pigs ate out of silver troughs'. His allusion was to Wisby, the capital of Gothland, that under the fostering care and control of North German merchants had become the prosperous centre of the Baltic herring-fishery. Under Valdemar's unexpected onslaught the city, with its forty-eight towers rising from the sea, was set on fire and sacked.

Since Gothland was a Swedish island, vengeance for this insult did not legally rest with the Hansa, but, recognizing that the blow had been aimed primarily at her trade, she sent a fleet northwards to co-operate with the Swedes and Norwegians. This led to one of the greatest disasters that ever befell the Hanseatic League, for her allies did not appear, and her fleet, being outnumbered, was beaten and destroyed.

Valdemar, delighted with his success, determined to reduce the North Germans to ruin, and continued his policy of aggression with added zest; but in this he made a political mistake. Many of the towns, especially those not on the Baltic, were apathetic when the struggle with the Danish king began: they did not wish to pay taxes even for a victory, and angrily

repudiated financial responsibility for defeat. It was only as they became aware, through constant Danish attacks, that the very existence of the League was at stake, that a new public opinion was born, and that it was decided at Cologne in 1367 to reopen a campaign against King Valdemar, towards which every town must contribute its due.

'If any city refuse to help', ran the announcement of the meeting's decisions, 'its burghers and merchants shall have no intercourse with the towns of the German "Hansa", no goods shall be bought from them or sold to them, they shall have no right of entry or exit, of lading or unlading, in any harbour.'

The result of the League's vigorous policy was entirely successful, and compelled the unscrupulous Valdemar, who found himself shortly in an awkward corner, to collect all the money that he could and depart on a round of visits to the various courts of Europe. He left his people to the fate he had prepared for them, and during his absence Copenhagen was sacked, and the Danes driven to conclude the Treaty of Stralsund that placed the League in control of all the fortresses along the coast of Skaania for fifteen years.

The Hansa had now acquired the supremacy of the Baltic, and because the duty of garrisoning fortresses and patrolling the seas required a standing army and navy, the League of northern towns did not, like those in South Germany, Italy, or France, melt away as soon as temporary safety was achieved. Each city continued to manage its own affairs, but federal assemblies were held, where questions of common taxation and foreign policy were discussed, and where those towns that refused to abide by decisions previously arrived at were 'unhansed', that is, deprived of their privileges.

Even Emperors, who condemned leagues on principle from old Hohenstaufen experience, respected if they disliked 'the Hansa' that carried through national police-work in the north of which they themselves were quite incapable.

The Emperor Charles IV, when he visited Lübeck, addressed the principal civic officials as 'My lords!' and when, suspicious of this flattery, they demurred, he replied, 'You are lords indeed,

for the oldest imperial registers know that Lübeck is one of the five towns that have accorded to them ducal rank in the imperial council.' The chronicler adds proudly that thus Lübeck was acknowledged the equal of Rome, Venice, Florence, and Pisa.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century the Hanseatic League stood at the height of its power ; for though the political genius of Queen Margaret, daughter of Valdemar III, succeeded in uniting Denmark, Norway, and Sweden by the agreement called 'the Union of Kalmar', and also forced the Hansa to surrender the fortresses on the Skaania coast ; yet even the foundation of this vast Scandinavian Empire could not shake German supremacy over the Baltic. Under Margaret's successors the Union of Kalmar degenerated into a Danish tyranny ; and because it was the result of a dynastic settlement and not of any national movement it soon came to shipwreck amid general discontent and civil wars.

The Hanseatic League itself, though it lingered on as a political force through the fifteenth century, gradually declined and lost touch with the commercial outlook of the age. The decline may be traced partly to the fact that there was no vigorous national life in Germany to feed the League's vitality, but also to a steady tendency for towns to drift apart and become absorbed in the local interests of their provinces.

The real blow to the prestige of the League was, however, the departure of the herring-shoals from the Baltic to the coasts of Amsterdam. 'The Hansa' had concentrated its commercial interests in the Baltic, and when the Baltic failed her she found herself unable to compete with the Dutch and English traders, who were already masters of the North Sea.

Other and more adventurous rivals were opening up trade routes along the African coast and across the Atlantic ; but the Hanseatic League, with her rigid and limited conception of commercial interests, was like a nurse still holding by the hand children that should have been able to fend for themselves. Once the protection of her merchants, she had degenerated into a check on individual enterprise, and so, belonging to the spirit of the Middle Ages, with the Middle Ages passed away.

Another mediaeval institution, destined also to decline and finally vanish, was a close ally of the Hanseatic League, namely, the Order of Teutonic Knights. Transferred, as we have noticed,¹ on the fall of the Latin Empire in Asia Minor to the shores of the Baltic, the Order had there justified its existence by carrying on a perpetual war against the heathen Lithuanians and Prussians, building fortresses and planting colonies of German settlers, as Charlemagne and his Franks had set the example.

While there still remained heathen to conquer the Knights were warmly encouraged by the Pope, and their battle-fields were a popular resort for the chivalry of nearly every country in Europe, competing in their claim with the camps of Valencia, Murcia, and Granada.

Nearer home the Order found less favour. In Poland, for instance, that had at first welcomed the Knights as a bulwark against northern barbarism, the unpleasant knowledge gradually dawned that the crusaders, by securing the territory of Livonia, Curland, and Prussia, had cut her off from a lucrative sea-trade.

Poland was the most easterly of those states that in mediaeval times owned a nominal allegiance to Holy Roman Emperors. She had received her Christianity from Rome, and was thus drawn into the network of western life—unlike Russia, or the kingdom of Rus as it was called, that was converted by missionaries from Constantinople, and whose princes and dukes were subject to Mongol overlords in Siberia from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Poles were brave, intensely devoted to their race, persistent in their enmities, and in none more than in their dislike of the German Knights, whose military genius and discipline had so often thwarted their ambitions. Quarrels and wars were continuous, but the most mortal wound dealt by the Poles was the result not of a victory but of a marriage alliance.

In 1387, soon after the death of Louis 'the Great', who had been King of both Hungary and Poland, the Poles offered their

¹ See p. 151.

crown to Duke Jagello of Lithuania, on the condition that he would marry one of Louis's daughters and become a Christian. The temptation of a kingdom soon overcame Jagello's religious scruples, so that he cast away his old gods and was baptized as Ladislas V, becoming the founder of the Jagellan dynasty, that continued on the thrones of Poland and Lithuania right through the Middle Ages.

The conversion of the Lithuanians, who, whatever their beliefs, were driven at the spear-point to accept Jagello's new faith, completely undermined the position of the Teutonic Order that, surrounded by Christian neighbours, had no longer a crusade to justify its claims. Popes ceased to send their blessing to the Grand Master, and talked instead of the possibilities of suppression; while tales of immorality and avarice such as had pursued the Templars were everywhere whispered into willing ears.

Within their own territory also the influence of the Knights was waning; for the very nature of their vows made their rule merely a military domination; and, once the fear of heathen invasion had been removed, German colonists began to resent this. Condemned to celibacy, the Knights could train up no hereditary successors in sympathy from childhood with the needs of the Baltic province; but, as they grew old and died, they must yield place instead to recruits from distant parts of Germany, who could only learn anew by their own experience the manners and traditions of those whom they governed.

In the stress of these new conditions the good work that the Teutonic Order had done in saving North Germany from barbarism was forgotten. Weakened by disaffection within her own state, she fell an inevitable victim to Polish enmity, and at the battle of Tannenberg her Grand Master and many of her leading Knights were slain. The daring and determination of those who remained prevented the full fruits of this victory from being reaped until 1466, when, by the Treaty of Thorn, Poland received the whole of western Prussia, including the important town of Danzig, that gave her the long-coveted control of the Vistula and a Baltic seaport, beside hemming her enemies into the narrow strip of eastern Prussia.

Poland's southern neighbour was the kingdom of Hungary, with which she had been for a short time united under Louis 'the Great', 'the Banner-bearer of the Church' as he was styled by a grateful Pope for his victories over the Mahometans. Besides fighting against the Turks, Louis had other military irons in the fire. One of his ambitions was to dominate Eastern Europe, and with this object he was continually attacking and weakening the Serbian Empire, that appeared likely to be his chief rival. He also fought with the Venetians for the mastery of the Dalmatian coast, while we shall see in a later chapter that he aimed at becoming King of Naples on the murder of his brother Prince Andrew, husband of Joanna I.

So successful was Louis in his war against the Venetians that he was able to take from them Dalmatia and exact the promise of a large yearly tribute. This in itself was achievement enough to win him a reputation in Europe, for the 'Queen of the Adriatic' was a difficult foe to humble; but Louis also gained public admiration by his enlightened rule. Recognizing how deeply his land was scarred by racial feuds, such as those of the Czechs and Magyars, that have carried their bitterness far into modern times, he set himself to think out equitable laws, which he endeavoured to administer with impartial justice, instead of favouring one race at the expense of another. He also made his court a centre of culture and learning, where his nobles might develop their wits and manners as well as their sword-arms.

One of the chief supporters of Louis in this work of civilization was the Emperor Charles IV, whom we have noticed paying compliments to the citizens of Lübeck. The friendship lasted for several years, until some of the princes of the Empire, weary of Charles's rule, began to compare the two monarchs, one so sluggish, the other a military hero, and to suggest that the overlord should be deposed in favour of the famous King of Hungary. Louis indignantly repudiated this plot; but Charles, who would hardly have done the same in a like case, could not bring himself to believe him, and in his anger began petulantly to abuse the Queen Mother of Hungary, to whom he knew her son was devoted. This led to recriminations, and finally to a war, in

which Charles was so thoroughly beaten that he sued for peace ; and outward friendship was restored by the marriage of the Emperor's son, Sigismund of Luxemburg, with Louis's daughter Mary.

When Louis died, Poland, that had never wholeheartedly submitted to his rule, gave itself, as we have seen, to King Jagello of Lithuania ; while the Hungarians, after some years of anarchy, chose Sigismund of Luxemburg as their king.

The House of Luxemburg was in the later Middle Ages the chief rival of the Habsburgs, and provided the Empire with some of her most interesting rulers. One of these, the Emperor Henry VII, belongs to an earlier date than that with which we have just been dealing, for he was grandfather of Charles IV. He was a gallant and chivalrous knight, who, but for his unfortunate foreign policy, might have proved himself a good and wise king.

Dante, the greatest of Italian poets, who lived in the days of Henry VII, made him his hero, and hoped that he would save the world by establishing a Ghibelline supremacy that would reform both Church and State. It was Henry VII's undoing that he believed with Dante that he had been called to this impossible mission ; and so he crossed the Alps to try his hand at settling Italian feuds. Germany saw him no more ; for soon after his coronation at Rome he fell ill and died, poisoned, it is said, in the cup of wine given him by a priest at Mass.

Discord now broke out in Germany, and it was not till 1348 that another of the House of Luxemburg was chosen King of the Romans. This was Charles IV, a man of a very different type of mind to his grandfather. For Charles Italy had no lure : he only crossed the Alps because he realized that it increased the prestige of the ruler of Germany to be crowned as Emperor by the Pope, and he did not mind at all that he was received without any pomp or respect, only with suspicion and begging demands. As soon as the ceremony was over he hastened back to his own kingdom, turning a deaf ear to all Italian complaints and suggestions.

This hurried journey was certainly undignified for a world-Emperor ; but Charles, who had run away in his youth from the battle-field of Creci, was never a heroic figure. Neither the thought of glory nor of duty could stir his sluggish blood ; but as far as obvious things were concerned he had a good deal of common sense. At any rate, in sharing Rudolf I's conviction that Germany should come first in his thoughts he was wiser than his heroic grandfather.

To the reign of Charles IV belongs the 'Golden Bull', a document so called from its *bull*a or seal. The 'Golden Bull' set forth clearly the exact method of holding an imperial election. Hitherto much of the trouble in disputed elections had arisen because no one had been sure of the correct procedure, and so disappointed candidates, by arguing that something illegal had occurred, were able to refuse allegiance to the successful nominee. Now it was decided that there should be seven Electors—three archbishops and four laymen—and that the ceremony should always take place at Frankfort, the minority agreeing to be bound by the will of the majority.

Besides these main clauses the 'Golden Bull' secured to the seven Electors enormous privileges and rights of jurisdiction, thus raising them to a much higher social and political level than the other princes of Germany, who were merely represented in the Imperial Diet or Parliament. The Electors became, in fact, more influential than the Emperor himself, and Charles has often been blamed for handing over Germany to a feudal oligarchy.

It is possible that he did not foresee the full results or permanence of the 'Golden Bull', but was determined only to construct for the time being a workable scheme that would prevent anarchy. There is also the supposition that he was more interested in the position of the kingdom of Bohemia, his own hereditary possession, which he raised to the first place among the electing territories, than in the rôle of Emperor to which he had been chosen. Whatever Charles's real motive, it is at any rate clear that he had the sense to see that the Empire as it stood was an outworn institution, and thus to try and mould it

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into a less fantastic form of government. Like Edward I of England and Philip IV of France, though without the genius of the one or the opportunities of the other, he stands for posterity as one of those rulers of Europe during whose reign their country was enabled to shake off some of its mediaeval characteristics. Charles wore the imperial crown longer than any of his predecessors without arousing serious opposition—a sign that, if not an original politician, he yet moved with his times towards a more Modern Age.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 360-73.

The Perpetual League	1291	Ladislav V of Poland	1386-1433
Charles 'the Bold'	1433-77	Treaty of Thorn	1466
Valdemar III	1310-75	Emperor Henry VII	1308-13

XXI

ITALY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

WHEN the 'Company of Death' repulsed the German army of Frederick Barbarossa on the field of Legnano¹ it raised aloft before the eyes of Europe not only the banner of democracy but also of nationality. Others, as we have seen, followed these banners once displayed: the Swiss Cantons shook off the Habsburg yoke: the Flemish towns defied their counts and French overlords: the Hanse cities formed political as well as commercial leagues against Scandinavia: France, England, and Spain emerged, through war and anarchy, modern states conscious of a national destiny.

This slow evolution of nations and classes is the history of the later Middle Ages; but in Italy there is no steady progress to record; rather, a retrogression that proves her early efforts to secure freedom were little understood even by those who made them.

Frederick II had ruled Lombardy in the thirteenth century through tyrants; but, long after the Hohenstaufen had disappeared, and the quarrels of Welfs and Waiblingen had dwindled into a memory in Germany, the feuds of Guelfs and Ghibellines were still a monstrous reality in towns south of the Alps, where petty despots enslaved the Communes and reduced the country to perpetual warfare.

At length from this welter of lost hopes and evil deeds there emerged, not Italy a nation, but five Italian states of pre-eminence in the peninsula, namely, Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, and Rome. Each was more jealous of the other than of foreign intervention, so that on the slightest pretext one would appeal to France to support her ambitions, another to

¹ See p. 179.

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Spain or the Empire, and yet a third to Hungary or the Greeks. If Italy, as a result, became at a later date 'the cockpit of Europe', where strangers fought their battles and settled their



fortunes, it was largely her lack of any national foresight in mediaeval times that brought on her this misery.

The history of Milan, first as a Commune fighting for her own liberty and destroying her neighbour's, then as the battleground of a struggle between two of her chief families, and finally as the slave of the victor, is the tale of many a north Italian

town, only that position and wealth gave to the fate of this famous city a more than local interest.

The lords of Milan in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were the Visconti, typical tyrants of the Italy of their day, quick with their swords, but still more ready with poison or a dagger, profligate and luxurious, patrons of literature and art, bad enemies and still worse friends, false and cruel, subtle as the serpent they so fittingly bore as an emblem. No bond but fear compelled their subject's loyalty, and deliberate cruelty to inspire fear they had made a part of their system.

Bernabò Visconti permitted no one but himself to enjoy the pleasures of the chase; but for this purpose he kept some five thousand savage hounds fed on flesh, and into their kennels his soldiers cast such hapless peasants as had accidentally killed their lord's game or dared to poach on his preserves.

No sense of the sanctity of an envoy's person disturbed this grim Visconti's sense of humour, when he demanded of messengers sent by the Pope with unpleasant tidings whether they would rather drink or eat. As he put the question he pointed towards the river, rushing in a torrent beneath the bridge on which he stood, and the envoys, casting horrified eyes in that direction, replied, 'Sir, we will eat.' 'Eat this, then,' said Bernabò sternly, handing them the papal letter with its leaden seals and thick parchment, and before they left his presence the whole had been consumed.

Galeazzo Visconti, an elder brother of Bernabò, bore an even worse reputation for cruelty. Those he condemned to death had their suffering prolonged on a deliberate programme during forty-one days, losing now an eye, and now a foot or a hand, were beaten, forced to swallow nauseous drinks, and then, when the agony could be prolonged no further, broken on the wheel. The scene of this torture was a scaffold set in the public gaze that Milan might read what was the anger of the Visconti and tremble.

The most famous of this infamous family was Gian Galeazzo, son of Galeazzo, a youth so timid by nature that he would shake and turn white at the sudden closing of a door, or at a noise in

the street below. His uncle, Bernabò, believed him half-witted, and foolishly accepted an invitation to visit him after his father's death, intending to manage the young man's affairs for him and to keep him in terrified submission. The wily old man was to find himself outmatched, however, for Gian Galeazzo came to their meeting-place with an armed guard, arrested his uncle, and imprisoned him in a castle, where he died by slow poison.

After this Gian Galeazzo reigned alone in Milan, with no law save his ruthless ambition; and by this and his skill in creating political opportunities, and making use of them at his neighbour's expense, he succeeded in stretching his tyranny over the plains of Lombardy and southwards amongst the hill cities of Tuscany. Near at home he beat down resistance by force of arms, while farther away he secured by bribery or fraud the allegiance of cities too weak to stand alone, yet less afraid of distant Milan than of Venice or Florence that lay nearer to their walls.

It was Gian Galeazzo's aim to found a kingdom in North Italy, and he went far towards realizing his project, stretching his dominion at one time to Verona and Vicenza at the very gates of Venice, while in the south he absorbed as subject-towns Pisa and Siena, the two arch-enemies of Florence. This territory, acquired by war, bribery, murder, and fraud, he persuaded the Emperor to recognize as a duchy hereditary in his family, and at once proceeded to form alliances with the royal houses of Europe. The marriage of his daughter Valentina with the young and weak-minded Duke of Orleans, brother of the French king, though hardly an attractive union for the bride, proved fraught with importance for the whole of Italy, since at the very end of the fifteenth century, Louis, Duke of Orleans, a grandson of Valentina Visconti, succeeded to the French crown as Louis XII, and also laid claim to the duchy of Milan, as a descendant of the Visconti.¹

At first sight it seems strange that any race so cruel and unprincipled as the Visconti should continue to maintain their tyranny over men and women naturally independent like the inhabitants of North Italy. Certainly, if their rulers had been

¹ See Genealogical Table, p. 379.

forced to rely on municipal levies they would not have kept their power even for a generation ; but unfortunately the old plan of expecting every citizen of military age to appear at the sound of a bell in order to defend his town had practically disappeared. Instead the professional soldier had taken the citizen's place—the type of man who, as long as he received high wages and frequent booty, did not care who was his master, nor to what ugly job of carnage or intimidation he was bidden to bring his sword.

This system of hiring soldiers, *condottieri*, as they were called in Italy, had arisen partly from the laziness of the townsmen themselves, who did not wish to leave their business in order to drill and fight, and were therefore quite willing to pay volunteers to serve instead of them. Partly it was due to the reluctance of tyrants to arm and employ as soldiers the people over whom they ruled. From the point of view of the Visconti, for instance, it was much safer to enrol strangers who would not have any patriotic scruples in carrying out a massacre, or any other orders equally harsh.

For such ruffians Italy herself supplied a wide recruiting-ground, namely, the numberless small towns, once independent but now swallowed up by bigger states, who treated the conquered as perpetual enemies to be bullied and suppressed, allowing them no share in the government nor voice in their future destiny. Wide experience has taught the world that such tyranny breeds merely hatred and disloyalty, and the continual local warfare from which mediaeval Italy suffered could be largely traced to the failure to recognize this political truth. With no legitimate outlet for their energies, the young men of the conquered towns found in the formation of a company of adventurers, or in the service of some prince, the only path to renown, possibly a way of revenge.

To Italian *condottieri* were added German soldiers whom Emperors visiting Italy had brought in their train, and who afterwards remained behind, looking on the cities of Italy as a happy hunting-ground for loot and adventure. Yet a third source of supply were freebooters from France, released by one of the

truces of the Hundred Years' War, and hastily sent by those who had employed them to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

Amongst those who came to Italy in the fourteenth century, and built for himself a name of terror and renown, was an English captain, Sir John Hawkwood, the son of an Essex tailor, knighted by Edward III for his prowess on the battle-fields of France. Here is what a Florentine chronicler says of him :

'He endured under arms longer than any one, for he endured sixty years : and he well knew how to manage that there should be little peace in Italy in his time For men and Communes and all cities live by peace, but these men live and increase by war, which is the undoing of cities, for they fight and become of naught. In such men there is neither love nor faith.'

One tale of the day records how some Franciscans, meeting Sir John Hawkwood, exclaimed as was their custom, 'Peace be with you.' To their astonishment he answered, 'God take away your alms.' When they asked him the reason for wishing them so ill, he replied, 'You also wished that God might make me die of hunger. Know you not that I live on war, and that peace would ruin me? I therefore returned your greeting in like sort.'

Sir John Hawkwood spent most of his time in the service of Florence ; and, whatever his cruelty and greed, he does not seem to have been as false as other captains of his time. Indeed, when he died, the Florentines buried him in their cathedral, and raised an effigy in grateful memory of his deeds on behalf of the city.

Returning to the history of Milan and her *condottieri*, Gian Galeazzo, though timid and unwarlike himself, was a shrewd judge of character, and his captains, while they struck terror into his enemies, remained faithful to himself. When he died in 1402, however, many of them tried to establish independent states ; and it was some years before his son, Filippo Maria, could master them and regain control over the greater part of the Duchy.

Even more cowardly than his father, Filippo Maria lived, like Louis XI of France, shut off from the sight of men. Sismondi, the historian, describes him as 'a strange, dingy, creature, with



Venice and her waterways. An old engraving, giving a perspective view

protruding eyeballs and furtive glance'. He hated to hear the word 'death' mentioned, and for fear of assassination would change his bedroom every night. When news was brought him of defeat he would tremble in the expectation that his *condottieri* might desert him: when messengers arrived flushed with victory he was scarcely less aghast, believing that the successful general might become his rival.

Such was the penalty paid by despots, save by those of iron nerve, in return for their luxury and power: the dread that the most servile of *condottieri* might be bribed into a relentless enemy, poison lurk in the seasoned dish or wine-cup, a dagger pierce the strongest mesh of a steel tunic. So night and day was the great Visconti haunted by fear, while his hired armies forced Genoa to acknowledge his suzerainty, and plunged his Duchy into rivalry with Venice along the line of the River Adige.

The history of Venice differs in many ways from that of other Italian states. Built on a network of islands that destined her geographically for a great sea-power, she had looked from earliest times not to territorial aggrandisement, but to commercial expansion for the satisfaction of her ambitions. In this way she had avoided the strife of feudal landowners, and even the Gueft and Ghibelline factions that had reduced her neighbours to slavery.

Elsewhere in Italy the names of cities and states are bound up with the histories of mediaeval families; Naples with the quarrels of Hohenstaufen, Angevins, and Aragonese: Rome with the Barons of the Campagna, the Orsini and Colonna: Milan with the Visconti, and later with the Sforza: Florence with the Medici: but in Venice the state was everything, demanding of her sons and daughters not the startling qualities and vices of the successful soldier of fortune, but obedience, self-effacement, and hard work.

The Doge, or Duke, the chief magistrate of Venice, has been compared to a king; but he was in reality merely a president elected for life, and that by a system rendered as complicated as possible in order to prevent wire-pulling. Once chosen and

presented to the people with the old formula, 'This is your Doge an' it please you !' the new ruler of the city found himself hedged about by a hundred constitutional checks, that compelled him to act only on the well-considered advice of his six Ducal Councillors, forbade him to raise any of his family to a public office or to divest himself of a rank that he might with years find more burdensome than pleasant. He was also made aware that the respect with which his commands were received was paid not to himself but to his office, and through his office to Venice, a royal mistress before whom even a haughty aristocracy willingly bent the knee.

In early days all important matters in Venice were decided by a General Assembly of the people ; but as the population grew, this unwieldy body was replaced by a 'Grand Council' of leading citizens. In the early fourteenth century another and still more important change was made, for the ranks of the Grand Council were closed, and only members of those families who had been in the habit of attending its meetings were allowed to do so in future. Thus a privileged aristocracy was created, and the majority of Venetians excluded from any share in their government ; but because this government aimed not at the advantage of any particular family but of the whole state, people forgave its despotic character. Even the famous Council of Ten that, like the Court of Star Chamber under the Tudors, had power to seize and examine citizens secretly, in the interests of the state, was admired by the Venetians over whom it exerted its sway, because of its reputation for even-handed justice, that drew no distinctions between the son of a Doge, a merchant, or a beggar. 'The Venetian Republic', says a modern writer on mediaeval times, 'was the one stable element in all North Italy,' and this condition of political calm was the wonder and admiration of contemporaries.

Sometimes to-day it seems difficult to admire mediaeval Venice because of her selfishness and frank commercialism. She had no sense of patriotism either towards Italy or Christendom ; witness the Fourth Crusade,¹ where nothing but her insistent

¹ See p. 184.

desire to protect her trading position in the East had influenced her diplomacy.

This accusation of selfishness is true ; but we must remember that the word 'patriotism' has a much wider scope in modern times than was possible to the limited outlook of the Middle Ages. Venice might be unmoved by the words 'Italy' or 'Christendom', but the whole of her life and ideals was centred in the word 'Venice'. Her sailors and merchants, who laid the foundations of her greatness, were no hired mercenaries, but citizens willing to lay down their lives for the Republic who was their mother and their queen. Thus narrowing the term 'patriotism', we see that of all the Italian Powers Venice alone understood what the word meant, in that her sons and daughters were willing to sacrifice as a matter of course not merely life but family ambitions, class, and even individuality to the interests of their state.

The ambitions of Venice were bound up with the shipping and commerce that had gained for her the carrying-trade of the world. To take, for example, the wool manufacture, of such vital interest to English and Flemings, we find that at one time this depended largely on Venetian merchants, who would carry sugar and spices to England from the East, replace their cargo with wool, unload this in its turn in the harbours of Flanders, and then laden with bales of manufactured cloth return to dispose of them in Italian markets.

Besides the carrying-trade, which depended on her neighbour's industry, Venice had her own manufactures such as silk and glass ; but in either case both her sailors and workmen found one thing absolutely vital to their interests, namely, the command of the Adriatic. Like the British Isles to-day, Venice could not feed her thriving population from home-produce, and yet, with enemies or pirates hiding along the Dalmatian coast, safety for her richly-laden vessels passing to and fro could not be guaranteed. These are some of the reasons why from earliest times the Republic had embarked on an aggressive maritime policy that brought her into clash with other Mediterranean ports, and especially with Genoa, her rival in Eastern waters.

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When, at the end of the Fourth Crusade, Venice forced Constantinople to accept a Latin dynasty, she secured for herself for the time being especial privileges in that world-market ; Genoa, who adopted the cause of the exiled Greeks, achieved a signal triumph in her turn when in 1261 with her assistance Michael Paleologus, a Greek general, restored the Byzantine Empire amid public rejoicings.

Open warfare was now almost continuous between the republics ; there was street-fighting in Constantinople and in the ports of Palestine, sea-battles off the Italian and Greek coasts, encounters in which varying fortunes gave at first the mastery of the Mediterranean to neither Venice nor Genoa, but which disastrously weakened the whole resistance of Christendom to the Mahometans.

At length in 1380 a decisive battle was fought off Chioggia, one of the cities of the Venetian Lagoons, whither the Genoese fleet, triumphant on the open seas, had taken up its quarters determined to blockade the enemy into surrender. ' Let us man every vessel in Venice and go and fight the foe ', was the general cry ; and a popular leader, Pisani, imprisoned on account of his share in a recent naval disaster, was released on the public demand and made captain of the enterprise. ' Long live Pisani ! ' the citizens shouted in their joy, but their hero, true to the spirit of Venice, answered them, ' Venetians cry only, " Long live St. Mark ! " '

With the few ships and men at his disposal, Pisani recognized that it was out of the question to lead a successful attack ; but he knew that if he could defer the issue there was a Venetian fleet in the eastern Mediterranean which, learning his straits, would return with all possible speed to his aid. He therefore determined to force the enemy to remain where they were without offering open battle, and this manœuvre he carried out with great boldness and skill, sinking heavy vessels loaded with stones in the channels that led to Chioggia, while placing his own fleet across the main entrance to prevent Genoese reinforcements. The blockaders were now blockaded ; and through long winter days and nights the rivals, worn out by their bitter vigil, starving

and short of ammunition, watched one another and searched the horizon anxiously. At length a shout arose, for distant sails had been sighted; then as the Venetian flag floated proudly into view the shout of Pisani and his men became a song of triumph: the Republic was saved. Venice was not only saved from ruin, her future as Queen of the Adriatic was assured, for the Genoese admiral was compelled to surrender, and his Republic to acknowledge her rival's supremacy of the seas.

The sea-policy of Venice was the inevitable result of her geographical position; but as the centuries passed she developed a much more debatable land-policy. Many mediaeval Venetians declared that since land was the source of all political trouble, therefore Venice should only maintain enough command over the immediate mainland to secure the city from a surprise attack. Others replied that such an argument was dictated by narrow-minded prejudice, a point of view suitable to the days when Lombardy had been divided amongst a number of weak city-states, but impracticable with powerful tyrants, such as the Visconti, masters of North Italy. Unless Venice could secure the territories lying at the foot of the Alps, and also a wide stretch of eastern Lombardy, she would find that she had no command over the passes in the mountains by means of which she carried on her commerce with Germany and Austria.

The advocates of a land-empire policy received confirmation of their warnings when in the early part of the fourteenth century Mastino della Scala, lord of Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso, attempted to levy taxes on Venetian goods passing through his territories. The Republic, roused by what she considered an insult to her commercial supremacy, promptly formed a league with Milan and Florence against Mastino, and obtained Treviso and other towns as the result of a victorious war.

This campaign might, of course, be called merely a part of Venice's commercial policy, defence not aggression; but later, in 1423, the Florentines persuaded the Republic to join with them in a war against the Visconti, declaring that they were weary of struggling alone against such tyrants, and that if Venice did not help them they would be compelled to make

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Filippo Maria 'King of North Italy.' The result of the war that followed was a treaty securing Venice a temporary increase of power on the mainland, and may be taken as the first decisive step in her deliberate scheme of building up a land-empire in Italy.

Machiavelli, a student of politics in the sixteenth century, who wrote a handbook of advice for rulers called *The Prince*, as well as the history of Florence, his native city, declares that the decline of the Venetians 'dated from the time when they became ambitious of conquests by land and of adopting the manners and customs of the other states of Italy'. This may be true; but it is doubtful whether the great Republic could have remained in glorious isolation with the Visconti knocking at her gates.

From Venice we must turn to Florence, which, by the fifteenth century, emerged from petty rivalries as the first city in Tuscany. Like Milan, Florence fell a prey to Guelfs and Ghibellines; but these feuds, instead of becoming a family rivalry between would-be despots, developed into a bitter class-war.

On the fall of Frederick II the Guelfs, who in Florence at this date may be taken as representing the *popolo grasso*, or rich merchants, as opposed to the *grandi*, or nobles, succeeded in driving the majority of their enemies out of the city. They then remodelled the constitution in their own favour.

The chief power in the city was now the 'Signory', composed of the 'Gonfalonier of Justice' and a number of 'Priors', representatives of the *arti*, or guilds of lawyers, physicians, clothiers, &c.: to name but a few. No aristocrat might stand for any public office unless he became a member of one of the guilds, and in order to ensure that he did not merely write down his name on their registers it was later enacted that every candidate for office must show proof that he really worked at the trade of the guild to which he claimed to belong.

Other and sterner measures of proscription followed with successive generations. The noble who injured a citizen of lesser rank, whether on purpose or by accident, was liable to have his house levelled with the dust: the towers, from which in old days his ancestors had poured boiling oil or stones upon

their rivals, were reduced by law to a height that could be easily scaled; in the case of a riot no aristocrat, however innocent his intentions, might have access to the streets. The *grande* was, in fact, both in regard to politics and justice, placed at such an obvious disadvantage that to ennoble an ambitious enemy was a favourite Florentine method of rendering him harmless.

The Guelf triumph of the thirteenth century did not, in spite of its completeness, bring peace to Florence. New parties sprang up; and the government in its efforts to keep clear of class or family influence introduced so many complicated checks that great injury was done to individual action, and all hope of a steady policy removed. Members of the 'Signory', for instance, served only for two months at a time: the twelve 'Buonomini', or 'Good men', elected to give them advice only for six. What was most in contrast to the ideal of 'the right man for the right job' was the practice of first making a list of all citizens considered suitable to hold office, then putting the names in a bag, and afterwards picking them out haphazard as vacancies occurred. Even this precaution against favouritism—and, one is inclined to add, also against efficiency—was checked by another law, the summoning of a *parlamento* in cases of emergency. This *parlamento* was an informal gathering of the people collected by the ringing of a bell in the big square, where it was then asked to decide whether a special committee should be appointed with free power to alter the existing constitution. Politicians argued that here in the last resort was a direct appeal to the people, but in reality by placing armed men at the entrances to the square a docile crowd could be manœuvred at the mercy of any mob-orator set up by those behind the scenes.

Power remained in Florence in the hands of the prosperous burghers and merchants, and these in time developed their own feuds under the names of 'Whites' and 'Blacks', adopted by the partisans in a family quarrel.

The greatest of Italian poets, Dante Alighieri, was a 'White', and was exiled from his city in 1302 owing to the triumph of his

rivals. When pardon was suggested on the payment of a large sum of money, Dante, who had tried to serve his city faithfully, refused to comply, feeling that this would be an open acknowledgement of his guilt. 'If another way can be found . . . which shall not taint Dante's fame and honour', he wrote proudly, 'that way I will accept and with no reluctant steps . . . but if Florence is not to be entered by any such way never will I enter Florence.'

Dante's mental outlook was typical of mediaeval times in its stern prejudices and hatreds, but it was also clearer and nobler in its scope. An enthusiastic Ghibelline in politics, he believed that it was the first duty of Holy Roman Emperors to exert their authority over Italy, but this vision was not narrowed, as with many Italians, into the mere hope of restoration to home and power, with a sequel of revenge on private enemies. Dearer to Dante than any personal ambitions was the desire for the salvation of both Church and state from tyranny and corruption; and this he believed could only be achieved by bestowing supreme power on a world-emperor.

One attempt at reform had been made in 1294, when the conclave of Cardinals, suddenly stung with the contrast between the character of the Catholic Church and its professions, chose as their Vicar a hermit noted for his privations and holy life. Celestine V, as he was afterwards called, was a small man, pale and feeble, with tousled hair and garments of sackcloth. When a deputation of splendidly dressed cardinals came to find him, he fled in terror, and it was almost by force that he was at last persuaded to go with them and put on the pontifical robes. The men and women who longed for reform now waited eagerly for this new Pope's mandates; but their expectations were doomed to failure. Celestine V had neither the originality nor the strength of will to withstand his change of fortunes. Terrified by his surroundings, he became an easy prey to those who were unscrupulous and ambitious, giving away benefices sometimes twice over because he dared not refuse them to importunate courtiers, and creating new cardinals almost as fast as he was asked to do so. At last he was allowed to abdicate,

and hurried back to his cell, but only to be seized by his successor, the fierce Boniface VIII,¹ and shut up in a castle, where he died.

Dante hated Boniface as a ruler who debased his spiritual opportunities in order to obtain material rewards, but he had hardly less scorn for Celestine V, who was given power to reform the Church of Christ and 'made the great refusal'. Reform, in the Florentine's eyes, could not be looked for from Rome, but, when the Emperor Henry VII crossed the Alps,² his hopes rose high that here at last was the saviour of Italy, and it is probable that at this time the poet wrote his political treatise called the *De Monarchia*, embodying his views. He himself went out to meet his champion, but Henry was not destined to be a second Charlemagne or Otto the Great, and his death closed all expectations built on his chivalrous character and ideals.

Dante's greatest work is his long poem the *Divina Commedia*, divided into three parts, the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio*, and the *Paradiso*. It tells how on Good Friday of the year of Jubilee 1300 the Florentine, meeting with the spirit of Virgil whom he had chosen as his master, was led by him through the realms of everlasting punishment and of penance, and from there was borne by another guide, Beatrice, the idealized vision of a woman he had loved on earth, up through the 'Nine Heavens' to the very throne of God. As a summary of mediaeval theories as to the life eternal, and also as the reflection of a fourteenth-century mind on politics of the day, the *Divine Comedy* is indeed an historical treasury as well as a masterpiece of Italian literature. It is, however, a great deal more—the revelation of the development of a human soul. Dante's journey is told with a mastery of atmosphere and detail that holds our imaginations to-day with the sense of reality. It was obviously still more real to himself and expresses the agonized endeavour of a soul, alive to the corruption and nerve-weariness of the world around him, to find the way of salvation, a pilgrimage crowned at last by the realization of a *Civitas Dei* so supreme in its beauty and peace as to surpass the prophecies of St. Augustine.

¹ See p. 230.

² See p. 294.

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Now 'Glory to the Father, to the Son,
And to the Holy Spirit' rang aloud
Throughout all Paradise; that with the song
My spirit reel'd, so passing sweet the strain.
And what I saw was equal ecstasy:
One universal smile it seemed of all things;
Joy past compare; gladness unutterable;
Imperishable life of peace and love;
Exhaustless riches and unmeasured bliss.

Dante himself did not live to fulfil his earthly dream of returning to Florence, but died at Ravenna in 1321. On his tomb is an inscription in Latin containing the words, 'Whom Florence bore, the mother that did little love him'; while his portrait has the proud motto so typical of his whole life, 'I yield not to misfortune'. In later centuries Florence recalled with shame her repudiation of this the greatest of her sons; but while he lived, and for some years after his death, political prejudices blinded her eyes. In the Emperor Henry VII, to whom Dante referred as 'King of the earth and servant of God', Florence saw an enemy so hateful that she was willing to forgo her boasted democracy, and to accept as master any prince powerful enough to oppose him. Thus she granted the *Signoria*, or 'overlordship' of the city, for five years to King Robert of Naples, the head of the Guelf party in Italy during the early years of the fourteenth century.

King Robert of Naples was a grandson of Charles, Count of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, and, true to the tradition of his house, stood as the champion of the Popes against imperial claims over Italy. Outwardly he was by far the most powerful of the Italian princes of his day; but in reality he sat uneasily on his throne. The Neapolitans had not learned with time to love their Angevin rulers, but even after the death of Conradin remembered the Hohenstaufen, and envied Sicily that dared to throw off the French yoke and give herself to a Spanish dynasty.

It is difficult to provide a short and at the same time connected account of the history of Naples from the death of King Robert

in 1343 until 1435, when it was conquered by the House of Aragon. For nearly a century there is a dismal record of murders and plots, with scarcely an illuminating glimpse of patriotism or of any heroic figure. It is like a 'dance of death', with ever-changing partners, and nothing achieved save crimes and revolutions.

King Robert's successor was a granddaughter, Joanna I, a political personage from her cradle, and married at the age of five to a boy cousin two years her senior, Andrew of Hungary, brother of Louis the Great. We cannot tell if, left to themselves, this young couple, each partner so passionate and self-willed, could have learned to work together in double harness. What is certain is that no one in that corrupt court gave them the chance, one party of intriguers continually whispering in Joanna's ear that as queen it was beneath her dignity to accept any interference from her husband, while their rivals reminded the young Prince Andrew that he was descended from King Robert's elder brother, and therefore had as great a right to the throne as his wife. Frequent quarrels as to whose will should prevail shook the council-chamber, and then at last came tragedy.

In 1345 Joanna and Andrew, then respectively eighteen and twenty, set out together into the country on an apparently amicable hunting-expedition. As they slept one night in the guest-room of a convent the Prince heard himself called by voices in the next room. Suspecting no harm he rose and went to see which of his friends had summoned him, only to find himself attacked by a group of armed men. He turned to re-enter the bedroom, but the door was locked behind him. With the odds now wholly against him, Andrew fought bravely for his life, but at length two of his assassins succeeded in throwing a rope round his neck, and with this they strangled him and hung his body from the balcony outside.

Attendants came at last, and, forcing the door, told Joanna of the murder; on which she declared that she had been so soundly asleep that she had heard nothing, though she was never able to explain satisfactorily how in that case the door of her bedroom had become locked behind the young king. Naturally the

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greater part of Europe believed that she was guilty of connivance in the crime, and King Louis of Hungary brought an army to Italy to avenge his brother's death. He succeeded in driving Joanna from Naples, which he claimed as his rightful inheritance, but he was not sufficiently supported to make a permanent conquest, and in the end he was forced to hurry away to Hungary, where his throne was threatened, leaving the question of his sister-in-law's guilt to be decided by the Pope.

The Pope at this time looked to the Angevin rulers of Naples as his chief supporters, and at once proclaimed Joanna innocent. It is worthy of note that three princes were found brave enough to become her husband in turn; but, though four times married, Joanna had but one son, who died as a boy.

At first she was quite willing to accept as her heir a cousin, Charles of Durazzo, who was married to her niece, but soon she had quarrelled violently with him and offered the throne instead to a member of the French royal house, Louis, Duke of Anjou. This is a very bewildering moment for students of history, because it introduces into Italian politics a second Angevin dynasty only distantly connected with the first, yet both laying claim to Naples and waging war against one another as if each belonged to a different race.

Joanna in the end was punished for her capriciousness, for in the course of the civil wars she had introduced she fell into the hands of Charles of Durazzo, who, indignant at his repudiation, shut her up in a castle, where she died. One report says that she was smothered with a feather-bed; another that she was strangled with a silken cord—perhaps in memory of Prince Andrew's murder.

After this act of retribution, Charles of Durazzo maintained his power in Naples for four years, though he was forced to surrender the County of Provence to his Angevin rival. Not content with his Italian kingdom, he set off with an army to Hungary as soon as he heard of the death of Louis the Great, hoping to enforce his claims on that warrior's lands. Instead he was assassinated, and succeeded in Naples by his son Ladislas, a youth of fifteen.

Ladislas proved a born soldier of unflagging energy and purpose, so that he not only conquered his unruly baronage but made himself master of southern Italy, including Rome, from which with unusual Angevin hostility he drove the Pope. Here was a chance for bringing about the union of Italy under one ruler, and Ladislas certainly aimed at such an achievement, but apart from his military genius he was a typical despot of his day—cruel, unscrupulous, and pleasure-seeking as the Visconti—and when he died, still a young man, in 1414 few mourned his passing.

His sister, Joanna II, who succeeded him, lacked his strength while exhibiting many of his vices. Like Joanna I she was false and fickle; like Joanna I she had no direct heirs, so that the original House of Anjou in Naples came to an end when she died. Many negotiations as to her successor took place during the latter years of her reign, and for some time it seemed as if the old queen would be content to accept Louis III of Anjou, at this time the representative of the Second Angevin House, but in a moment of caprice and anger she suddenly bestowed her favour instead on Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily, and adopted him as her heir. Of course, being Joanna, she again changed her mind; but, though Alfonso pretended to accept his repudiation, the hard-headed Spaniard was not to be turned so easily from an acquisition that would forward Aragonese ambitions in the Mediterranean.

Directly Joanna II died, Alfonso appeared off Naples with a fleet, and though he was taken prisoner in battle and sent as a prisoner to Filippo Maria Visconti at Milan, he acted with such diplomacy that he persuaded that despot, hitherto an ally of the Angevins, that it was much safer for Milan to have a Spanish rather than a French House reigning in Naples. This was the beginning of a firm alliance between Milan and Naples, for Alfonso, released from his captivity, succeeded in establishing himself in 'the Kingdom', where withdrawing his court from Aragon he founded a new capital that became a centre for learned and cultured Italians as of old in the days of Frederick II.

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We have dealt now with four of the five principal Italian states during the later Middle Ages. In Rome, to pick up the political threads, we must go back to the effects of the removal of the papal court to Avignon in 1308.¹

From the point of view of the Popes themselves, many of them Frenchmen by birth, there were considerable advantages to be gained by this change—not only safety from the invasions of Holy Roman Emperors aspiring to rule Italy, but also from the turbulence of Roman citizens and barons of the Campagna.

Avignon was near enough to France to claim her king's protection, but far enough outside her boundaries to evade obedience to her laws. It stood in the County of Provence, part of the French estates of the Angevin House of Naples, but during her exile Joanna I, penniless and in need of papal support, was induced to sell the city, and it remained an independent possession of the Holy Sec until the eighteenth century.

From the immediate advantages caused by the 'Babylonish Captivity', as these years of papal residence in Avignon were called, we turn to the ultimate disadvantages, and these were serious. Inevitably there was a lowering of papal prestige in the eyes of Europe. In Rome, that since classic times had been the recognized capital of the Western world, the Pope had seemed indeed a world-wide potentate, on whom the mantle both of St. Peter and of the Caesars might well have fallen. Transferred to a city of Provence he shrank almost to the measure of a petty sovereign.

During the Hundred Years' War, for instance, there was widespread grumbling in England at the obedience owed to Avignon. The Popes, ran popular complaint, were more than half French in political outlook and sympathy, so that an Englishman who wished for a successful decision to his suit in a papal law-court must pay double the sums proffered by men of any other race in order to obtain justice. What was more, he knew that any money he sent to the papal treasury helped to provide the sinews of war for his most hated enemies.

The Papacy had been disliked across the Channel in the days

¹ See p. 232.

of Innocent IV, when England was taxed to pay for wars against the Hohenstaufen: now, more than a century later, grumbling had begun to crystallize in the dangerous shape of a resistance not merely to papal supremacy, but to papal doctrine on which that supremacy was based. Thus Wycliffe, the first great English heretic, who began to proclaim his views during the later years of Edward III's reign, was popularly regarded as a patriot, and his sermons denouncing Catholic doctrine widely read and discussed.

In the thirteenth century it had been possible to suppress heresy in Languedoc; but in the fourteenth century there were no longer Popes like Innocent III who could persuade men to fight the battles of Avignon, and so the practice of criticism and independent thought grew, and by the fifteenth century many of the doctrines taught by Wycliffe had spread across Europe and found a home in Bohemia.

With the history of Bohemian heresy we shall deal later, but, having treated its development as partly arising from the change in papal fortunes, we must notice the effect of the Babylonish Captivity on Rome herself, and this, indeed, was disastrous.

'The absence of the Pope', says Gregorovius, a modern German historian, 'left the nobility more unbridled than ever; these hereditary Houses now regarded themselves as masters of Rome left without her master. Their mercenaries encamped on every road; travellers and pilgrims were robbed; places of worship remained empty. The entire circumstances of the city were reduced to a meaner level. No prince, nobleman, or envoy of a foreign power, any longer made his appearance . . . Vicars replaced the cardinals absent from their titular churches, while the Pope himself was represented in the Vatican, as by a shadow, by some bishop of the neighbourhood, Nepi, Viterbo, or Orvieto.'

The wealth and pomp that had made the papal court a source of revenue to the Romans were transferred to Provence: the Orsini and Colonna battled in the streets with no High Pontiff to hold them in check. Only his agents remained, who were there mainly to collect his rents and revenues, so that the city seemed once again threatened with political extinction as when Constantine had removed his capital to the Bosphorus.

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One short period of glory there was in seventy years of gloom—the realized vision of a Roman, Cola di Rienzi, a youth of the people, who, steeped in the writings of classical times, hoped to bring back to the city the freedom and greatness of republican days. From contemporary accounts Rienzi had a wonderful personality, striking looks, and an eloquence that rarely failed to move those who heard him. At Avignon, as a Roman envoy, he gained papal consent to some measures earnestly desired at Rome, and this success won him a large and enthusiastic following amongst the citizens, who applauded all that he said, and offered to uphold his ambitions with their swords.

The first step to the greatness of Rome was obviously to restore order to her streets, and Rienzi therefore determined to overthrow the nobles, who with their retainers were always brawling, and above all the proud family of Colonna, one of whom without any provocation had killed his younger brother in a fit of rage.

The revolution took place in May 1347, when, with the Papal Vicar standing at his side, and banners representing liberty, justice, and peace floating above his head, Rienzi proclaimed a new constitution to the populace, and invested himself as chief magistrate with the title of 'Tribune, Illustrious Redeemer of the Holy Roman Republic'.

At first there was laughter amongst the Roman nobles when they heard of this proclamation. 'If the fool provokes me further,' exclaimed Stephen Colonna, the head of that powerful clan, 'I will throw him from the Capitol'; but his contempt was turned to dismay when he heard that a citizen army was guarding the bridges, and confining the aristocratic families to their houses. In the end Stephen fled to his country estates, while the younger members of his household came to terms with the Tribune, and swore allegiance to the new Republic.

Rienzi was now triumphant, and his letters to all the rulers of Europe announced that Rome had found peace and law, while he exhorted the other cities of Italy to throw off the yoke of tyrants and join a 'national brotherhood'.

It would seem that Rienzi alone of his contemporaries saw a

vision of a united Italy; but unfortunately the common sense and balance that are necessary to secure the practical realization of a visionary's dreams were lacking. The Tribune was undoubtedly great, but not great enough to stand success. The child of peasants, he began to boast that he was really a son of the Emperor Henry VII, and the pageantry that he had first employed to dazzle the Romans grew more and more elaborate as he himself became ensnared by a false sense of his own dignity. Clad in a toga of white silk edged with a golden fringe, he would ride through the streets on a white horse, amid a calvacade of horsemen splendidly equipped. In order to celebrate his accession to power he instituted a festival, where, amid scenes of lavish pomp, he was knighted in the Lateran with a golden girdle and spurs, after bathing in the porphyry font in which tradition declared that Constantine had been cleansed from leprosy.

The people, as is the way with crowds, clapped their hands and shouted while the trumpets blew, and they scrambled for the gold Rienzi's servants threw broadcast; but long afterwards, when they had forgotten the even-handed justice their Tribune had secured them, they remembered his foolish extravagance and display, and resented the taxes that he found it necessary to impose in order to maintain his government and state.

The history of Rienzi's later years is a tale of brilliant opportunities, created in the first place by his genius, and then lost by his timidity or lack of balance. On one occasion, when he learned that the very nobles who had sworn on oath to uphold his constitution were plotting its overthrow, he invited the leaders of the conspiracy to a banquet, arrested them, and sent them under guard to prison. The next morning the prison-bell tolled, and the nobles within were led out apparently to the death their treachery had richly deserved. At the last moment, however, when each had given up hope, the Tribune came before the scaffold, and, after a sermon on the forgiveness of sins, ordered those who were condemned to be set free.

If he had wished to win their allegiance by this act of clemency Rienzi had ill-judged his enemies. They had disliked him before as a peasant upstart; now they hated him far more bitterly as a

man who had been able to humble them in the public gaze, believing, whether rightly or wrongly, that it was not forgiveness but fear of the powerful families to which they belonged that had finally moved him to merey. From this moment the Orsini, the Colonna, and their friends had but one object in life—to pull the Tribune from his throne. By bribery and the spreading of false rumours they set themselves to undermine his influence, telling tales everywhere of his extravagance and luxury as contrasted with the heavy taxes, until at last in 1354 a tumult broke out in the city, and a mob collected that stormed the palace where Rienzi lodged, shouting ‘Death to the Traitor!’ As the Tribune attempted to escape he was seen against the flames of his burning walls and cut down.

With the fall of Rienzi died the idea of a restored and reformed Italy through the medium of a Holy Roman Republic, just as Dante’s hope of a new and more perfect Roman Empire had been shattered by the death of Henry VII. Was there then no hope for Italy in mediæval minds? The next answer that there was hope, indeed, came from Siena, one of the hill towns not far south of Florence, and its author was a peasant girl, Catherine Benincasa, who, like Jeanne d’Arc, looking round upon the misery of her country, believed that she was called by God to show her fellow countrymen the way of salvation.

St. Catherine, for she was afterwards canonized, was one of the twenty-five children of a Siennese dyer, who was at first very angry that his daughter refused to marry and instead joined the Order of Dominican Tertiaries—that is, of women who, still remaining in their own homes, bound themselves by vows to obey a religious rule.

In time, not only the dyer but all Siena came to realize that Catherine possessed a mind and spirit far above ordinary standards, so that, while in her simplicity she would accept the meanest household tasks, she had yet so great an understanding of the larger issues of life that she could read the cause of each man or woman’s trouble who came to her, and suggest the remedy they needed to give them fresh courage or hope.

During an outbreak of plague in Siena it was Catherine who,

undismayed and tireless, went everywhere amongst the sick and dying, infusing new heart into the weary doctors and energy into patients succumbing helplessly to the disease.

When one of the wild young nobles of the town was condemned to death according to the harsh law of the day for having dared to criticize his government, Catherine visited him in prison. She found him raging up and down his cell like some trapped wild animal, refusing all comfort; but her presence and sympathy brought him so great a sense of peace and even of thanksgiving that he went to the scaffold at last joyfully, we are told, calling it 'the holy place of justice'. Here, not shrinking from the scene of death itself, Catherine awaited him, kneeling before the block, and received his head in her lap when it was severed from his body. 'When he was at rest,' she wrote afterwards, showing what the strain had been, 'my soul also rested in peace and quiet.'

St. Catherine was not alarmed when ambassadors from other cities, and even messengers from the Pope at Avignon, came to ask her advice on thorny problems. She believed that she was a messenger of God, 'servant and slave of the servants of Jesus Christ', as she styled herself in her letters, and that God intended the regeneration of Italy to be brought about neither by Emperor, nor by a Holy Roman Republic, but by the Pope himself. No longer must he live at Avignon, but return to Rome, and, once established there, begin the work of reform so sorely needed both by Church and State. Then would follow a call to the world that, recognizing by his just and generous acts that he was indeed the 'Father of Christendom', would joyfully come to offer its allegiance.

This high ideal touched the hearts and imaginations of even the least spiritual of Catherine's contemporaries. One of her letters was addressed to that firebrand Sir John Hawkwood, whom she besought to turn his sword away from Italy against the Turks; and it is said that on reading it he took an oath that if other captains would go on a crusade he would do so also.

St. Catherine herself went to Avignon and saw Pope Gregory XI—a timid man, who loved luxury and peace of mind, fearing greatly the turbulence of Rome. At this time all the barons of

the Campagna and most of the cities on the papal estates were up in arms, and Gregory had been warned that unless he went in person to pacify the combatants he was likely to lose all his temporal possessions. Catherine, when consulted, told him sternly that he should certainly return to Italy, but not for this reason.

‘Open the eyes of your intelligence,’ she said, ‘and look steadily at this matter. You will then see, Holy Father, that . . . it is more needful for you to win back souls than to reconquer your earthly possessions.’

In January 1377 St. Catherine gained her most signal triumph, for Gregory XI, at her persuasion, appeared in Rome and took up his quarters there, so bringing to an end the ‘Babylonish Captivity’. Not long afterwards he died; and the Romans who had rejoiced at his coming were overwhelmed with fear that his successor might be a Frenchman and return to Avignon. ‘Give us a Roman!’ they howled, surging round the palace where the College of Cardinals, or Consistory, as it was called, was holding the election; and the cardinals, believing that they would be torn in pieces unless they at least chose an Italian, hastily elected a Neapolitan, the Archbishop of Bari, who took the name of Urban VI.

It was an unfortunate choice. Urban honestly wished to reform the Church, but of Christian charity, without which good deeds are of no avail, he possessed nothing. Arrogant, passionate, and fierce in his frequent hatreds, blind to either tact or moderation, he tried to force the cardinals by threats and insults into surrendering their riches and pomp. ‘I tell you in truth,’ exclaimed one of them, when he had listened to the Pope’s first fiery denunciations, ‘you have not treated the Cardinals to-day with the respect they received from your predecessors. If you diminish our honour we shall diminish yours.’

Rome was soon aflame with the plots of the rebellious college, whose members finally withdrew from the city, declared that they had been intimidated in their choice by the mob, that the election of Urban was therefore invalid, and that they intended to appoint some one else. As a result of this new conclave there

appeared a rival Pope, Clement VII, who after a short civil war fled from Italy and took up his residence at Avignon.

The period that followed is called the Great Schism, one of the times of deepest humiliation into which the papal power ever descended. From Rome and Avignon two sets of bulls, claiming divine sanction and the necessity of human obedience, went forth to Christendom, their authors each declaring himself the one lawful successor of St. Peter, and Father of the Holy Catholic Church.

With Clement VII sided France, her ally Scotland, Spain, and Naples; with Urban VI, Germany, England, and most of the northern kingdoms; and when these Popes died the cardinals they had elected perpetuated the schism by choosing fresh rivals to rend the unity of the Church. Thus in the struggle for temporal supremacy reform was forgotten, and the growing spirit of doubt and scepticism given a fair field in which to sow her seed.

St. Catherine had realized her desire, the return of the Pope to Rome, only, we see, to find it fail in achieving the purpose for which she had prayed and planned. The Popes of the fourteenth century were men of the age in which they lived, not great souls like the saint of Siena herself, who called them to a task of which they were spiritually incapable. With her death her ideal faded, and another gradually took shape in the minds of men, namely, 'an appeal from the Vicar of Christ on earth to Christ Himself, residing in the whole body of the Church'.

Christendom remembered that in the early days of her history it had been Councils of the Fathers, sitting at Nicea and elsewhere, that had defined the Faith and made laws for the Catholic Church. Now it was suggested that once more a large world-council should be called from every Catholic nation, composed of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, the Heads of the Friars and of the Monastic and Military Orders, together with Doctors of Theology and Law. This council was to be given power by the whole of Christendom to end the schism, condemn heresy, and reform the Church.

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The person who was chiefly responsible for the summoning of this council, that met at Constance in 1414, was Sigismund, King of the Romans, a son of the Emperor Charles IV, and brother and heir to the Emperor Wenzel, a drunken sot, who was also King of Bohemia, but quite incapable of playing an intelligent part in public affairs. Sigismund was King of Hungary by election and through his marriage with a daughter of Louis the Great¹; but his subjects had little respect for his ability, and were usually in a state of chronic rebellion. In spite of the fact that he had no money and had been decisively and ingloriously defeated in battle by the Turks, he continued to hold high ambitions, desiring above all things to appear as the arbiter of European destinies who would reform both Church and State.

The Council of Constance gave him his opportunity, and certainly no other man worked as hard to make it a success. Sometimes he presided in person at the meetings, which dragged out their weary discussions for about four years: at other times he would visit the courts of Europe, trying to persuade rival Popes to resign, or, if they were obstinate, civil sovereigns to refuse them patronage and protection. He even tried, though in vain, to act as mediator in the Hundred Years' War, in order that the political quarrels of French and English might not bring friction to the council board.

It is unfortunate for Sigismund's memory that his share in the Council of Constance was marred by treachery. As heir to the throne of Bohemia and the incapable Wenzel he was often led to interfere in the affairs of that kingdom, and felt it his duty to take some steps with regard to the spread of Wycliffe's doctrines amongst his future subjects, especially in the national University of Prague. Here heretical views were daily expounded by a clever priest and teacher, John Huss. Now the orthodox Catholics in the university were mainly Germans, and hated by the ordinary Bohemians, who were Slavs, and these therefore admired and followed Huss for national as well as from religious convictions.

Sigismund agreed with Huss in desiring a drastic reform

¹ See p. 294, and genealogy, p. 380.

of the Church, suitable means for ensuring which he hoped to see devised at Constance. At the same time he trusted that the representatives of Christendom would come to some kind of a compromise with the Bohemian teacher on his religious views, and persuade him by their arguments to withdraw some of his most unorthodox opinions. With this end in view he therefore invited Huss to appear at the Council, offering him a safe-conduct.

Many of the Bohemians suspected treachery and shook their heads when their national hero insisted that he was bound in honour to make profession of his faith when summoned. 'God be with you!' exclaimed one, 'for I fear greatly that you will never return to us.' This prophecy was fulfilled; for Huss, when he arrived at Constance, found that Sigismund was absent, and the attitude of the Council definitely hostile to anything he might say. After a prolonged examination he was called upon to recant his errors, and, refusing to yield, was condemned to death as a heretic; Sigismund, on his return to Constance shortly after this sentence had been passed, was persuaded that unless he consented to withdraw his safe-conduct the whole gathering would break up in wrath.

Herod, he was told, had made a bad oath in agreeing to fulfil the wish of Herodias's daughter and should have refused her demand for the head of John the Baptist. To pledge faith to a heretic was equally wrong, for as an example and warning to Christendom all heretics should be burned. It was imperative therefore for the good of the Church that such a safe-conduct should be withdrawn. Sigismund at last sullenly yielded, conscious of the stain on his honour, yet still more fearful lest the council he had called together with so great an effort should melt away, its tasks unfulfilled, as his many enemies hoped.

In July 1415 Huss was burned alive, crying aloud with steadfast courage as those about him urged him to recant, 'Lo! I am prepared to die in that truth of the Gospel which I taught and wrote.' Lest he should be revered as a martyr, the ashes of Huss were flung into the river, his very clothes destroyed; but measures that had prevailed when an Arnold of Brescia

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preached to a few, some two centuries before, were unavailing when a John Huss died for the faith of a nation. Sigismund kept his council together, but he paid for his broken word in the flame of hatred that his accession in 1419 aroused in Bohemia, and which lasted during the seventeen years of what are usually called the Hussite Wars.

The Council of Constance had condemned heresy: it succeeded in deposing three rival popes, and by its united choice of a new pope, Martin V, it put an end to the long schism that had divided the Church. The question of reform, the most vital of all the problems discussed, resulted in such controversy that men grew weary, and it was postponed for settlement to another council that the new pope pledged himself to call in five years.

Such were the practical results of the first real attempt of the Church to solve the problems of mediaeval times, not by the decision of one man, whether pope or emperor, but by the voice of Christendom at large. If the attempt failed the difficulties in the way were so great that failure was inevitable.

The Conciliar Movement was modern in the sense that it was an appeal to the judgement of the many rather than of a single autocrat; but it proved too mediaeval in actual construction and working for the growing spirit of nationality that brought its prejudices and misunderstandings to the council hall. English and French, Germans and Bohemians, Italians and men from beyond the Alps, were too mutually suspicious, too assured of the righteousness of their own outlook, to be able to sacrifice their individual, or still more their national, convictions to traditional authority. The day for world-rule, as mediaeval statesmen understood the term, had passed; and the Council of Constance was a witness to its passing.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Dante Alighieri	1265 1321	St. Catherine of Siena . .	1347 80
King Robert of Naples. .	1309 43	Pope Gregory XI	1371-8
Joanna I	1343-82	„ Urban VI	1378 89
Ladislav	1386 1414	„ Clement VII	1378 94
Joanna II	1414 35	Pope Martin V	1417-31

XXII

PART I. THE FALL OF THE GREEK EMPIRE

THE final failure of Christendom to preserve Eastern Europe from the infidel may be traced back to the disastrous Fourth Crusade¹ in the thirteenth century, when Venice, for purely selfish reasons, drove out the Greek rulers of Constantinople, and helped to establish a Latin or Frankish Empire. This Empire lasted for fifty-seven years, weak in its foundation, and growing ever weaker like a badly built house, ready to tumble to the ground at the first tempest. It pretended to embrace all the territory that had belonged to its predecessors, but many of the feudal landowners whom it appointed were never able to take possession of their estates that remained under independent Greek or Bulgarian princes, while in Asia Minor the exiled Greek emperors ruled at Nicea, awaiting an opportunity to cross the Bosphorus and effect a triumphant return.

Michael Paleologus, to whom the opportunity came, was an unscrupulous adventurer who, on account of his military reputation, had been appointed guardian of the young Emperor of Nicea, John Ducas, a boy of eight. Taking advantage of this position, Michael drove from the court all whom he knew to be disinterested partisans of his charge, and then declared himself joint emperor with the child. This ambitious claim was but a step to worse deeds, for before he was ten years old the unhappy little Emperor had been blinded and thrust into a dungeon by his co-emperor's orders, and the Paleologi had become the reigning house of the Eastern Empire.

This was an evil day for Christendom, for though Michael Paleologus beat down the resistance of all the Greek princes who dared to resent the way in which he had usurped the throne, and afterwards succeeded in entering Constantinople, yet neither he

¹ See p. 184.

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nor his descendants were the type of men to preserve what he had gained. Nearly all the Paleologi were weak and false: Michael himself so shifty in his dealings that his friends trusted him less than his enemies. Because he had won his throne by fraud and cruelty he was always suspicious, like Italian despots, lest one of his generals should turn against him and outwit him.



Instead, therefore, of keeping his attention fixed on the steadily increasing power of the Mahometans, an inspection that would have warned a wise man to maintain a strong army along the borders of the Empire in Asia Minor, he was so afraid of his own Greek troops that, once established in Constantinople, he disbanded whole regiments, and exiled their best officers. Everything he did, in fact, was calculated merely to secure his immediate safety or advantage, with no thought for the future, so that he died leaving his kingdom an easy prey to foreign enemies strong enough to seize the advantage.

Besides the misrule of Michael Paleologus, other factors were at work, busily undermining the restored Greek Empire. For one thing, the Greek and Bulgarian princes, who had obtained independence when the Latins ruled in Constantinople, had no intention of returning to their old allegiance; while here and there were feudal states, like the Duchy of Athens, established by the Latins and still held by them, although the Frankish Emperor who had been their suzerain had disappeared. The islands in the Aegean Sea were most of them in Venetian hands, and Venice took care that the Greek Empire, whose fleet she had swept from the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century, should not construct another sufficiently strong to win back these commercial and naval bases. In the same way the trade that had passed from Constantinople never returned: for the cities of the Mediterranean preferred to deal on their own account with Syrian and Egyptian merchants rather than to pay toll to a 'middleman' in the markets of the Paleologi.

For all these reasons it can be easily seen that the new Byzantine Empire was in a far worse state of weakness and instability than the old. Like Philip IV of France, who found the financial methods of Charlemagne quite inadequate for dealing with his more modern needs and expenses, the Paleologi were confronted by a system of administering laws and exacting taxes that, having completely broken down under the strain of foreign invasion, was even more incapable of meeting fourteenth-century problems with any feasible solution. More practical rulers might have invented new methods, but the only hope of the upstart line that had usurped power without realizing the responsibility such power entailed was to seek the military and financial aid of the West as in the days of Alexius Comnenus.

Little such aid was there to gain. Venice and Genoa, once eager crusaders, were now too busy contesting the supremacy of the Mediterranean to act together as allies in Eastern waters. The Popes, annoyed that the overthrow of the Latin Empire had brought about the restoration of the Greek Church, were willing enough to consider the reconversion of Byzantium held out to them as a bait; but even if they granted their sympathy they had

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obviously too many political troubles of their own to make lavish promises likely of fulfilment. Western Europe, in fact, was too interested in its own national struggles to answer calls to a crusade, too blind in its narrow self-interest and prejudice against the Greeks to realize what danger the ruin of Constantinople must bring on those who had for centuries used her as a bulwark.

Andronicus II, the son and successor of Michael, was equally cruel and false, and still more of a personal coward. He saw the danger of Mahometan invasion that his father had ignored, and, in terror both of the Turks and of his own subjects, arranged to hire a band of Catalan mercenaries who had been fighting for the Aragonese against the Angevins in Sicily, in the war introduced by the Sicilian Vespers.¹ This war over, the captain of the Catalans, Roger de Flor, a Templar who had been expelled from his Order for his wild deeds, was quite willing to unsheathe his sword on a new field of glory and pillage; so that on receiving dazzling promises of reward and friendship he and his 'merry men' sailed for the East.

Once established in Greece, however, the Catalans proved so arrogant and lawless that the Greeks complained that they were a far worse infliction than the Mahometans. Quarrels ensued, and finally, in the course of a bitter dispute between Roger de Flor and Andronicus, the Spanish general was murdered as he stood talking to his master. This act of treachery, added to growing indignation at the limited supplies of money the Emperor had grudgingly disbursed for his foreign army, turned the Catalans from pretence allies into a horde of raging enemies. From the walls of Constantinople itself they were driven back, but elsewhere they burned and slew and laid waste the country, until at last, reaching Athens, they stormed the walls of that city, killed its Latin Duke, and established themselves as an independent republic.

By the time they had ceased to rove the Catalans had also ceased to be dangerous, but in their savage wanderings they had inflicted incalculable harm upon the Byzantine Empire. The

¹ See p. 229.

Andronicus who could barely hold them at bay before the gates of his capital was an Andronicus who could not hope to withstand invasion in Asia Minor; and over his Eastern boundaries, left weakly garrisoned since the days of Michael Paleologus, poured the Turks in irresistible numbers. Soon there remained to the Greek Empire, of all their provinces across the Bosphorus, merely a strip of coast-line to the north of the Dardanelles, and finally this also was whittled away, and the Turks crossed the Straits and captured Gallipoli as a base for future operations in Europe.

The chief Mahometan Emir during this period of conquest was a certain Orkhan, the son of Othman, whose name in the form 'Ottoman' is still borne by his branch of the Turkish race. This Orkhan was quite as cruel and unscrupulous as the Paleologi, but far more statesmanlike; for as he conquered the territory of Greek Emperors and rival Emirs in Asia Minor he consolidated his rule over them by a just and careful government that gradually welded them into a compact state.

When a civil war broke out between John V, the grandson of Andronicus II, and his guardian and co-ruler, a wily schemer of the Michael Paleologus type called John Cantacuzenus, the latter, with utter lack of patriotism, appealed to Orkhan for aid. He even offered him his daughter in marriage, an alliance to which the Turk eagerly agreed, dispatching a large force of auxiliaries to Thrace as token of his friendly intentions towards his future father-in-law. These troops he determined should remain, and difficult indeed the Christians found it to dislodge them in later years, for the Turkish legions had been stiffened by a device of Orkhan which has done more to keep his name in men's minds perhaps than any of his victories.

It was the Emir's custom on a march of conquest not to oppress the conquered, but to exact from them a tribute both in money and in child life. From every village that passed under the rule of Orkhan his soldiers carried away from their homes a fixed number of young boys, chosen because of their health and sturdy, well-developed limbs. These children were placed in barracks, where they were educated without any knowledge

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of their former life to become soldiers of the Prophet—fanatical, highly disciplined, skilled with the bow and sabre, inculcated with but one ideal and ambition—to excel in statecraft or on the battle-field.

Because of their excessive loyalty emirs would choose from among the ranks of these 'tribute children' their viziers and other chief officials, while the majority would enter the infantry corps of 'Janissaries', or 'new soldiers', whose ferocity and endurance in attacking or holding apparently impossible positions became the terror of Europe. In the words of a modern historian, 'With diabolical ingenuity the Turks secured the victory of the Crescent by the Children of the Cross, and trained up Christian boys to destroy the independence and authority of their country and their Church.'

In 1361, some years after Orkhan's death, the Turks captured Adrianople, and thus came into contact with other Christian nations besides the Greeks, namely, the Serbians and Hungarians.

The Serbians were the principal Slav race in the Balkans, and under their great ruler Stephen Dushan it had seemed likely that they might become the predominant power in Eastern Europe. The Kings of Bulgaria and Bosnia were their vassals; they had made conquests both in Albania and Greece, thus opening up a way to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas. It would have been well for Christendom if this energetic race of fighters could have subdued the feeble Greeks, and so presented to the Turks, when they crossed the Bosphorus, a foe worthy to match the Janissaries in stubborn courage. Unfortunately Stephen Dushan died before the years of Turkish invasion, leaving his throne to a young son, 'a youth of great parts,' as a Serbian chronicler describes him, 'quiet and gracious, but without experience.'

Only experience or an iron will could have held together in those rough times a kingdom relying for its protection on the swords of a quarrelsome nobility; and Serbia broke up into a number of small principalities, her disintegration assisted by the ambitious jealousy of Louis the Great of Hungary, who lost no opportunity of dismembering and weakening this sister king-

dom that might otherwise prove a hindrance to his own imperial projects.

With the career of Louis we have dealt in other chapters, and have seen him humbling the Venetians, driving Joanna I out of Naples, acquiring the throne of Poland, fighting against the Turks and the Emperor Charles IV. Because he spent his energy recklessly on all these projects, Louis remains for posterity, apart from the civilizing influence of his court life, one of the arch-destroyers of the Middle Ages, the sovereign who more than any other exposed Eastern Europe to Mahometan conquest. Had he either refrained from his constant policy of aggression towards Serbia, thus allowing her to unite her subject princes in the face of the invading Turks, or had he even been powerful enough to found an Empire of Hungary that would absorb both Serbia and Constantinople and act as a bulwark in the East, mediaeval history would have closed on a different scene. Instead, the famous victories of Louis over the Turks, that made his name honoured by Christendom, were rendered of no avail by other partial victories over Christian nations who should have been his allies.

On the field of Kossovo, in 1389, the Serbians, shorn of half their provinces and weakened and betrayed by the Hungarians, met the Turks in battle. Both sides have left record of the ferocity of the struggle. 'The angels in Heaven', said the Turks, 'amazed by the hideous noise, forgot the heavenly hymns with which they always glorify God.' 'The battlefield became like a tulip-bed with its ruddy severed heads and rolling turbans.' 'Few', wrote the Serbian chronicler, 'returned to their own country.'

When the day closed, both the Serbian king, Lazar, and the Turkish sultan lay dead amid their warriors, and the victory, as far as the actual fighting was concerned, seemed to rest neither with Christian nor Moslem. Yet, in truth, the Turk could supply other armies, as numerous and as well-equipped, to take the place of those who had fallen, while the Serbians had exhausted their uttermost effort: thus the fruits of the battle fell entirely into the hands of the infidel.

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‘Things are hard for us, hard since Kossovo,’ is a modern Serbian saying, for the Serbs have never forgotten the day when they fought their last despairing battle as champions of the Cross, and lost for a time their ambition of dominating Eastern Europe.

There resteth to Serbia a glory, (runs the old ballad)

Yea! As long as a babe shall be born,
Or there resteth a man in the land—

So long as a blade of corn

Shall be reaped by a human hand,

So long as the grass shall grow

On the mighty plain of Kossovo—

So long, so long, even so

Shall the glory of those remain

Who this day in battle were slain.

From the day of Kossovo the ultimate conquest of Eastern Europe by the Turks became a certainty. Lack of ambition on the part of some of the sultans and a life and death struggle in which others found themselves involved in Asia Minor against Tartar tribes merely deferred the time of reckoning, but it came at last in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Mohammed II, ‘the Conqueror’, determined to reign in Constantinople.

This Mohammed, famous in mediaeval history, was the son of a Serbian princess, and he is said to have grown up indifferent alike to Christianity or Islam. He is described as having ‘a pair of red and white cheeks full and round, a hooked nose, and a resolute mouth’, while flatterers went still farther and declared that his moustache was ‘like leaves over two rosebuds, and every hair of his beard a thread of gold’. In character, from a fierce, undisciplined boy he grew into a self-willed man, intent upon the satisfaction of his ambitions and desires. He could speak, or at least understand, Arabic, Greek, Persian, Hebrew, and Latin; and chroniclers record that it was in reading the triumphs of Alexander and Julius Caesar that he was first inspired with the thought of becoming a great general.

His rival, Constantine XI, the last and best of the Paleologi, was a man of very different type from the Turk, or indeed from his own ancestors. He was devoted to the Christian religion

and Greece—brave, simple, and generous. When he first became aware of Mohammed's aggressive hostility he attempted to disarm it by liberating Turkish prisoners. 'If it shall please God to soften your heart', he sent word, 'I shall rejoice; but however that may be, I shall live and die in the defence of my people and of my Faith.' His words were put to the test when, in the autumn of 1452, the siege of Constantinople began.

The Emperor looked despairingly for Western aid, in order to secure which the Emperor John V had himself in years gone by visited Rome and made formal renunciation to the Pope of all the views of the Greek Church that disagreed with Catholic doctrine. One of the chief points of controversy had been the Catholic use of unleavened bread in the Sacrament of the Mass; another, the words of the Nicene Creed, declaring that the Holy Ghost 'proceeded' from the Son as well as from the Father.

In all matters of faith as well as of ecclesiastical jurisdiction John V, and later Constantine himself, had made open acknowledgement of the supremacy of Rome, but their compliance did not avail to save their kingdom in the hour of danger: indeed, while it evoked little military support from Catholic nations it aroused keen hostility and treachery at home. There were many Greeks who refused to endorse their sovereign's signature to what they considered an act of national betrayal, some declaring openly that the Mahometan victories were God's punishment on kings who had forsaken the faith of their fathers, and that it would be better to see the turbans of the infidels in St. Sophia than a cardinal's red hat.

When, then, Mohammed began to thunder with his fourteen batteries against the once impregnable walls of Constantinople, making enormous breaches, the reduction of the city had become only a question of days. It is said that the Sultan in his eagerness to take possession offered the Emperor and his army freedom and religious toleration if they would capitulate. 'I desire either my throne or a grave,' replied Constantine, knowing well which of the two must be his fate.

Beside some four thousand of his own subjects he could command only a few hundred mercenaries sent by the Pope, and three

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hundred Genoese. Of the Venetians and other Western Europeans there were even less ; and it was with this miniature army that he manned the wide circuit of the walls, led out sorties, and rebuilt as well as he could the gaps made by the heavy guns.

The contest was absurdly unequal, for Mohammed had some two hundred and fifty-eight thousand men ; and in May 1453 the inevitable end came to a heroic struggle. Up through the breaches in the wall, that no labour was left to repair, climbed wave after wave of fanatical Janissaries, shouting their hopes of victory and Paradise. Beneath their continuous onslaughts the defenders weakened and broke, fighting to the last amid the narrow streets, until Constantine himself was slain, his body only recognized later by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes.

The women, and many of the Greeks who had refused to help in this time of crisis because of the Emperor's submission to the Catholic Church, were torn from their sanctuary in St. Sophia and sold as slaves in the markets of Syria.

Thus was lost the second city of Christendom to the infidels, and the old Roman Empire, whose restoration had been a mediaeval idea for centuries, perished for ever.

Retribution, at least according to human ideas of justice, often seems to lag in history ; but in the case of the fall of Constantinople some of the culprits most responsible, on account of their selfish indifference, were speedily called on to pay the penalty. Mohammed II, his ambition inflated by what he had already achieved, planned the reduction of Christendom, declaring that he would feed his horse from the altar of St. Peter's in Rome. With an enormous army he advanced through Serbia and besieged Belgrade ; but here he was thrust back by a Christian champion, John Hunyadi, 'the wicked one', as the title reads in Turkish, with such loss of men and material 'that Hungary and eastern Germany were saved from serious danger for eighty years'.

With the Balkan states it was otherwise, whose governments, divided in their counsels, jealous in their rivalries, had been incapable of the union that could alone have saved them, and



Mohammed II. A woodcut of 1603

one by one they were crushed beneath 'the Conqueror's' heel. Greece also came under Moslem domination, and finally the islands of the Aegean Sea that Venice had torn from Constantinople in the interests of her trade were wrested away from her, leaving her faced with the prospect of commercial ruin.

PART II. VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY

All through the Middle Ages it had been to the cities of the Mediterranean, first of all to Amalfi and Pisa, then to Marseilles, Barcelona, Genoa, and Venice, that Europe had turned as her obvious medium of communication with the East and all its fabulous wonders. In the thirteenth century a Venetian merchant, Marco Polo, setting forth with his father and uncle, had visited the kingdom of Cathay, or China, and brought back twenty years later not only marvellous tales of the court of Khubla Khan in Peking, but also precious stones, rubies, sapphires, diamonds, and emeralds in such abundance that he was soon nicknamed by his fellow citizens 'Marco of the Millions'.

Into the delighted ears of the guests he invited to a banquet on his return he poured descriptions of a land where 'merchants are so numerous and so rich that their wealth can neither be told nor believed. They and their ladies do nothing with their own hands, but live as delicately as if they were kings.' What seems to have struck his mediaeval mind with most astonishment were the enormous public baths in the 'City of Heaven' in southern China, of which there were four thousand, 'the largest and most beautiful baths in the world.'

The banquets also given by the great Khan excelled any European feasts. They were attended by many thousands of guests, and their host, raised on a dais, had as his servants the chief nobles, who would wind rich towels round their mouths that they might not breathe upon the royal plates. For presents the Khan was accustomed to receive at a time some five thousand camels, or an equal number of elephants, draped in silken cloths worked with silver and gold. His government surpassed in its organization anything Europe had imagined since the fall of the

Roman Empire, such, for instance, as the postal system, by means of messengers on foot and horse, that linked up Pekin with lands a hundred days distant, or the beneficent regard of a ruler who in times of bad harvests not only remitted taxation but dispatched grain to the principal districts that had suffered.

Coal was used in China freely, 'a kind of black stone cut from the mountains in veins,' as Marco Polo describes it. 'It maintains the fire', he added, 'better than wood, and throughout the whole of Cathay this fuel is used.'

Besides dilating on the wealth and prosperity of China, the Venetian had also much to say of Zipangu, or Japan, of Tibet and Bengal, of Ceylon, 'the finest island in the world,' and of Java, supposed then to be 'above three thousand miles wide'.

Other travellers were to confirm many of his statements, but none told their tale so simply and realistically as Polo, while not a few, like the English Sir John Mandeville in the fourteenth century, supplied fiction in large doses where it seemed to them that truth might bore their readers. The eagerness with which either fact or fiction was swallowed bears witness, at any rate, first to the extraordinary fascination excited in mediæval minds by such names as 'Cathay' or 'Zipangu'; and next to the general Western belief in the inexhaustible riches of the East and their determination to secure at least a portion.

When the Seljuk Turks, with their fierce animosity towards Christendom, had settled like a curtain between East and West, the dangers and expense of trading and commerce with Arabia and Asia Minor of course increased. Venice and Genoa still brought back shiploads of silks, spices, and perfumes for Western markets, but the price of these goods was increased by the tolls paid to Turkish sultans and emirs for leave to transfer merchandise from camels to trading-sloops. Then came the fall of Constantinople, when Venice, by a treaty with 'the Conqueror' in the following year, appeared to secure wonderful trading privileges. Mohammed, however, made such promises only to break them when convenient, and, so soon as he could afford to do so, because he was securely established in Europe, the tolls he demanded became heavier, not lighter, the restrictions he placed

upon trade more and more galling to Christian merchants, until the usual purchasers of Venetian goods grew exasperated at prices that doubled and trebled continually.

There were but two methods of avoiding this ever-increasing policy of exploitation apart from doing without such luxuries : either a complete conquest of the Turks, that would compel them to open up afresh the old caravan routes to the East ; or else the discovery of a new route that would avoid their dominions altogether. Largely through the blind selfishness of Mediterranean cities, and especially of Venice, we have seen that the golden opportunity of aiding the Byzantine Empire had been lost for ever. Thus the first method failed. It remains to deal with the second, the voyages of discovery with which the Middle Ages fittingly close.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century there was born in Portugal a prince, Henry, third son of King John I, and grandson by an English mother of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. While he was still a boy this prince earned fame for his share in the capture of Ceuta, a Moorish town exactly opposite Gibraltar on the North African coast. To the ordinary Portuguese mind this conquest raised hopes of a gradual absorption of the southern Mediterranean seaboard, possibly of competition in the Levant with Genoa and Venice ; but Prince Henry saw farther than ordinary minds. The problem that he set himself and any one, Arab or European, who seemed likely to supply a solution was—What would happen if, instead of entering the Mediterranean, Portuguese ships were to sail due south ? How big was this unknown stretch of land called Africa, in the maps of which geographers hid their ignorance by placing labels, such as 'Here are hippografts ! Here are two-headed monsters !' ? Would it not be possible to reach the far-famed wonders of Cathay by sailing first south and then east round Africa, thus avoiding trade routes through Syria and southern Russia ?

It was fortunate that Prince Henry was a mathematician and geographer himself, for many people told him in answer to his inquiries that Africa ended at Cape Nam, not so many miles south of Tangier, and others that the white man who dared to

sail beyond a certain point would be turned black by the heat of the sun, while the waters boiled about his vessel and the winds blew sheets of flame across the horizon.

Prince Henry refused to believe such tales. He could not sail himself, because he was so often occupied with wars in Africa against the Moors; but year after year he fitted out ships at his own expense, and chose the most daring mariners whom he could find, bribing them with promises of reward and fame to navigate the unknown African coast. He himself built a naval arsenal at Sagres on a southern promontory of Portugal, and here, when not busy with affairs of state, he would study the heavens, make charts, and watch anxiously for the returning sails of his brave adventurers.

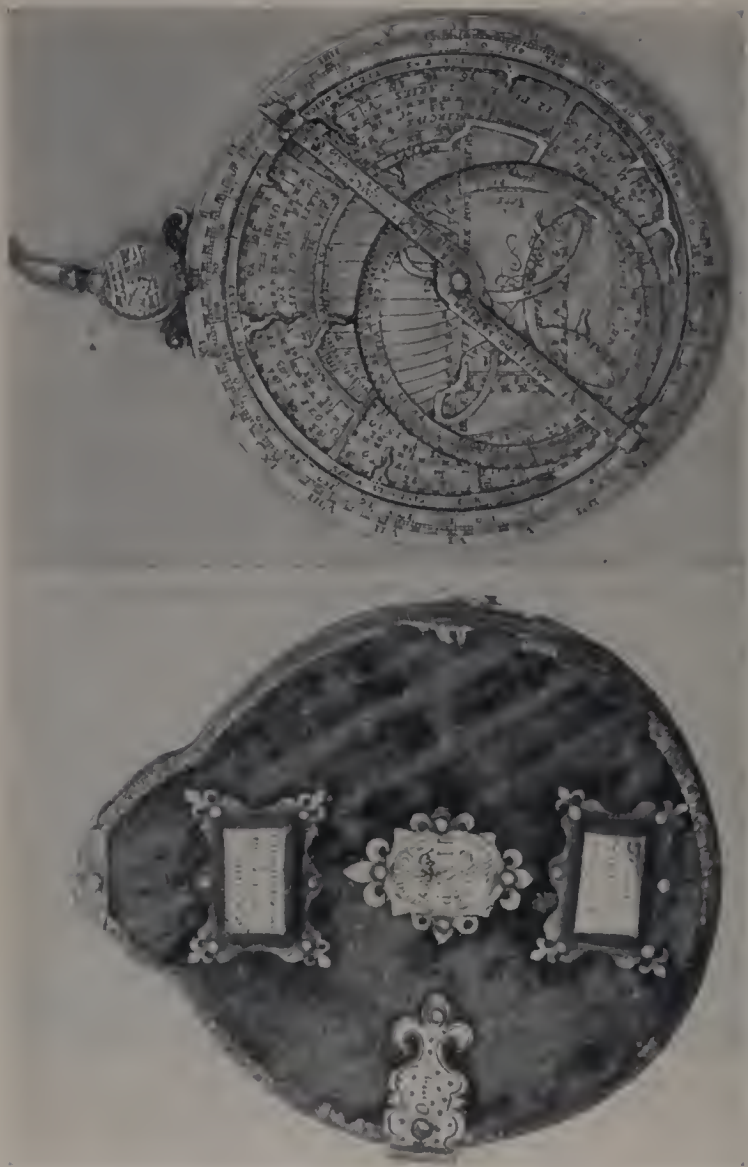
During Prince Henry's lifetime Portuguese or Italians in his pay discovered not only Madeira, or 'the island of wood', as they christened it from its many forests, but the Canaries, Cape Verde Islands, and the African coast as far south as Gambia and Sierra Leone. Soon there was no longer any need to bribe mariners into taking risks, for those who first led the way on these adventurous voyages brought back with them negroes and gold dust as evidence that they had been to lands where men could live, and where there were possibilities of untold wealth. Thus the work of exploration continued joyfully.

It was in 1471, some years after the death of Prince Henry, that Portuguese navigators crossed the Equator without being broiled black by the sun or raising sheets of flame, as the superstitious had predicted. The next important step on this new road to Asia was the voyage of Bartholomew Diaz, who, sailing ever southwards, swept in an icy wind without knowing it round the Cape, past Table Mountain, and then, turning eastwards, landed at last on the little island of Santa Cruz in Algoa Bay, where he planted a cross. He would have explored the mainland also, but Kaffirs armed with heavy stones collected and drove back the landing-party.

Diaz, emboldened by his success, wished to sail farther, but his crew were weary of adventure, and with tears of regret in his eyes he was forced to yield to their threats of mutiny and turn



Prince Henry of Portugal



The Quadrant and the Astrolabe were the chief instruments of mediaeval navigation. An astrolabe of 1574

homewards. At Lisbon, describing his voyage, he said that on account of its dangers he had called the southernmost point of Africa the 'Cape of Storms', but the King of Portugal, hearing that this was indeed the limit of the continent, and that in all probability the way to Asia lay beyond, would not consent to such an ill-omened name. 'It shall be the Cape of Good Hope,' he declared, and so it has remained.

In 1498 the work of exploration begun by Diaz was completed by another famous navigator, Vasco da Gama. National hopes of wealth and glory were centred in his task, and when he and his company marched forth to their ships a large crowd went with them to the shore, carrying candles, and singing a solemn litany. Then the sails of his four vessels dipped below the horizon and were not seen for two years and eight months, but when at last men and women had begun to despair at the great silence, their hero reappeared amongst them, bringing news more wonderful and glorious than anything that Portugal had dared to hope.

There is little space to tell in this chapter the adventures that Vasco da Gama related to the King and his court. He and his crews, it seemed, had sailed for weeks amid 'a lonely dreary waste of seas and boundless sky': they had skirmished with Hottentots and 'doubled the Cape', caught in such a whirl of breakers and stormy winds that the walls of the wooden ships had oozed water, and despair and sickness had seized upon all. Vasco da Gama, even when ill and depressed, was not to be turned from his purpose. Eastwards and northwards he set his sails, in the teeth of laments and threats from his sailors, and so on Christmas Day landed on a part of the coast to which in memory of the most famous *Dies Natalis* he gave the name of Natal.

From Natal, battling the dread disease of scurvy brought on by a prolonged diet of salt meat, the Portuguese commander pursued his way, attacked, as often as he landed for water and fresh food, by fierce Mahometan tribes, until at last, guided by an Arabian pilot whom he had picked up, he came to the harbours of Calicut in India, where was a Christian king. The new route to Asia had been discovered. 'A lucky venture—plenty of emeralds. . . . You owe great thanks to God for having

brought you to a country holding such riches,' declared the natives, and loud was the rejoicing of the Portuguese at this glorious national prospect.

The likely effects of Vasco da Gama's voyage did not pass unnoticed elsewhere in Europe. 'Soon,' exclaimed a Venetian merchant in deep gloom, 'it will be cheaper to buy goods in Lisbon than in Venice.' The death-knell of the great Republic's commercial prosperity sounded in these words.

In the meanwhile, some years before Vasco da Gama's triumphant achievement, a still greater discovery was made that was destined in the course of time to change the whole commercial aspect of the world. Its author was a Genoese sailor, Christopher Columbus, who, tradition says, once sailed as far north as Iceland, and in the south to the island of Porto Santo. Always in his spare time he could be found bent over maps and charts, calculating, weaving around his reasoned mathematical arguments the tales of shipwrecked mariners, until at last he brought to the ears of his astonished fellow men and women a scheme for finding Cathay, neither by sailing south nor east, but due west across the Atlantic.

Here is a fourteenth-century description of the Atlantic, a dismal picture still popularly accepted in the fifteenth: 'A vast and boundless ocean on which ships dared not venture out of sight of land. For even if sailors knew the directions of the winds they would not know whither those winds would carry them; and, as there is no inhabited country beyond, they would run great risks of being lost in the mist and vapour. The limit of the west is the Atlantic Ocean.'

Many people still believed that the world was flat, and that to sail across the Atlantic was to incur the risk of being driven by the winds over the edge into space. Thus Columbus met with either reproof for contemplating such risks, or ridicule for his folly, but so convinced was he of his own wisdom that he only grew the more enthusiastic as a result of opposition.

Without money or royal patronage he could not hope to make the voyage a success, and so he laid his scheme before the King of Portugal, usually a willing patron of adventure. Unfortun-

nately for Columbus, the discoveries along the African coast promised such wealth and trade to Portugal that her ruler did not feel inclined to take risks in other directions that, while they must involve expense, as yet held no guarantee of repayment.

'I went to take refuge in Portugal,' wrote Columbus at a later date, 'since the King of that country was more versed in discovery than any other, but . . . in fourteen years I could not make him understand what I said.' Driven at last from Portugal by a decided refusal, Christopher went to Spain, sending his brother Bartholomew with a letter explaining his project to King Henry VII of England. It is interesting to note that the keen-witted Tudor, as soon as the scheme was laid before him, is said to have expressed his readiness to learn more and to lend his support; but Bartholomew had been shipwrecked on his voyage northwards, and owing to this delay Columbus had already received the patronage of Spain and set out on his voyage before his brother returned with the news.

It was Queen Isabel of Castile, wife of King Ferdinand of Aragon,¹ who after considerable hesitation, and against the advice of a council of leading bishops and statesmen, determined finally to pledge her sympathy, and tradition says her jewels if necessary, in the mariner's cause. Part of the attraction of his project lay in its appeal to her Castilian imagination, for Castile had been ever haunted by the possibilities of the bleak grey ocean that rolled at the gates of Galicia; but still more potent than the thought of discovery was the desire of spreading the Catholic Faith. This hope also inspired Columbus, who regarded his enterprise as in the nature of a crusade, believing that he had been called to preach the Gospel to the millions of heathen inhabiting Cathay.

When Columbus set forth on his first voyage to 'the Indies', as he roughly called the unknown territory he sought, those who sailed in his three ships were many of them 'pressed' men, that is, sailors ordered on board by their town, that having incurred royal displeasure was given this way of appeasing it. Thus they were without enthusiasm or any belief in what they thought their admiral's mad and dangerous adventure, and from the time that

¹ See p. 274.

they lost sight of land they never ceased to grumble and utter threats of mutiny. At one time it was the extraordinary variations in the compass that brought them trembling to complain; at another the steadiness of the wind blowing from the East that they believed would never change and allow them to return home; finally it was the sluggish waters of the Sargassa Sea, amid whose weeds they saw themselves destined to drift until they died of starvation and thirst. To every suggestion of setting the sails eastward Columbus turned a deaf ear: but for the rest he threatened, cajoled, or argued, as the occasion seemed to demand, his own heart sinking each time the cry of 'Land!' was raised and the ardently desired vision proved only to be some bank of clouds lying low upon the horizon.

At length came the news that a moving light had been seen in the darkness. 'It appeared like a candle that went up and down,' says Columbus in his diary, and all waited eagerly for dawn that revealed at last a wooded island, later called the Bahamas, but then believed to be part of the mainland of Asia. Clad in armour, and carrying the royal banner of Spain, the great discoverer of the West stepped ashore, and there, humbly kneeling, he and his crews raised to Heaven a *Te Deum* of thankfulness and joy.

Columbus made five voyages to the West in all, for the way once shown proved easy enough, nor did he need to 'press' crews for the enterprise, but rather to guard against unwelcome stowaways. The brown-skinned Indians, gaily coloured parrots, gold nuggets, and strange roots that he brought back as witness of his first success were enough to inflame the minds and ambitions of Spaniards with such high hopes of wealth and glory that they almost fought to be allowed to join the expeditions.

Vasco da Gama was rewarded for his voyage to India with a large pension and the Portuguese title of 'Dom': he died in honoured old age. It is sad to find that after the first triumphant return, when no glory and praise seemed too great to bestow on their hero, the Spaniards turned against Columbus. They blamed him because gold was not more abundant: because his settlers quarrelled and started feuds with the natives; because,

although a very great mariner, he did not prove a 'governor' able to control and manage other men easily. Not a few were jealous of his genius, and determined to bring about his ruin out of spite.

From his third voyage to the West Columbus was sent back by his enemies in chains, ill with wounded pride at his shameful treatment. Queen Isabel, hearing of it, instantly ordered his release, and tried to soothe his indignation; but not long afterwards she herself died, and Ferdinand, left to himself, was wholly intent on Aragonese ambitions in the Mediterranean. To him the conquest of Naples was far more important than any discovery of Cathay, and so Columbus's complaints went unheeded and he died in poverty forgotten by all save a few. 'After twenty years of toil and peril,' he exclaimed bitterly, as he was borne ashore from his last voyage, 'I do not own even a roof in Spain.'

The New World to which he had won an entrance was given the name of another, namely, of a Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci, who, sailing beyond the West Indies, reached the mainland.

The effect of Columbus's discovery upon the life of Europe was momentous. No longer the Atlantic lay like a grey wall between man and the Unknown. It had become a highway, not to Cathay but to a greater West, where were riches beyond all human dreaming, ready as a harvest for the enterprising and hardworking.

The central road of mediaeval commerce had been the Mediterranean, the highway of the modern world was to be the Atlantic, and the commercial future of Europe lay not with the city republics of the South but with the nations of the North and West, with Portugal and Spain, with Flanders and England, that had lain upon the fringe of the Old World but stood at the very heart of the New.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Emperor Andronicus II	1282-1328	Stephen Dushan	1331-55
„ John V	1341-91	Marco Polo	1254-1324
Sultan Orkhan	1325-59	Henry 'the Navigator'	1394-1460
„ Mohammed II	1451-81	Cape of Good Hope rounded	1486

XXIII

THE RENAISSANCE

ALL history is the record of change, either in the direction of social progress or decay; but so gradual is this movement that, like the transition from night to dawn or noon to evening, it is beyond our vision to state the moment when tendencies began or ceased. It is only possible to note the definite changes in their achievement, and then to disentangle the threads by turning back along the twisted chain into which they have been woven.

Sometimes in history there have been so many changes within a short time that the effect has been cumulative and an epoch has been created, as at the break-up of the Roman Empire, when civilization was merged in the 'Dark Ages'. Again, it is true of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century and during the greater part of the sixteenth, a period usually called 'the Renaissance', or time of 'New Birth', because then it became apparent that the old mediaeval outlook and ways of life had vanished, while others much more familiar and easy to understand had taken their place: the Modern World had been called into being.

The most obvious change to be found at the Renaissance was the collapse of the mediaeval ideal of a world-empire ruled in the name of God by Pope and Emperor. The Western Empire still remained pretentious in its claims; but its wiser rulers, such as Rudolph I and Charles IV, had already realized that success lay rather in German kingship than in imperial influence. The Popes had been restored to Rome, but the threat of councils that could depose and reform hung like a cloud over their insistence on the absolute obedience of Christendom; and, recognizing the inevitable, the Vatican had sunk the ambitions of an Innocent III in those of a temporal Italian Prince. Searching along the chain of causes, it becomes clear enough that the

trend of history during the later Middle Ages had been this development of the smaller unity of the nation out of the bigger unity of the world-state. By the end of the fifteenth century England, France, and Spain were already nations; while even Germany and Italy, feeling the call in a lesser degree, had substituted for a wider sense of nationality devotion to a province or city state.

The second of the great changes that characterize the Renaissance was the development of the idea of man as an individual. All through the Middle Ages, except perhaps in the case of rulers, men and women counted in the life of the world around them, not so much as separate influences as a part of the system into which they were born or absorbed. In early days the tribe accepted its members' acts, whether good or bad, as something that was the concern of all to be atoned for, supported, or avenged, as a public duty. Still more strongly was this attitude expressed in family affairs, as in the numerous 'vendettas', or feuds like those of the Welfs and Waiblingen, or of 'the Blacks' and 'Whites' in Florence.

Turning from racial ties to social, we find mediaeval associations of all kinds holding a man bound, not by his own personal choice or discretion, but by the decision of the group to which he happened to be attached. The feudal system was never complete enough in practice to make a good example of this bondage, but in theory from the tenant-in-chief to the landowner lowest in the social scale there was a settled rule of life, dictating the duties and responsibilities of lord and vassal. Still more was this binding rule true of that greatest of all mediaeval corporations—monasticism, that demanded from its sons and daughters absolute obedience in the annihilation of self. St. Bernard, whose personality was so strong that he could not remain hidden amongst the mass of his fellows, was yet, we remember, angry with Abelard for this above all other failings—that he had set up his individual judgement as a test of life. In Abelard, as in Arnold of Brescia, lay the first stirrings of the independent modern spirit that at the Renaissance was to shake the foundations of the mediaeval world.

Besides monasticism there were other associations—the universities and the class corporations, merchant guilds such as the North German Hansa, and smaller city guilds, such as the ‘Greater’ and ‘Lesser Arts’ in Florence, comprising groups of lawyers, fishmongers, &c. All these last maintained a standard of uniformity, regulating not only hours of work, rate of pay, nature of employment, scale of contributions, like a modern trade union, but went much farther, interfering in the life of each individual member to insist on what he should wear in public and how he might spend the money he had earned. It was a spirit of benevolent slavery that held sway so long as the strivings of the individual mind were overborne by a sense of helplessness in the face of ignorance or by the weight of tradition.

This weight of tradition leads naturally to the third great change heralded by the Renaissance—the breaking-up of a sky curtained in mental darkness into separate groups of clouds, still heavily charged with superstition and ignorance, but their density relieved by the light of a genuine inquiry after truth for its own sake. During the Middle Ages we have seen that men and women looked back for inspiration to the Roman Empire, and this made them distrust progress, just as a timid rider will dread a spirited horse because he fears to lose control and to be carried into unknown ways.

The earliest guardian of mediaeval knowledge had been the Church, and in the light that she understood her task she faithfully taught the world about her. Her motto was ‘Reverence for the Past’; but, bent in worship before the altar of tradition, she lost sight of that other great world-motto, ‘Trust the Future’, which has been one of the guiding stars of modern times. Her interpretation of the Faith, of the legitimate bounds of knowledge, of the limits of Art, had been almost a necessary school of discipline for the early Middle Ages with their tendency to barbaric licence; but as she civilized men’s minds and their aptitude for reasoning and understanding deepened, the restrictions of the school became the bars of a prison. The mediaeval Church, once a pioneer, lost her grip on realities, her spiritual outlook became obscured by material

ambitions, her faith weakened; until at last so little sure was she in her heart of the complete truth of her teaching that she opposed and denounced criticism or discovery, much like a merchant who is secretly afraid that his methods of business may be obsolete refuses to entertain 'newfangled notions' that would open his eyes.

When Columbus laid his scheme for crossing the Atlantic before a council of bishops and leading members of the Spanish universities, mediaeval knowledge derided his presumption by quoting texts from the Old Testament and various statements of St. Augustine and other Fathers of the Church. There could be no Antipodes, they argued, because it was distinctly said that the world was peopled by the descendants of Noah, and how could such men have crossed these miles of ocean? Many similar objections were raised and the mariner's project condemned, just as Roger Bacon had been judged a heretic for his scientific inquiries two hundred years before.¹ It is significant of the change of mental outlook that while Roger Bacon wasted his last years in prison and Abelard was driven from the lecture-hall to a monastery, Columbus found public support, vindicated his calculations, and so opened up a new world.

The great secret of the Renaissance is indeed this release of the restless spirit of inquiry after truth, that is as old as humanity itself, and that, swooping like a bird through the door of a cage out into the air and sunshine, reckless of danger, carried along by the sheer joy of unfettered life, sometimes foolish and extravagant in its zest for experience, was at first too absorbed in the glory and interest of freedom to feel any regret for the prison that had been at least a shelter from the many stormy problems that were to rend the modern world.

Charlemagne had believed that 'without knowledge good works were impossible'. The men of the early Renaissance were not so intent upon the importance of good works or the hope of salvation as their forefathers, but they would have assented eagerly to the statement that 'without knowledge any true understanding of human life was impossible'.

¹ See p. 207.

Had the conditions under which knowledge could be obtained remained as restricted as in mediæval times, the Renaissance on its intellectual side would in all probability have become a cult, a movement shared by a few learned men and women to which the mass of the people in every nation had no clue ; and in this way it would have died out like a plant unable to spread its roots. Human invention intervened with the discovery of printing, which brought the great thoughts of the world out of the monastic libraries, where they had been laboriously collected and copied by hand, to distribute them, slowly at first but ever faster and faster, throughout the busy centres of Europe, where brains as well as stomachs are always eager for food.

It was a German, John Gutenberg, who invented printing by means of movable types, but because he had not enough money to carry out his design he was forced to borrow from a rich citizen of Mainz called John Fust. This Fust treated John Gutenberg very badly, for he demanded back the money he had lent so soon as he understood the value of the other's secret, and by this means forced Gutenberg, when he could not pay, to hand over his plant in compensation. Fust then began to print on his own account, and when the people of Mainz saw the copies of the Bible that he produced, each number an exact replica of the first, they declared that he had sold himself to the devil and was practising magic. Thus, it is said, started the legend of Doctor Faustus that has inspired poets, musicians, and dramatists.

The first English printer was William Caxton, a Kentishman, to view whose press came King and court in great amazement, interested, but utterly unaware of what a mental revolution this small piece of machinery was to bring about.

The greatest of Italian printers were the Venetians, whose famous Aldine press produced volumes that are still the admiration of the world as well as treasure trove for book-collectors. In modern times the desire for knowledge, or rather for information, has become a scramble, and printing has degenerated into a trade. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was regarded as an art, and Aldus Manutius, the Roman who established his press at Venice, intending to reproduce an edition of all the

Quiaque lux facta est que nos gaudet
 A principio creavit deus celum et terram.
 Terra autem erat inanis et
 vacua: et tenebre erant super faciem abyssi.
 Et spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas.
 Dixitque deus. Fiat lux. Et facta est lux. Et vidit
 deus lucem quod esset bona: et divisit lucem
 a tenebris appellavitque lucem diem et
 tenebras noctem. Factumque est vespere et
 mane dies primus. Dixitque deus. Fiat
 firmamentum in medio aquarum: et divi-
 dat aquas ab aquis. Et fecit deus firmamen-
 tum: divisitque aquas que erant
 sub firmamento ab his que erant super
 firmamentum: et factum est ita. Vocavitque
 deus firmamentum celum: et factum est vespere
 et mane dies secundus. Dixitque deus.
 Congregentur aquae que sub celo sunt in
 locum unum et appareat arida. Et factum est
 ita. Et vocavit deus aridam terram:
 congregavitque aquas in locum unum et
 vocavitque mare. Et vidit deus quod esset bonum: et
 ait. Germinet terra herbas virescentes et
 faciant semina: et lignum portans fructum
 fructu iuxta genus suum. Cuius semini in
 semetipso sit super terram. Et factum est ita. Et
 produxit terra herbas virescentes et facientes
 semina iuxta genus suum: lignumque faciens
 fructum et habens omnesque semina secundum
 speciem suam. Et vidit deus quod esset bonum:
 et factum est vespere et mane dies tertius.
 Dixitque deus. Fiat luminaria
 in firmamento celum: et dividant diem et
 noctem: ut luceat in firmamento celum et
 illuminent terram. Et factum est ita. Factumque
 deus duo luminaria magna: luminare
 maius ut presteret diem et lunam ut munitur
 ut presteret noctem et stellas: et posuit eas in
 firmamento celum ut luceant super terram: et

presterent diem et noctem: et dividerent lucem
 et tenebras. Et vidit deus quod esset bonum:
 et factum est vespere et mane dies quartus.
 Dixitque deus. Producantur aquae copiose
 anime viventes: et volantes super terram.
 sub firmamento celum. Creavitque deus cetum
 grandis: et omnes animas viventes atque
 innumerabiles quas producantur aquae et species
 suas: et omnes volantes secundum genus suum.
 Et vidit deus quod esset bonum: et benedixit
 eis dicens. Creavitque et insipientiamini: et
 repleat aquas maris: et insipientiamini
 super terram. Et factum est vespere et mane
 dies quintus. Dixitque deus. Producantur
 terra animas viventes in genere suo:
 iumenta et reptalia: et bestias carnis secundum
 species suas. Factumque est ita. Et fecit deus
 bestias carnis iuxta species suas: iumenta
 et omnes reptalia carnis et genus suum. Et
 vidit deus quod esset bonum: et ait. Faciamus
 hominem ad imaginem nostram: et similitudinem
 nostram: et prestat piscibus maris: et volan-
 tibus celum: et bestijs vivis: et ceteris omnibus
 reptantibus quibus movetur in terra. Et creavit
 deus hominem ad imaginem suam: secundum
 speciem suam: ad imaginem dei creavit illum: ma-
 sculum et feminam creavit eos. Benedictus
 ergo illis deus: et ait. Creavitque et insipientiamini
 et repleat terram: et sibi et ceteris animis
 vivis: et volantibus celum: et viventibus
 in terra: et omnes animas que moventur
 super terram. Dixitque deus. Ego dedi vobis
 omnes herbas afferentes semina super terram:
 et vobis sa ligna que habent in semetipso
 semina: genus suum: ut sint vobis in escam
 et cunctis animantibus carnis: et vobis: et
 volantibus celum: et viventibus in terra: et
 in quibus est anima vivens: ut habeant ad
 vescendum. Et factum est ita. Viditque deus
 omnia que fecerat: et erat valde bona.



Ancient wooden type matrixes of the fifteenth century

By kind permission of Messrs. Joh. Enschedé en Zonen

Greek authors then known, was a great scholar, who modelled his letters on the handwriting of the Italian poet Petrarch, and gathered around him the most intellectual and enterprising minds of his day to advise and help him. It was at the Aldine press that one of the leaders of the Dutch Renaissance, Erasmus, had several of his books printed, and Venice at this time became a centre for scholars, and for all whose minds were alive with a thirst for new impressions.

Fifteenth-century Italy was not, on the surface, so very different from Italy in the fourteenth. The complete domination of the five Powers, foreshadowed in the earlier century, had become fixed, and three of them—Milan, Florence, and Naples—had succeeded in forming an alliance to preserve the balance of power in the peninsula, and to keep at bay the ambitions of Venice, whose empire was still spreading over the mainland. In Naples ruled Ferrante I, an illegitimate son of Alfonso V of Aragon, a typical despot like the Angevins his father had replaced. In Milan the Visconti had merged themselves in the House of Sforza, through a clever ruse of one of the most famous of mediaeval *condottieri*, Francesco Sforza, who, besieging his master, Filippo Maria Visconti, in Milan in 1441, had forced him to give him his only daughter and heiress Bianca in marriage, and then to acknowledge him as his successor.

The grim traditions established by the Visconti continued under this new family, christened with their very names. Francesco's son, Galeazzo Maria, whose life was spent in debauch, is said to have poisoned his mother and buried his subjects alive. When he was assassinated, his brother, Ludovico, called from his swarthy complexion *Il Moro*, or ‘the Moor’, seized the reins of government, and proceeded to act on behalf of his young nephew, Gian Galeazzo, whom he kept in the background at Pavia, declaring him a helpless invalid.

Philip de Commynes describes Ludovico as ‘clever, but very nervous and cringing when he was afraid: a man without faith when he thought it to his advantage to break his word’. Outwardly he displayed the genial manners customary in a Renaissance prince, and presided at Milan over a court so famed for

its hospitality, wit, and intellect that it drew within its circle painters, sculptors, writers, and scholars, as well as military heroes and men of fashion.

It will be seen that Italy opened her arms wide to the new spirit of intellectual and artistic enjoyment. Venice, Naples, Milan, each vied with the other in attracting and rewarding genius: even the Popes at Rome, whose natural instinct as the guardian of mediaeval tradition was to distrust freedom of thought, were influenced by the atmosphere around them, and to Pope Nicholas V the world owes the foundation of the wonderful Vatican Library.

To the Queen of the Renaissance states we turn last—to Florence, the ‘City of Flowers’, that we left distracted by the internal discords of her ‘Blacks’ and ‘Whites’, and by her wars against Filippo Maria Visconti. The turning of the century had seen great changes in Florence, the whittling away of the old ideal of liberty that would brook no master, so that she became willing to accept the domination of a family superficially disguised as a freely elected government.

The Medici were no royal stock, nor were they flaunting *condottieri* like the Sforza, but a house of bankers, who by brains and solid hard work had built up for itself a position of respect, not only in Florence, but also throughout Europe, where their loans had secured the fortunes of many a monarchy that would otherwise have tumbled in ruins owing to lack of funds. It was the advantage of such monarchies to preserve the credit of the House of Medici, and so the bankers gained outside influence to aid their ambitions at home.

Within Florence the Medici posed as common-sense men of business, unassuming citizens, easy of access, ready friends, ever the supporters, while they were climbing the ladder of civic fame, of the popular party that loved to shout ‘Liberty!’ in the streets, while it voted her destroyers into public offices.

Cosimo de Medici, the first of the family to establish a position of supremacy, was related to many of the nobles debarred by their rank from any share in the government: but, though he won the allegiance of this faction, he took care to claim no

honour himself that might frighten the public mind with terrors of a despot. Instead, simply clad and almost unattended, he walked through the streets, chatting in friendly equality with the merchants he met, many of whose interests were identical or wrapped up with his own financial projects; discussing agriculture with the Tuscan farmers like a country gentleman, freely spending his money on the schemes of the working classes, or scattering it amongst beggars.

When he died his mourning fellow citizens inscribed on his tomb the words *Pater Patriae*, 'Father of his Country'. They had felt the benefits received through Cosimo's government: they had not realized, or were indifferent to, the chains with which he had bound them. Some bitter enemies he had, of course, aroused, but these with quiet but remorseless energy he had swept from his path. It was his custom to sap the fortunes of possible rivals by immense exactions—to make them pay in fact for the liberal government, for which he would afterwards receive the praise, while drawing away their friends and supporters by bribery and threats. At last, ruined and deserted, they would be driven from the city; and here even Cosimo did not rest, since his influence at foreign courts enabled him to hunt his prey from one refuge to another until they died, impotently cursing the name of Medici, a warning to malcontents of the length and breadth of a private citizen's revenge.

The Medici, it has been said, 'used taxes as other men use their swords', and the charge of deliberate corruption that has been brought against them is undeniable. 'It is better to injure the city than to ruin it,' once declared Cosimo himself, adding cynically, 'It takes more to direct a government than to sit and tell one's beads.'

Neither he nor his descendants were the type of ruler represented by Charlemagne or Alfred the Great. Their ideals were frankly low, with self-interest in the foreground, however skilfully disguised. When this has been admitted, however, it should be also remembered that Cosimo employed no army of hired ruffians to terrorize fellow citizens as the Visconti had done. Florence was willing to be corrupted, and if she lost the

freedom she had loved in theory, yet she rose under the benevolent despotism of the Medici to a greater height of material and political prosperity than ever before or since in her history. 'The authority that they possessed in Florence and throughout Christendom', says Machiavelli, 'was not obtained without being merited.'

It was under the fostering care of the Medici that Florence, more than any of the other Italian states, became the home of the intellectual Renaissance, from which the 'New Learning' was to radiate out across the world. This intellectual movement was twofold. Still under mediaeval influence, it began at first by finding its inspiration in the past, and so introduced a great classical revival, in which manuscripts of Greek and Latin authors and statues of gods and nymphs were almost as much revered as relics of the saints in an earlier age. Rich men hastened on journeys to the East in order to purchase half-burned fragments of literature from astonished Greeks, while in the lecture-halls of Italy eager pupils clamoured for fresh light on ancient philosophy and history. So great was the enthusiasm that it is said one famous scholar's hair turned white with grief when he learned of the shipwreck of a cargo of classical books.

Cosimo de Medici had been a 'friend and patron of learned men'; but it was in the time of his grandson, Lorenzo 'the Magnificent', that the Renaissance reached its height in Florence. It was Lorenzo who founded the 'Platonic Academy' in imitation of the old academies of Greek philosophers, an assembly that became the battle-ground of the sharpest and most brilliant intellects of the day. Here were fought word-tournaments, often venomous in the intensity of their partisanship, between defenders of the views of Plato and of Aristotle: here were welcomed like princes cultured Greeks, driven into exile by Mahometan invasion, certain of crowded and enthusiastic audiences if only they were prepared to lecture on the literary treasures of their race. The enthusiasm recalled the days when Abelard held Paris spellbound by his reasoning on theology, but showed how far away had slipped the age of dialectics.

The last great name amongst the schoolmen is that of Duns Scotus, a Franciscan of the thirteenth century, who raised the process of logical reasoning to such a fine art that it has been said of him, 'he reasoned scholasticism out of human reach'. Ordinary theologians could not dispute with him, since it made their brains reel even to try and follow his arguments, so at last they snapped their fingers at him, crying, 'Oh, Duns! Duns!' Thus by his excessive skill in intellectual juggling he reduced himself and his subject to absurdity, and 'Dunce' has passed down to posterity as a fitting name for some one unreasonably stupid.

Scholasticism, the glory of mediaeval lecture-halls, held no thrill or charm for men of the Renaissance, and though Aristotle was still revered and a great deal of labour expended on trying to make his views and those of Plato match with current religious beliefs, yet the spirit that underlay this attempt was wholly different to the efforts of mediaeval minds.

'Salvation', 'The City of God'—such words and phrases had been keys to the thought of the Middle Ages from St. Augustine to St. Dominic and St. Thomas Aquinas. To Renaissance minds there was but one master-word, 'Humanity'.

What message had these classical philosophers, that tradition held had lived in a golden age, for struggling humanity more than a thousand years later? The men and women of the Renaissance, as they put this question, hoped that the answers they discovered would agree with the Faith that the Church had taught them; but there was no longer the same insistence that they must or be disregarded as heresy. The interest in an immortal soul had become mingled with interest in what was human and transitory, with the beauty and charm of this life as well as with the glory of the next.

Searching after beauty, no longer under the stern school-mistress 'tradition', but led by that will-o'-the-wisp 'literary instinct', the poets and authors under the influence of the Renaissance gradually turned from the use of Latin and Greek to that more natural medium of expression, their own language.

This was the second aspect of the 'New Learning', the disappearance of the belief that Latin and Greek alone were

literary, and the gradual linking up of mediaeval with modern scholarship by the discovery that the growth of national ideals and aspirations could best be expressed in a living national tongue. The forerunners of this movement lived long before the period that we usually call the Renaissance. Thus Dante, greatest of mediaeval minds, was inspired to employ his native Italian in his masterpiece, the *Divina Commedia*, that, had his genius been less original, might have been merely a classical imitation. Petrarch, the friend of Rienzi and lover of liberty, who lived at the papal court at Avignon, was half-ashamed of his Italian sonnets, yet it is by their charm still more than by his Latin letters that he lives to-day, as Boccaccio by the witty easy-flowing style of his tales.

These are the names of literary 'immortals', and perhaps it may seem strange to find, when we pass from them to the 'New Learning' itself, that the greater part of the works published by members of the 'Platonic Academy' and other intellectual circles are now as dead as the dialectics of the schoolmen. Yet it is still harder, if we turn their pages, to believe that such florid sentences and long-drawn arguments could ever have stirred men's blood to a frenzy of enthusiasm or passion. The explanation lies in the fact that for all the charm of its newly-won freedom, the Renaissance, on its literary side, was not a time of creation but of criticism and inquiry. Its leaders were too busy clearing away outworn traditions, collecting material for fresh thought, and laying literary foundations, to build themselves with any breadth of vision. Where they paused exhausted, or failed, the 'giants' of the modern world were able to erect their masterpieces.

Lorenzo 'the Magnificent' himself we can remember for the genuine love of nature and poetry apparent in his sonnets, but his claim to remain immortal in the world's history must rest, not on his literary achievements, but on his generous patronage and appreciation of scholars and artists, as well as on the political wisdom that made him the first statesman of his day.

If the literature of the Renaissance was mainly experimental in character, painting was pre-eminently its finished glory—the



Boccaccio relating the misfortune of the great

From a fifteenth-century miniature in Brit. Mus. Add. 35321. 284



St. Francis appearing to Bishop Guido, and the vision of a dying monk

From Giotto's picture in Florence

representation of that sense of beauty in nature and in human life from which the Middle Ages had turned away, as from a snare set by the Devil to distract souls from Paradise. Here again, in painting, there is a twofold aspect: the artist mind seeking in the past as well as aspiring to the future for inspiration to guide his brush. It was in the life of St. Francis, 'the little Brother of Assisi', that Giotto, the great forerunner of the 'new' art, found that sense of humanity idealized that spurred him to break away from the old conventional Byzantine models, stiff, decorative, and inhuman, in order to attempt the realization of life as he saw it around him in the street and field.

Cimabue, a famous Florentine painter, had found Giotto as a shepherd lad, cutting pictures of the sheep grouped round him with a stone upon the rockside. He carried the boy away to be his apprentice, but the pupil soon excelled the master and not merely Florence but all Italy heard of his wondrous colours and designs. 'He took nature for his guide,' says Leonardo da Vinci; and many are the tales of this kindly peasant genius, small and ugly in appearance but full of the joy and humour of the world that he studied so shrewdly. The Angevin King Robert of Naples once asked him to suggest a symbol of his own turbulent Southern kingdom, whereupon the artist drew a donkey saddled, sniffing at another saddle lying on the ground. 'Such are your subjects,' he remarked, 'that every day would seek a new master.' No politician could have made a more fitting summary of mediaeval Naples.

Giotto's chief fame to-day lies in his frescoes of the life of St. Francis on the walls of the double chapel at Assisi and in the Franciscan Church of Santa Croce in Florence. Most of them, damaged by the action of time and weather on the rough plaster, have been repaired to their disadvantage, though a few remain unharmed to show the painter's clear, delicate colouring and boldness of outline. To the average sightseer to-day they seem perhaps just legendary pictures, more or less crude in design, but when Giotto painted we must remember that the crowds who watched his brush in breathless admiration read as they gazed the story of the most human of saints—a man who had but

lately walked amongst the Umbrian hills, and whose words and deeds were to them more vivid than many a living utterance.

To understand what the genius of Giotto meant to his own day we must consider the stiff unreality of former art, just as we cannot realize the greatness of Columbus by thinking of a modern voyage from the Continent to America, but only by recalling the primitive navigation of his time. Giotto, like Columbus, had many imitators and followers, some of them famous names, but the pioneer work that he had done for art was commemorated at the Renaissance when, by the orders of Lorenzo de Medici, a Latin epitaph was placed on his tomb containing these words: 'Lo! I am he by whom dead Art was restored to life . . . by whom Art became one with Nature.'

It would be impossible to condense satisfactorily in a few short paragraphs the triumphant history of Renaissance painting, the rapid development of which Giotto and his 'school' had made practicable, or even to give a slight sketch of the artists on whom that history depends. Never before has so much genius been crowded into so few years; but before we leave this pre-eminent age in modern Art, there is one arresting figure who must be described, a man who more than any other embodies the spirit of the Renaissance at its best, Leonardo da Vinci, 'foremost amongst the supreme masters of the world'.

Leonardo 'the Florentine', as he liked to call himself, was born in the fortified village of Vinci midway between Florence and Pisa. The illegitimate son of a notary, born as it would seem to no great heritage, he was yet early distinguished amongst his fellows.

'The richest gifts of Heaven,' says Vasari, 'are sometimes showered upon the same person, and beauty, grace, and genius, are combined in so rare a manner in one man that, to whatever he may apply himself, every action is so divine that all others are left behind him.' This reads like exaggeration until we turn to the facts that are known about Da Vinci's life, and find he is all indeed Vasari described – a giant amongst his fellows in physique and intellect, and still more in practical imagination. So strong

was he that with his fingers he could bend a horseshoe straight, so full of potent charm for all things living that his presence in a room would draw men and women out of sadness, while in the streets the wildest horses would willingly yield to his taming power. Of the cruelty that rests like a stain on the Middle Ages there was in him no trace—rather that hot compassion for suffering and weakness so often allied with strength. It is told of him as of St. Francis that he would buy the singing-birds sold in cages in the street that he might set them free.

His copy-books are full of the drawings of horses, and probably his greatest work of art, judged by the opinion of his day and the rough sketches still extant of his design, was the statue he modelled for Ludovico 'Il Moro' of Francesco Sforza, the famous *condottiere* poised on horseback. Unfortunately it perished almost at once, hacked in pieces by the French soldiery when they drove Ludovico from his capital some years later.

Leonardo has been called the 'true founder of the Italian School of oil-painting'. His most celebrated picture, 'The Last Supper', painted in oils as an experiment, on the walls of a convent near Milan, began to flake away, owing to the damp, even before the artist's death. It has been so constantly re-touched since, that very little, save the consummate art in the arrangement of the figures, and the general dramatic simplicity of the scene depicted, is left to show the master-hand. Even this is enough to convey his genius. Amongst the most famous of his works that still remain are his 'Mona Lisa', sometimes called 'La Gioconda', the portrait of a Neapolitan lady, and the 'Madonna of the Rocks', both in the gallery of the Louvre.

Leonardo excelled his age in engineering, in his knowledge of anatomy and physics, in his inventive genius that led him to guess at the power of steam, and struggle over models of aeroplanes, at which his generation laughed and shrugged their shoulders. He himself took keen pleasure in such versatility, but his art, that held other men spellbound with admiration, would plunge him in depression. 'When he sat down to paint he seemed overcome with fear', says one account of him, and describes how he would alter and finally destroy, in despair of

attaining his ideal, canvases that those about him considered already perfect. It is little wonder then that few finished works came from the brush of this indefatigable worker; but his influence on his age and after-centuries was none the less prodigious.

Leonardo stands for all that was best in the Renaissance—its zest for truth, its eager vitality and love of experiment, but most of all for its sympathy. He is the embodiment of that motto that seems more than any other to express the Renaissance outlook: *Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto*—‘I am a man, and nothing pertaining to mankind is foreign to my nature.’

Italy, we have seen, was pre-eminently the home of the Renaissance—the teacher destined to give the world the ‘New Learning’ as she had preserved the old during the Dark Ages. In those sunny days, when Lorenzo ‘the Wise’, as well as ‘the Magnificent’, ruled in Florence, and by his statesmanship preserved so neat a balance of politics that the peninsula, divided by five ambitious Powers, yet remained at peace, a glorious future seemed assured; but in 1492, the year that Columbus discovered America, Lorenzo died. ‘The peace of Italy is dead also,’ exclaimed a statesman with prophetic insight, when he heard the news: and indeed the stability and moderation that Lorenzo and his house had symbolized was soon threatened.

In Florence, Wisdom was succeeded by Folly in the person of Piero, Lorenzo’s son, an Orsini on his mother’s side, and an inheritor to the full of the haughty, intractable temperament of the Roman baronage. Playing his football in the streets amongst the shopkeepers’ open booths, insolent to the merchants his father had courted, reckless of advice, Piero was soon to learn that a despotism, such as that of the Medici, founded not on armies but on public goodwill, falls at the first adverse wind. This wind, a whirlwind for Italy, blew from France; but it was Ludovico ‘Il Moro’, not the young Medici, who actually sowed the seed.

‘Nervous and cringing,’ as Philip de Commines had described

him, Ludovico had found himself involved by his treatment of his nephew in a fog of suspicions and fears. Left to himself, uneducated and ailing in health, Gian Galeazzo Sforza would never have dared to thwart his ambitious uncle; but he had married a Neapolitan princess of stronger fibre, a granddaughter of Ferrante I, and when she complained to her relations, and they in turn remonstrated with 'Il Moro', trouble began.

It seemed to Ludovico, assailed by secret visions of Naples allying herself with Milan's most dreaded enemy Venice, or even with Florence and Rome to secure revenge and his own downfall, that he must hastily give up the idea that Lorenzo had advocated of a balance of power within the peninsula itself, and look instead beyond the mountains for help and support. Mediaeval annals could give many instances of Popes and former rulers of Milan who had taken this same unpatriotic step, while a ready excuse could be found for invoking the aid of France, on account of the French King's descent from the Second House of Anjou, that Alfonso V, Ferrante's father, had driven from Naples.¹

Acting, then, from motives of personal ambition, not from any wide conception of statecraft, Ludovico persuaded Charles VIII of France, son of Louis XI, that honour and glory lay in his renewal of the old Angevin claims to Naples, and in 1494, with a great flourish of trumpets, the French expedition started across the Alps. 'I will assist in making you greater than Charlemagne,' Ludovico had boasted, when dangling his bait before the young French King's eyes; but the results of what he had intended were so far beyond his real expectations as to give him new cause for 'cringing and fear'. 'The French,' said Pope Alexander VI sarcastically, 'needed only a child's wooden spurs and chalk to mark up their lodgings for the night.'

Almost without opposition, and where they encountered it achieving easy victories, the French marched through Italy from north to south, entering Florence, that had driven Piero and his brothers into exile, compelling the hasty submission of Rome,

¹ See Genealogical Table, p. 382.

sweeping the Aragonese from Naples, whose fickle population came out with cheers to greet their new conquerors.

Certainly the causes of this victory were not due to the young conqueror himself, with his ungainly body and over-developed head, with his swollen ambitions and feeble brain, with his pious talk of a crusade against the East, and the idle debauch for which he and his subjects earned unenviable notoriety. Commines, a Frenchman with a shrewd idea of his master's incompetence, believed that God must have directed the conquering armies, since the wisdom of man had nothing to say to it; but Italian historians found the cause of their country's humiliation in her political and military decadence.

We have seen how 'Companies' of hired soldiers held Italy in thrall during the fourteenth century; but with the passing of years what was once a serious business had become a complicated kind of chess with mercenary levies for pawns. Fifteenth-century *condottieri* were as great believers in war as ever Sir John Hawkwood; but, susceptible to the veneer of civilization that glosses the Renaissance, they had lost the mediaeval taste for bloodshed. What they retained was the desire to prolong indeterminate campaigns in order to draw their pay, while reducing the dangers and hardships involved to the least adequate pretence of real warfare. Here is Machiavelli's sarcastic commentary:

'They spared no effort,' he says, 'to relieve themselves and their men from fatigue and danger, not killing one another in battle but making prisoners . . . they would attack no town by night nor would those within make sorties against their besieging foes. Their camps were without rampart or trench. They fought no winter campaigns.'

Before the national levies of France, rough campaigners with no taste for military chess but only determined on as speedy a victory as possible, the make-believe armies of Italy were mown down like ninepins or ran away. Thus clashed two opposing systems—one real, the other by this time almost wholly artificial—and because of its noise and stir, 1494, the year of Charles VIII's invasion of Italy, is often taken as the boundary-

line between mediaeval and modern times, just as the year 476, when Romulus Augustulus gave up his crown, is accepted as the beginning of the Middle Ages. In both cases it is not the events of the actual year that can be said to have created the change. They are merely the culminating evidence of the end of an old order of things and the beginning of a new.

By 1494 Constantinople was in the hands of the Turks : Columbus had discovered America : John Gutenberg had invented his printing-press : Vasco da Gama was meditating his voyage to India. All these things were witness of 'a new birth', the infancy of a modern world ; but the year 1494 stands also as evidence of the death of an old, the mediaeval.

Stung by the oppression and insolence of their conquerors, Italian armies and intrigue were to drive the French in the years to come temporarily out of Naples ; but in spite of this success the effect of Charles VIII's military 'walk-over' was never to be effaced. Italy, in Roman times the centre of Europe from which all law and order had radiated, had clung to a fiction of this power and glory through mediaeval days. Now at last the sham was exposed, and before the forces of nationality her boasted supremacy collapsed. The centre of political gravity had changed, and with it the traditions and ideals for which the supremacy of Italy had stood.

Supplementary Dates. For Chronological Summary, see pp. 368-73.

Invention of Printing	1435
Caxton's Press	1474
The Aldine Press	1494
Duns Scotus	died 1308
Petrarch	1304-74
Giotto	1276 1337
Leonardo da Vinci	1452-1519
Ferrante I of Naples	died 1494
French Invasion of Italy	1494

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<i>Eastern Europe and Asia Minor.</i>	<i>France and Spain.</i>
475-491 Emperor Zeno.	
491-518 Emperor Anastasius.	481-511 Clovis, King of the Franks.
518-527 Emperor Justin I.	486 Battle of Soissons.
527-565 Emperor Justinian.	
565-578 Emperor Justin II.	
	585 Visigothic Conquest of Spain complete.
610-641 Emperor Heraclius.	
622 The 'Hijrah'.	
626 Siege of Constantinople by Chosroes.	
627 Battle of Nineveh.	
634 Battle of Yermuk.	
637 Jerusalem taken by the Moslems.	628-638 Dagobert I.
642-668 Emperor Constans II.	
668-685 Emperor Constantine IV (Pogonatus).	
685-695 } Justinian II.	
705-711 }	
715-717 Theodosius III.	712 Battle of Guadalete.
717-740 Leo 'the Isaurian'.	714-741 Charles Martel, 'Mayor of the Palace'.
	732 Battle of Poitiers.
	751 Dethronement of the Merovingians.
786-809 Haroun al-Raschid, Caliph of Bagdad.	768-814 Charlemagne, King of the Franks.
780-797 Emperor Constantine VI.	
797-802 Empress Irene.	
	814 840 Louis I 'the Pious'.
	842 Oath of Strasbourg.
	843 Treaty of Verdun.

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Eastern Europe and Asia Minor.

- 873-867 Rupture between Churches
of East and West.
- 867-886 Emperor Basil I.
- 1039 'Seljuk' Turks conquer
Caliphate of Bagdad.
- 1081-1118 Emperor Alexius Comme-
nus I.
- 1096-1099 The First Crusade.
- 1099 Capture of Jerusalem by
Crusaders.
- 1118 Order of Templars founded.
- 1146-1149 Second Crusade.
- 1187 Saladin takes Jerusalem.
- 1189-1192 Third Crusade.
- 1202 Fourth Crusade.
- 1204-1261 Latin Empire of Constanti-
nople.
- 1204-1260 Empire of Nicea.
- 1228-1229 Crusade of Frederick II.
- 1248-1256 Seventh Crusade. St. Louis
invades Egypt and Pales-
tine.

France and Spain.

- 880-888 Charles 'the Fat', Em-
peror of the West.
- 885 Siege of Paris by the North-
men.
- 909 Foundation of Cluni.
- 898-929 Charles 'the Simple'.
- 987-996 Hugh Capet, King of
France.
- 1031 Break up of Caliphate of
Cordova.
- 1138 St. Bernard attacks Abelard.
- 1153 Death of St. Bernard.
- 1180-1223 Philip II 'Augustus' of
France.
- 1204 Philip II conquers Nor-
mandy.
- 1209 Albigensian Crusade.
- 1212 The Children's Crusade.
- 1212 Battle of Las Navas de
Tolosa.
- 1214 Battle of Bouvines.
- 1226-1270 Louis IX of France (St.
Louis).
- 1230 Union of Leon and Castile.

Italy.

- 962 Otto I crowned Emperor of Rome.
- 1046 Synod of Sutri.
- 1060-1091 Norman Conquest of Sicily.
- 1073-1085 Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand).
- 1077 Humiliation of Henry IV at Canossa.
- 1088-1099 Pope Urban II.
- 1176 Battle of Legnano.
- 1183 Peace of Constance.
- 1198-1216 Pope Innocent III.
- 1210 Innocent III; excommunication of Otto IV.
- 1216-1227 Pope Honorius III.
- 1223 Foundation of the Franciscan Order.
- 1225 Treaty of San Germano.
- 1227-1241 Pope Gregory IX.
- 1243-1254 Pope Innocent IV.
- 1282 The Sicilian Vespers.

Central and Northern Europe.

- 871-901 Alfred 'the Great', King of Wessex.
- 878 Peace of Wedmore.
- 911-918 Emperor Conrad I.
- 919-936 Emperor Henry I 'the Fowler'.
- 936-973 Emperor Otto I.
- 955 Battle of Augsburg.
- 973-983 Emperor Otto II.
- 979-1016 Ethelred II 'the Redeless'.
- 983-1002 Emperor Otto III.
- 1003-1024 Emperor Henry II.
- 1017-1035 Cnut—King of England.
- 1024-1039 Emperor Conrad II.
- 1039-1056 Emperor Henry III.
- 1056-1106 Emperor Henry IV.
- 1066 Norman Conquest of England.
- 1106-1125 Emperor Henry V.
- 1122 Concordat of Worms.
- 1137-1152 Emperor Conrad III.
- 1153-1190 Emperor Frederick I—'Barbarossa'.
- 1170 Murder of Thomas Becket.
- 1190-1197 Emperor Henry VI.
- 1215-1250 Emperor Frederick II.
- 1215 Magna Charta.
- 1226 Teutonic Order moves to Prussia.
- 1256-1273 The 'Great Interregnum'.

372 Chronological Summary, 476-1494

Eastern Europe and Asia Minor.

- 1260-1282 Emperor Michael Paleologus.
 1270 Eighth Crusade. St. Louis invades North Africa.
 1291 Fall of Acre.

- 1370-1382 King Louis 'the Great' of Hungary and Poland.

- 1386 Union of Poland and Lithuania.
 1389 Battle of Kossovo.

- 1448-1453 Emperor Constantine XI.
 1453 Fall of Constantinople.

France and Spain.

- 1285-1314 Philip IV 'le Bel' of France.

- 1309-1376 The Babylonish Captivity.
 1312 Suppression of the Templars.

- 1337 Outbreak of the Hundred Years' War.
 1346 Battle of Creci.
 1347 English capture Calais.
 1347-1348 The Black Death.

- 1356 Battle of Poitiers.
 1358 The Jacquerie.
 1360 Treaty of Bretigni.
 1367 Battle of Navarette.

- 1415 Battle of Agincourt.

- 1419 Murder of John 'the Fearless'.

- 1420 Treaty of Troyes.

- 1430 Death of Jeanne d'Arc.
 1440 The Praguerie.

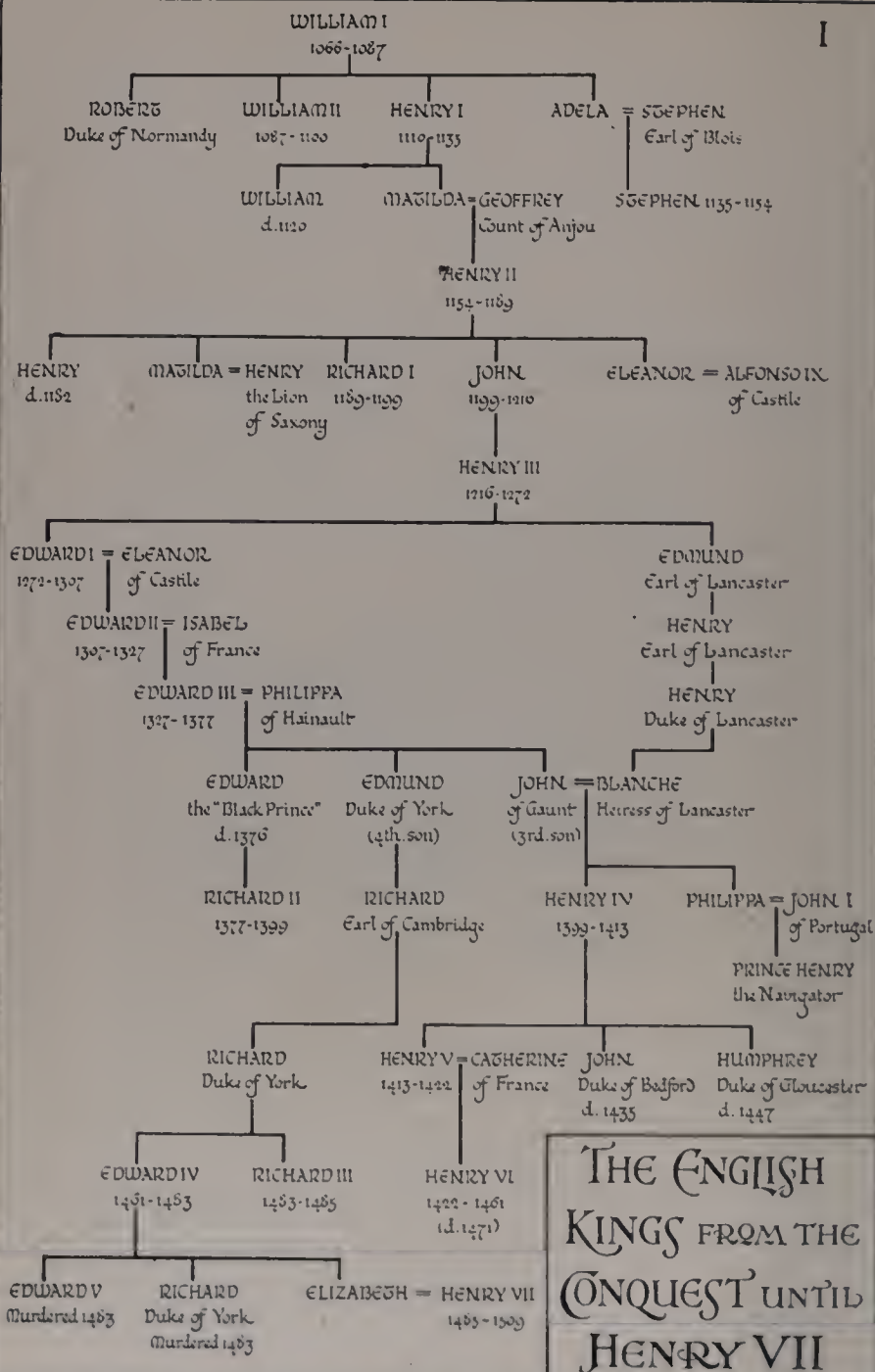
- 1453 End of the Hundred Years' War.
 1461-1483 Louis XI of France.
 1483-1498 Charles VIII.

- 1492 Columbus discovers America.
 1498 Vasco da Gama discovers Cape route to India.

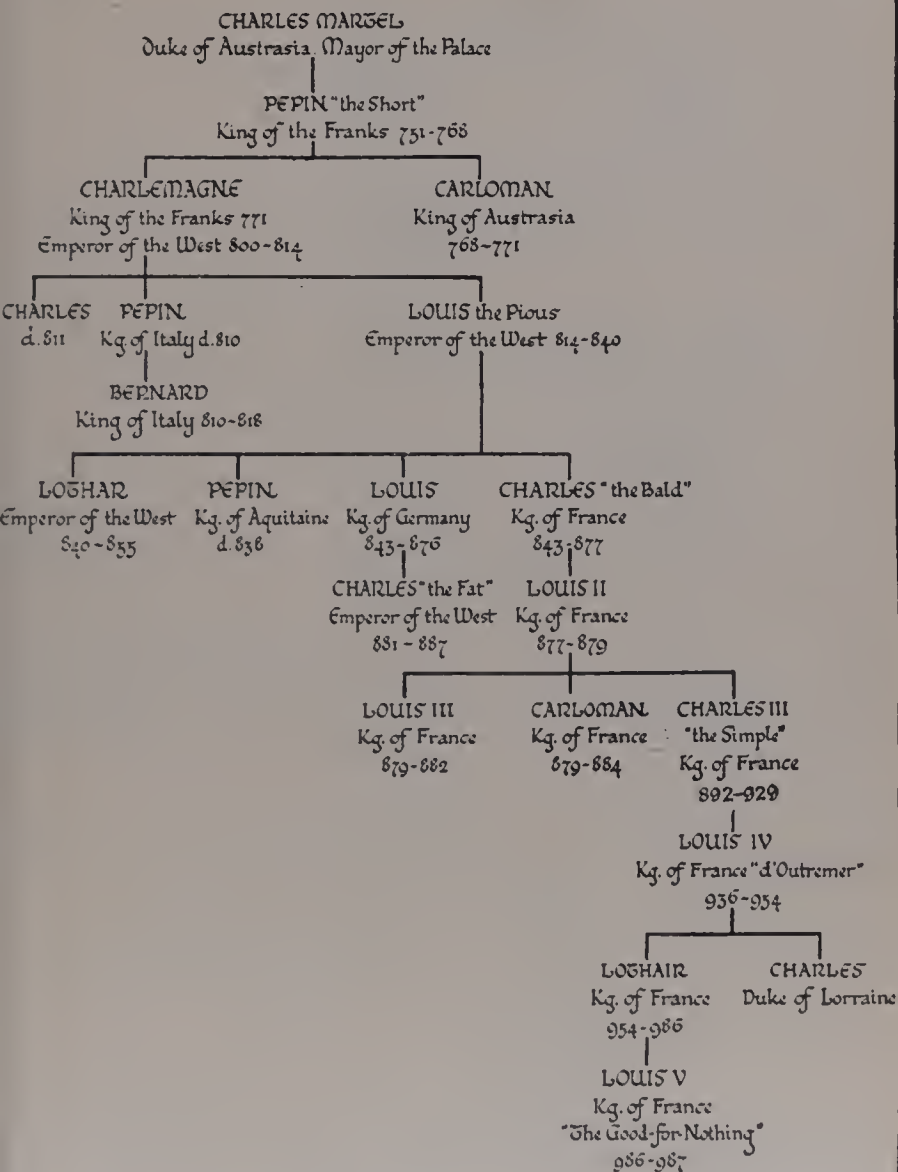
<i>Italy.</i>	<i>Central and Northern Europe.</i>
1294 Celestine V.	1273-1291 Emperor Rudolf I.
1294-1303 Boniface VIII.	1298-1308 Emperor Albert I.
	1309 Independence of Swiss Forest Cantons recognized.
	1314 Battle of Bannockburn.
	1315 Battle of Morgarten.
	1340 Battle of Sluys.
1347-1354 Rienzi founds the Holy Roman Republic.	1347-1378 Emperor Charles IV.
	1356 The Golden Bull.
1377 Pope Gregory XI returns to Rome from Avignon.	1370 Treaty of Stralsund.
1378-1417 The Great Schism.	1380 Wycliffe translates the Bible.
1380 Battle of Chioggia.	1397 The Union of Kalmar.
1395 Gian Galeazzo Visconti becomes Duke of Milan.	1410-1437 Emperor Sigismund.
	1410 Battle of Tannenberg.
1417 Election of Pope Martin V.	1414-1418 Council of Constance.
End of the Schism.	1415 Death of John Huss.
	1431 Council of Basel.
	1436 John Gutenberg invents the Printing Press.
1469-1492 Lorenzo de Medici rules Florence.	1438-1439 Emperor Albert II.
	1440-1493 Emperor Frederick III.
1494 Charles VIII invades Italy.	1455-1485 The Wars of the Roses.
	1476 Battles of Granson and Morat.
	1477 Battle of Nancy.

MEDIAEVAL GENEALOGIES

- 1 The Kings of England from the Conquest until Henry VII
- 2 The House of Charlemagne
- 3 The House of Capet
- 4 The House of Valois
- 5 The Norman Rulers of Sicily
- 6 The First & Second House of Anjou in Naples
- 7 The House of Aragon in Spain & Naples
- 8 The House of Castile & Leon
- 9 The Gueifs & Ghibellines
- 10 The Dukes of Burgundy & House of Habsburg
- 11 The House of Luxemburg
- 12 The Paleologi

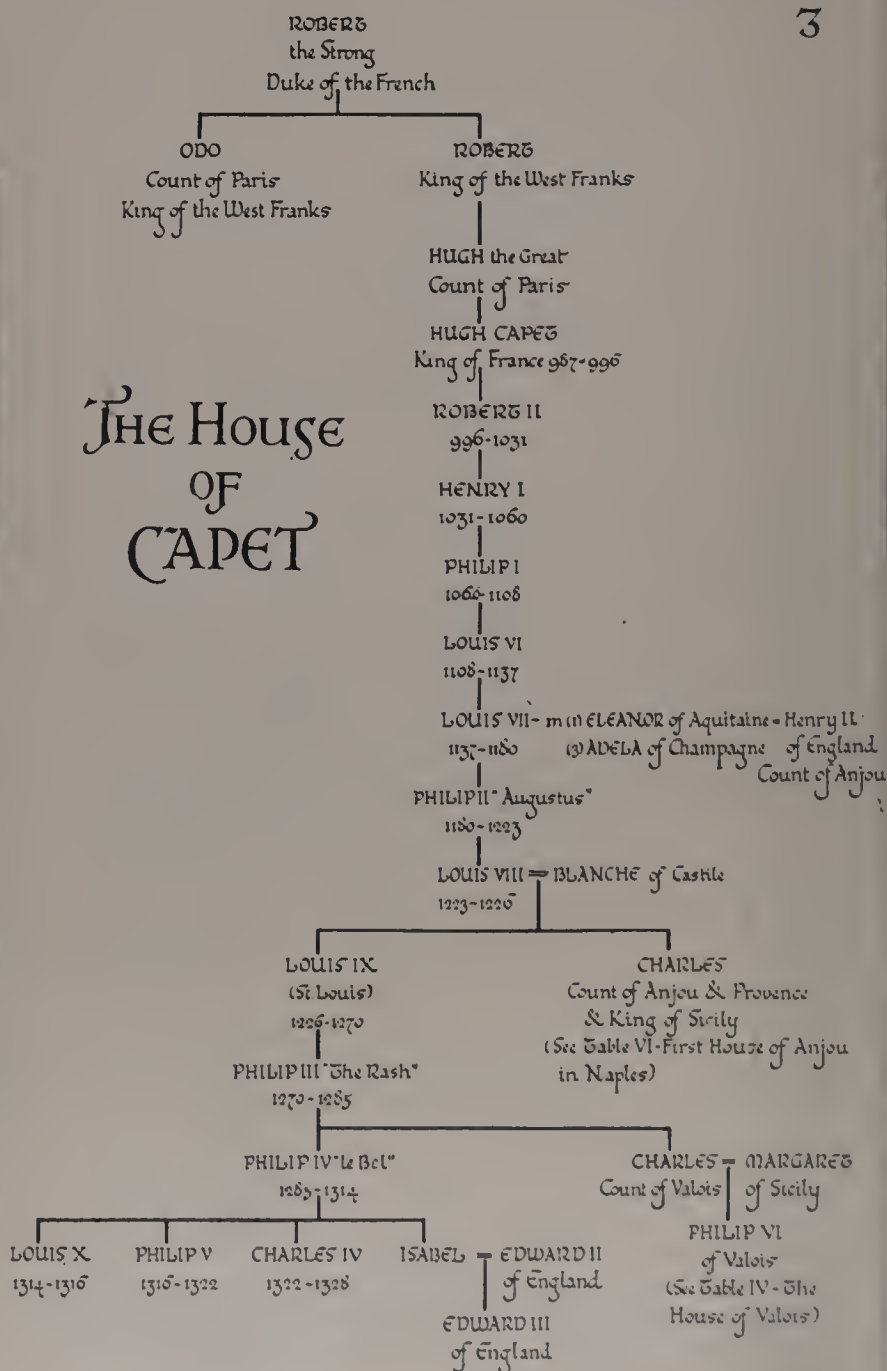


THE ENGLISH
KINGS FROM THE
CONQUEST UNTIL
HENRY VII



THE HOUSE OF CHARLEMAGNE

The House OF CAPET



THE HOUSE OF VALOIS

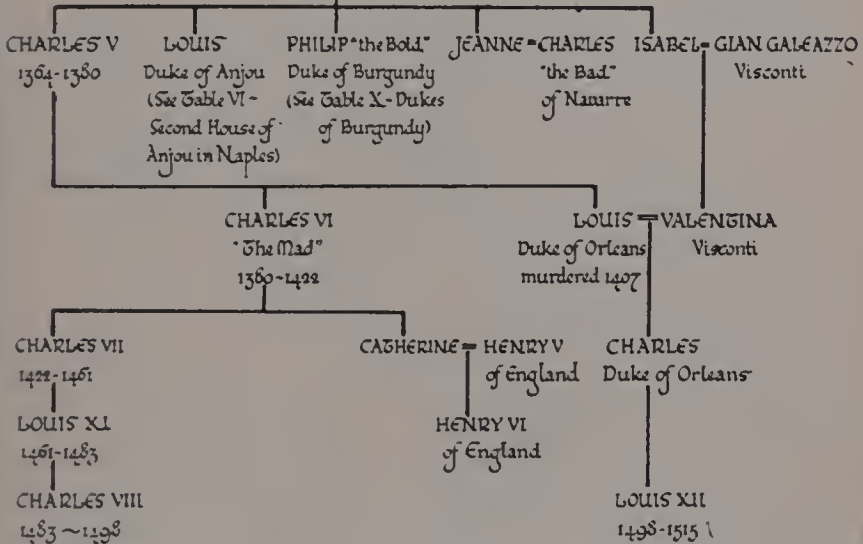
CHARLES
Count of Valois

PHILIP VI

1328-1350

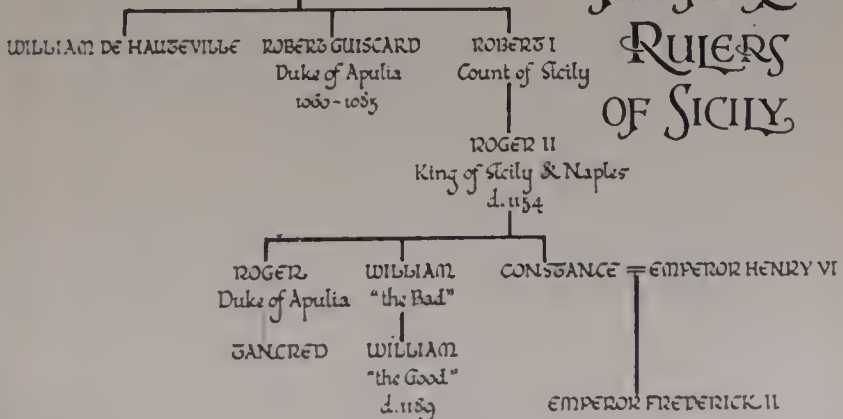
JOHN "the Good"

1350-1364

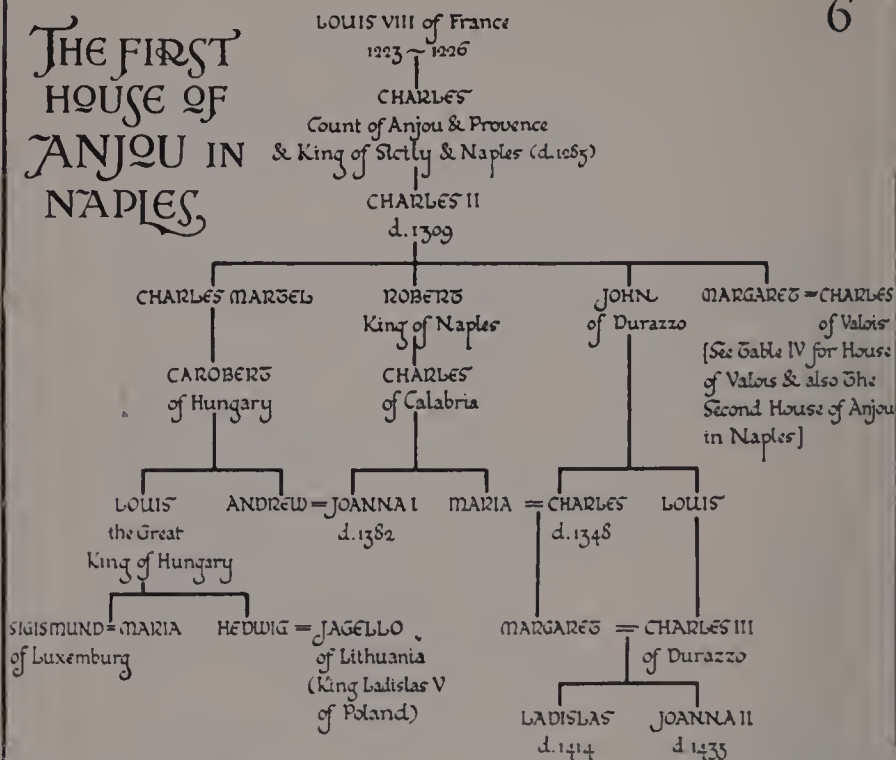


THE NORMAN RULERS OF SICILY

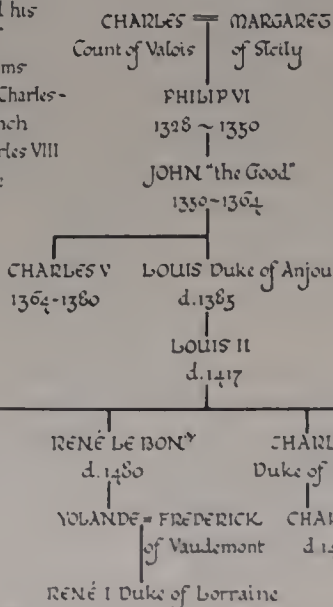
TANCRED DE HAUTEVILLE



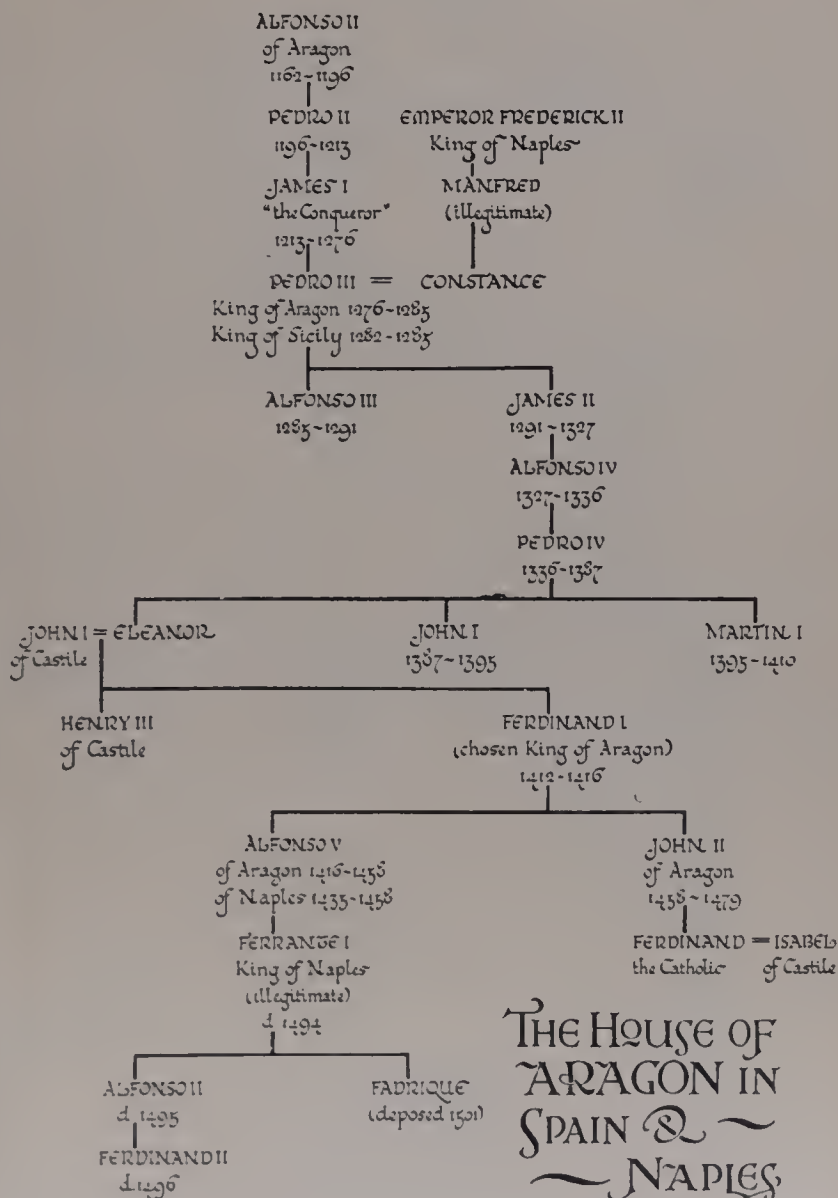
THE FIRST HOUSE OF ANJOU IN NAPLES

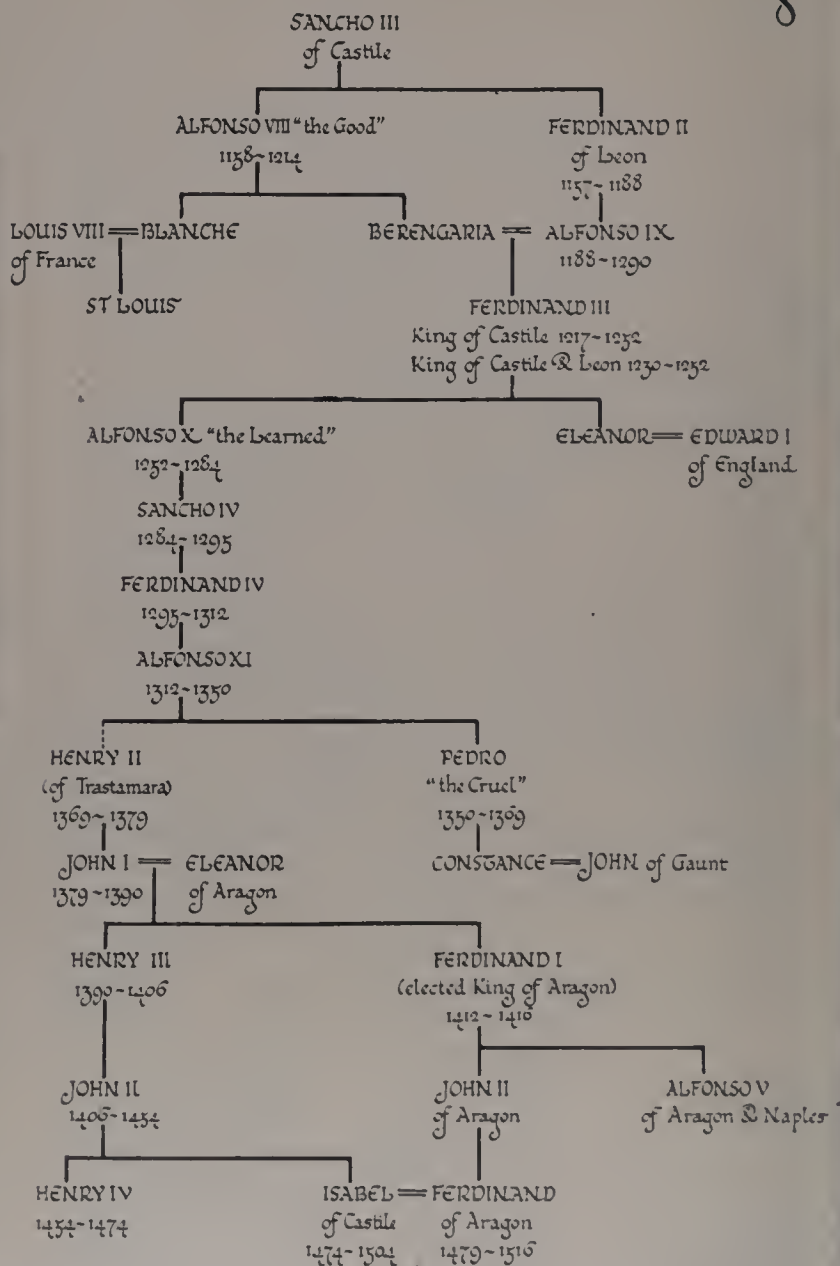


René le Bon disinherited his grandson René Duke of Lorraine and left his claims to Naples to his nephew Charles - with remainder to the French Crown. In this way Charles VIII was enabled to claim the Neapolitan throne.

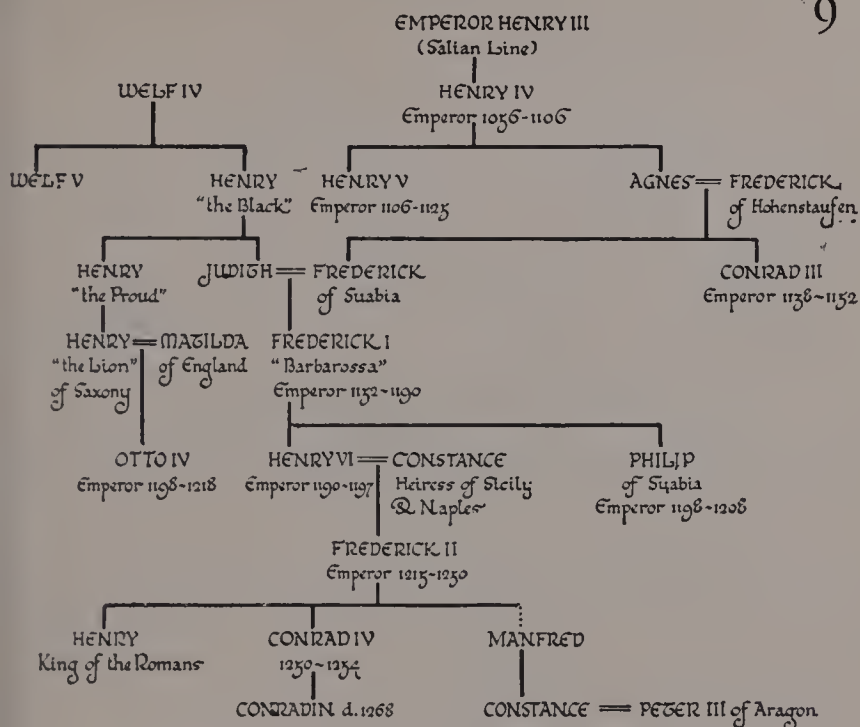


THE SECOND HOUSE OF ANJOU IN NAPLES

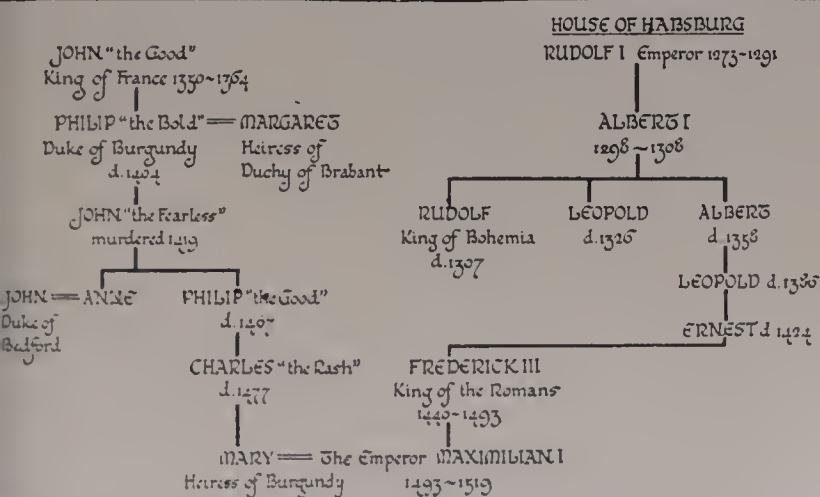




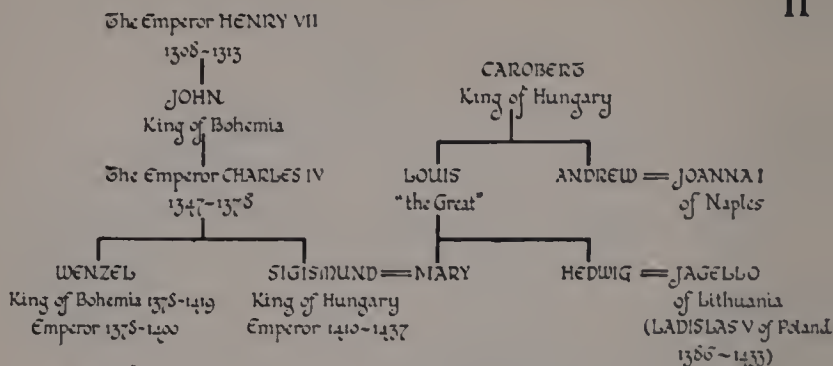
THE HOUSE OF CASTILE & LEON



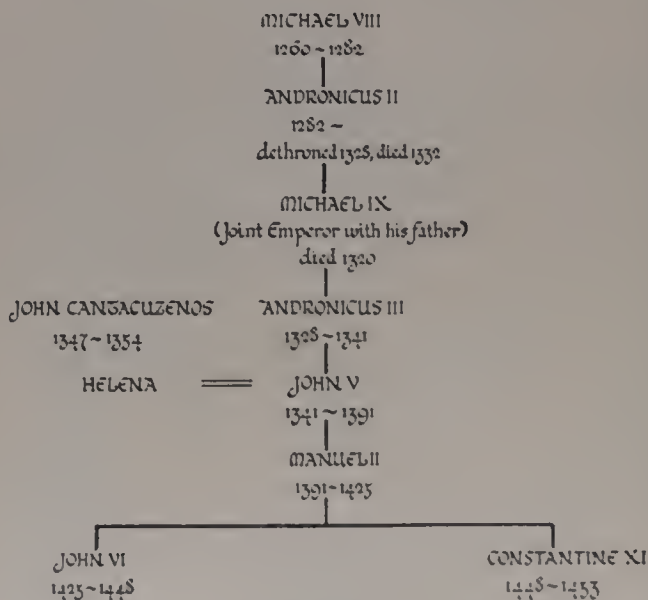
THE GUELF & Ghibellines



THE DUKES OF BURGUNDY & HOUSE OF HABSBURG



THE HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG



THE PALEOLOGI

A HISTORY OF
EUROPE
AND THE MODERN WORLD
1492-1914

I

THE ITALIAN WARS OF FRANCE AND THE EMPIRE

§ I

THE spirit of adventure has never died in Europe ; and it is probably due to this, as well as to the inheritance of Greek and Latin civilization, that Europe has been, for a thousand years, the political and social centre of the world. The courage and curiosity that took the questing Vikings to America in the tenth century, and Marco Polo to the border of Tibet in the thirteenth, were the same as brought to pass the Revival of Learning at the Renaissance, and the scientific discoveries of more recent times. Yet in spite of the Medieval adventurers, and in spite of the Crusades, those noble enterprises in Asia, the vision of Europe in the Middle Ages had remained bounded by the frontiers of Europe. But when Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 the eyes of the Europeans were turned to all the ends of the earth. The Indies, East and West, were calling. Ten years later Vasco da Gama sailed to the coasts of Madras ; and in 1492 Columbus found America at the island of Hispaniola. The wind, blowing where it listed, took every great adventurer to a desired end.

The tempest flung me seaward,
And pinned and bade me hold
The course I might not alter—
And men esteemed me bold !
The calms embayed my quarry,
The fog-wreath sealed his eyes ;
The dawn-wind brought my top-sails—
And men esteemed me wise.¹

In 1497 Giovanni Cabot, authorized by letters patent from Henry VII of England, sailed from Bristol with Sebastian, his son, and discovered Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia.

¹ Kipling, *The Song of Diego Valdez*.

§ 2

Yet although King Ferdinand the Spaniard and King John the Portuguese and even Henry VII of England turned their eyes to look outward across the great oceans, it was not so with all the European monarchs. When Charles VIII of France, on the 2nd September 1494 (two years after the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent of Florence), marched his army over the grand Alpine pass, the Mont Genève, and descended upon the plains of Northern Italy, he provoked a struggle for the balance of power that has never since wholly ceased. For the chief States of Italy—Florence, Venice, Milan, Naples, the Papacy—had to defend themselves; and also the King of Spain, and the Emperor, the supreme lord of Germany, had to intervene, lest France should grow too great.

Charles went through Italy as a knife goes through cheese. He entered Naples in February 1495. He could not, however, hold that populous city and kingdom so far from his own country. On the way back, at Fornovo, where 'on both sides of the Taro the valley of Vergerra broadens out down towards the Po',¹ he won a victory in July 1495 against the Venetians and Milanese. Then he returned home to continue his mad pleasures and to die. France lost all her Italian gains, but the seed of European war remained.

The Italian Wars were not nearly over. The next French king, Louis XII, renewed the struggle in 1499. He conquered Milan from the Ducal family of Sforza, and the Kingdom of Naples from the House of Anjou-Aragon. But again, by 1504, Naples had been lost. In 1511 Pope Julius II formed a 'Holy League', with the Papacy, Spain, Venice, and, later, England, as members, to expel the French wholly from Italy. On Easter Day (11 April 1512) the French won a hard-fought victory at Ravenna against the Holy League; but their brilliant leader, Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII, only twenty-three years old, was killed.

The battle of Ravenna, although a victory for the French,

¹ Ranke, *Latin and Teutonic Nations*, Book I, Chap. II.

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Legend:
M. : Mantua
L. : Lucca
F. : Florence
S. : Siena

Map Labels:
Regions: DUCHY of MILAN, REPUBLIC of VENICE, PAPAL STATES, KINGDOM OF NAPLES, SICILY.
Cities: Milan, Mantua, Pavia, Bologna, Ravenna, Florence, Pisa, Siena, Rome, Capua, Naples, Salerno, Bari, Palermo, Messina.
Islands: CORSICA, SARDINIA.
Mountains/Passes: St Bernard Pass, Simplon Pass, Gotthard Pass.
Other: Euba.

Title: The ITALIAN WARS 1494-1559

Scale: English Miles
0 50 100 150 200

Louis tried to live the life of a young man with her, and died of too much dancing, after three months of marriage (1 January 1515). The new king, Francis I, who was twenty years old, at once renewed the struggle, and invaded the plain of Lombardy. He was opposed by forces of the Pope, Spain, Florence, and the Swiss Confederation. It was the Switzers who met him in pitched

battle. In the twilight of the 13th September 1515 and throughout the 14th September they fought, and ten thousand of them died, on the field of Marignano: the rest retreated. 'Even in their flight the Swiss showed their heroic spirit.'¹

It was a marvel to see the routed Swiss return to Milan—one had lost an arm, another a leg, a third was maimed by the cannon. They carried one another tenderly and seemed like the sinners whom Dante pictures in the ninth circle of the *Inferno*.²

The battle of Marignano shattered the domination which the Swiss Confederation was at that time exercising over a large portion of Lombardy: the possession to-day of the Canton of Ticino is all that remains of it. Marignano also gave the Duchy of Milan to the French, but not for long. The Italian Wars continued. Ferdinand of Spain died in 1516 and was succeeded by his grandson Charles. In 1519 Charles was elected Emperor; and thus the resources of Germany as well as Spain could be directed to ending French dominion in Italy.

The struggle between France on the one hand and the Habsburg Emperor Charles, who was also King of Spain, on the other endured for forty years more. There were intervals of peace, but these never lasted long. On the 24th February 1525 Francis I was defeated by the army of Charles V (the Emperor himself was not present) at Pavia. Francis himself was captured, but was released next year on promising to give Burgundy to Charles. This promise Francis broke, being absolved from his oath by Pope Clement VII.

After the release of Francis, Clement had joined a Holy League (France, Venice, Florence, the Papacy) formed with the object of restoring the balance of power in Italy. This brought down upon the Pope the correction of the Emperor. In 1527 the Imperial Army, commanded by a renegade French nobleman, the Constable of Bourbon, drew near to the Holy City. The

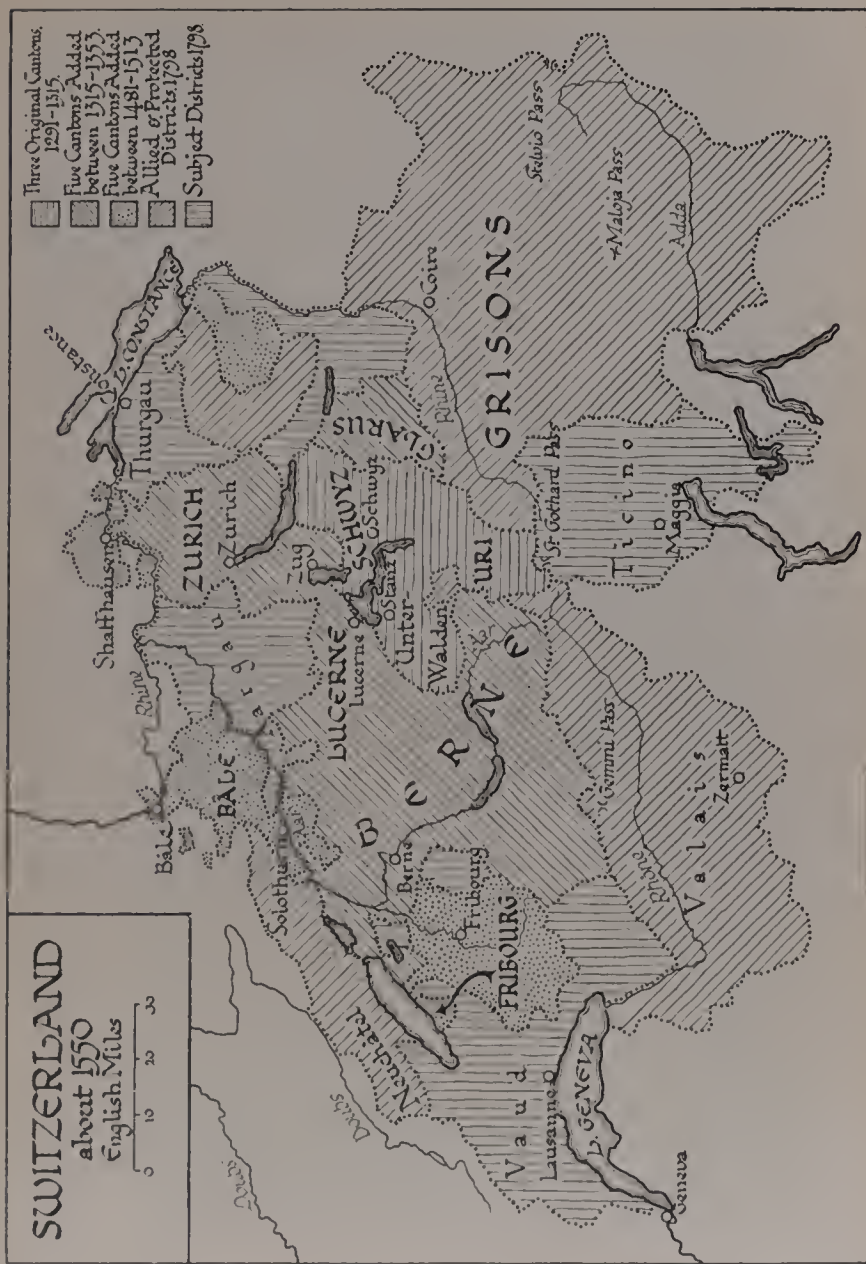
¹ Creighton, *History of the Papacy* (1887), iv. 211.

² Prates, *Storia di Milano*, p. 343, quoted by Creighton, *ibid.* The reference is to Dante, *Inferno*, Canto XXVIII, in which religious schismatics and the fomenters of political and social discord are described as being terribly maimed and lacerated.

SWITZERLAND

about 1550

English Miles



Emperor, apparently, wished only to force the Pope to make peace ; but the troops, lacking their pay and eager for plunder, pressed onwards. On the 6th May they broke into Rome and sacked it for eight days. The horrible deeds then done and the wanton destruction made among the works of art of that most lovely and serene city are considered to mark the end of the Italian Renaissance. But the General who could not or would not control his troops when they went to the assault of Rome was dead. Benvenuto Cellini, the splendid artist in metal-work, was on the wall of Rome with some companions taking part in the defence. As the fierce Imperial soldiery advanced to the assault, 'Would to God I had never come', cried one of his companions, and turned to flee. But Benvenuto, who tells the story, checked him saying : ' Since you have brought me here, I must play the man.'

And aiming my arquebuse where I saw the enemy was thickest, I fired at one I saw raised above the others. . . . When we had each fired twice I crept stealthily up to the parapet, and saw an extraordinary tumult among the enemy, for one of our shots had knocked down Bourbon. And, so far as I could hear afterwards, he it was whom I had seen raised above the others.¹

Francis I died at Rambouillet, one of the many palaces built during the French Renaissance, on the 31st March 1547. His son Henry II succeeded to him and took up the sorry tale of the Italian War. This war was a bottomless pit, draining away the resources of France, and preventing the French monarchy from doing the most needful thing, which was to strengthen the eastern frontier of France.

It was there that the weakness of France lay. The Emperor through dominating Lorraine, Alsace, and Franche-Comté approached dangerously near to Paris. In October 1551 a fateful Council was held by King Henry II. It was believed that Charles V intended to occupy with troops three episcopal cities of Lorraine, a Duchy within the Holy Roman Empire. These cities were Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The advice of the Maréchal de Vieilleville was that the French king should forestall Charles

¹ *Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini*, Book I, Chap. XXXIV.



' This policy aimed at gaining the " Natural Frontiers " , and especially the Rhine '

by himself seizing those cities, and thus strengthen France's eastern frontier.

The result of this epoch-making Council was that Henry II turned his back on the 'fatal fascination' of Italy, and directed France to the policy which she has followed ever since. This policy aimed at gaining the 'natural frontiers', and especially the Rhine. On the 13th March 1552 Henry II invaded the Duchy of Lorraine. Metz, Toul, and Verdun fell to the French king's arms. Charles V hastened to redeem the losses. The siege of Metz by Charles (October 1552 to January 1553) was the greatest failure of his reign. At last the sixty years of intermittent warfare came to an end with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, between France and Spain, 3rd April 1559. Henry II abandoned to Spain the coveted Italian possessions. The question of Metz, Toul, and Verdun was reserved; it was not definitely settled in International Law until at the Peace of Westphalia the 'Three Bishoprics' were formally annexed to France. But France actually possessed them from the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Frenchmen at the time were incensed at the treaty, considering it to involve the surrender of the Italian conquests of sixty years of war. As a matter of fact the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis diverted French foreign policy into its proper channel, that of aiming at a strong eastern boundary. Without the Vosges modern France would be helpless.

§ 3. *Machiavelli*

At the end of the fifteenth century feudalism no longer existed as a political system, although the nobility of various countries continued to use the social and legal rights of feudalism until 1789 and later. The Holy Roman Empire, which had a vague pre-eminence among the States of Europe, was only a feeble force. The Papacy had a juster claim to wield influence as an International Power, but it had lost prestige owing to the worldliness of the Renaissance Popes; and it was soon to lose more, when the Reformation came.

A new, a freer Europe was rising out of the rigid framework of the Middle Ages. Sovereignty, as Grotius said about a century



HENRY II

From a painting by Francis Clouet in the Louvre

later, was becoming territorial ; that is to say, the Government in each State was growing absolute, taking upon itself the power of all its people ; it was considered to own all the State territory. State, nation, territory were conterminous ; the one exactly filled the other. Each State was like a powerful individual, armed to the teeth, and always on the watch lest it be pounced upon by a neighbour. In such a condition of affairs, when neither the Papacy nor the Empire could pretend to keep the European peace, a State could only preserve itself by its own strength, aided by clever policy, and by trying to keep all the other States neatly balanced against each other. The existence of each State depended upon a European balance of power.

There were several statesmen about the year 1500 who realized that the Medieval system had passed away, that a new Europe of compact Nation-States existed, and that small and weak States ran the hourly risk of being swallowed alive. A type of the modern statesman, discreet, calculating, and bold, was Henry VII of England, the saviour of a ruined nation. But Henry did not analyse his views and put them into writing. It was Machiavelli who first dissected the modern States and statesmanship and wrote it all down. Thomas Cromwell, who had passed some of his roving youth in Italy, deliberately chose Machiavelli's *Prince* as his guide, when he became chief minister of Henry VIII. The Italian philosopher may therefore be considered as one of the makers of the efficient despotism of the Tudors.

Niccolò Machiavelli was born at Florence on the 3rd May 1469, being the son of a prosperous Florentine lawyer. The Republic of Florence was a State about 150 miles long and 100 broad, situated mainly on the west side of Italy between the Apennines and the sea. Although in form it was a self-governing Republic, actually it was under the rule of a wealthy citizen-family called the Medici. Among the other chief States of Italy (Genoa, Milan, Venice, the Papacy, Naples) Florence could only preserve itself by the most careful policy, the nicest balancing of forces.

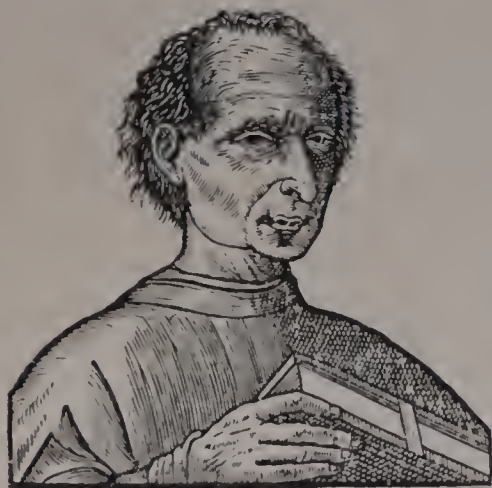
Of Machiavelli's youth almost as little is known as of Dante's or Shakespeare's. He was well trained in Latin, and had a wide

IL PRINCIPE
DI NICOLO MACHIAVELLI,
AL MAGNIFICO LORENZO
DI PIERO DE MEDICI.

LA VITA
DI CASTRUVCCIO CASTRACANI
DA LVCCA.

IL MODO CHE TENNE
IL DVCA VALENTINO
PER AMMAZZARE VITELLOZZO VITELLI,
OLIVEROTTO DA FERMO, IL SIGNOR PAOLO,
ET IL DVCA DI GRAVINA.

I RITRATTI
DELLE COSE DELLA FRANCIA
ET DELLA ALAMAGNA.



M. D. L.

*Portrait of Machiavelli on the title-page of an edition of 'Il Principe'
issued in 1550*

knowledge of Roman history and literature. Greek he did not know ; his education was neither of the pedantic Medieval type nor of the freer Renaissance type ; it was Roman ; and Machiavelli was in spirit a Roman.

The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494 brought about the expulsion of the Medici from Florence ; the Republic was made free. Machiavelli then became a clerk in the Florentine Chancery ; and in 1494 he rose to be Secretary of this office, a position something like that of a modern British Secretary of State. He had not merely to attend to the business of the State in the Chancery ; he frequently had to go on missions to other States, to France and Germany. It was on one of these special missions in 1502 that he visited Cesare Borgia, Duke of Romagna. Cesare, whose record of treachery and passion is now chiefly remembered, was also a splendid soldier in the field, a splendid administrator in the council-chamber : ' he brought law and order into the Romagna as it had never been known before, and his subjects regretted his downfall.'¹ In Machiavelli's eyes Cesare was the type of ruler who could preserve a State in an unscrupulous age, a man who was statesmanship incarnate. It was with the qualities of Cesare Borgia in his mind that he wrote *The Prince*, although his hero had long since met his death in the siege of a castle in Navarre in 1507.

In 1512 the battle of Ravenna, although a victory for the French, was followed by their retiring from Italy. Spanish troops restored the Medici to Florence. Machiavelli lost his office and retired to his small country estate. There, like the serious old Roman that he was, he meditated on public affairs, and wrote his books. He died in 1527. *Il Principe* was written in 1513, and circulated in manuscript, although it did not appear as a printed book until 1532.

In 1512-13 the situation of Italy, as it seemed to Machiavelli, looking out with all his experience from his Tuscan country-home, was desperate. Only a despot could save her. So it was all over Europe. In England, after the Wars of the Roses, in France after the ruin of the Hundred Years War, every one was

¹ Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, iv. 65.

looking for refuge to absolute monarchy: ‘ Le nouveau Messie ’, says Michelet, ‘ est le roi ’.¹ But such a despot, if he was to save Italy or any Italian State, would need every resource of statecraft. This statecraft is explained carefully in *The Prince*.

Like Aristotle when he wrote *The Politics*, so Machiavelli when he wrote *The Prince* was trying to answer the question: How is a State to be preserved? And he describes the various means that occur to him for preserving the State, without considering whether those means are morally right or wrong. It was not Machiavelli’s business in *The Prince* to state what was morally right or wrong; this, no doubt, he would have done if he had been writing a book on Ethics. But in *The Prince* he was analysing, in cool, clear abstraction, political ways and means. It was his business to put before statesmen all the possible means towards preserving the State; which of those means the Statesmen would actually choose to follow would be a question for their conscience, not Machiavelli’s.

The book is full of political wisdom. Although himself an official of a Republic, and a man who had suffered (he was put to the rack by the Medici in 1512) for his devotion to the Republican cause, Machiavelli says:

Hereditary States, accustomed to the family of their Prince, are maintained with far less difficulty than new States, since all that is required is that the Prince shall not depart from the usages of his ancestors, trusting for the rest to deal with events as they arise. (Chapter II.)

An hereditary monarchy has the stability given by ‘ use and wont ’. Colonies Machiavelli thought to be useful as a cheap way of garrisoning distant possessions; the colonists served as their own garrison. It was thus the ancient Romans colonized.

Although believing in Monarchy, Machiavelli also believed in freedom. A servile population might fight well for a time, but when once conquered it easily reconciled itself to subjection.

Of these two forms of Government [the servile and the free] we have examples in our own days in the Turk and the King of France. The whole Turkish Empire is governed by a sole Prince, all others

¹ ‘ The king is the new Messiah.’

being his servants. . . . The King of France, on the other hand, is surrounded by a multitude of nobles of ancient descent, each acknowledged and loved by subjects of his own, and each asserting a precedence in rank, of which the King can deprive him only at his peril.

He, therefore, who considers the character of these two States will perceive that it would be difficult to gain possession of that of the Turk, but that once won it might be easily held. . . . But kingdoms ordered like that of France cannot be retained with the same ease. Hence the repeated risings of Spain, Gaul, and Greece against the Romans, resulting from the number of small Princedoms of which these Provinces were made up. For while the memory of these lasted, the Romans could never think their tenure safe. (Chapter IV.)

A newly acquired State can be retained by any one of three ways :

The first is to destroy it ; the second, to go and reside there in person ; the third, to suffer it to live under its own laws, subjecting it to a tribute, and entrusting its government to a few of the inhabitants who will keep it your friend. (Chapter V.)

But policy alone is not enough. The Monarch must be able, when need arises, to use force :

A Prince, therefore, should have no care or thought but for war, and for the discipline and training which it requires, and should apply himself exclusively to this as his peculiar province ; for this is the sole art looked for in one who commands. (Chapter XIV.)

Machiavelli does not really mean that the military art is the ' sole art ' of a prince ; but he does mean that policy must always have the possibility of force behind it, if it is to be universally respected. Yet, in addition to force, craftiness, he thinks, may greatly help a monarch or government.

Every one recognizes how praiseworthy it is in a Prince to keep faith, and to act uprightly and not craftily. Nevertheless, we see from what has happened in our own days that Princes who have set little store by their word, but have known how to overreach others by their cunning, have accomplished great things, and in the end had the better of those who trusted to honest dealing. . . .

To rely wholly on the lion is unwise ; and for this reason a prudent Prince neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful to him and the causes which led him to pledge it are removed.

With this terrible assertion we may leave Machiavelli. Here

he abandoned his position of cold analysis, and told the Prince not merely what he *could* do, but what he *ought* (as a political, not as a moral, duty) to do. All thinking men of honest character will part from Machiavelli when he says that a Government should, under certain circumstances, break faith. It is on the keeping of covenants that the existence of both private and public civilized life depends; and, since wars of religion stopped, nearly every public conflict in Europe has been fought for the maintenance of a treaty.

§ 4. *Three Artists*

Those years of war in Italy, from 1494 to 1527, are also years of wonderful brilliance in art. Every craftsman was an artist, spending loving labour upon the designing and production of even the simplest objects. Among a host of artists, three stand forth pre-eminent, Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo.

Leonardo da Vinci was the eldest of the three. Born in 1452 at Vinci in the Val d'Arno, he grew up in Florence, and joined the Gild of Painters in 1472. All his early work, except an unfinished canvas in the Uffizi Palace, *The Adoration of the Kings*, has disappeared. About the year 1480 Leonardo went off to adventures in the East, served as an engineer under the Sultan of Cairo, and visited Constantinople and Armenia. After two years he returned to Italy, to Milan, where he practised as an artist under the patronage of Duke Ludovico Sforza. It was then that he painted the *Last Supper*, a fresco, on the wall of the refectory of the Convent Santa Maria delle Grazie. Spoiled by wall-damp as it now is, the picture is still a supreme expression of religious feeling and beauty.

At Milan Leonardo instructed pupils, directed the Duke's court festivities and pageants, and planned and carried into effect an irrigation system for the Lombardy plain. In 1499 Duke Ludovico was driven from Milan by his former allies, the French. Leonardo left too, for Florence, and later entered the service of Cesare Borgia as a military engineer. With Cesare he remained only about a year, and returned to Florence and engaged, in competition with Michelangelo, in decorating the Sala del

Consiglio. In 1504 he painted the half-length portrait of *Mona Lisa*, the wife of Zanobi del Giocondo, which is now one of the chief glories of the Louvre. In 1516 King Francis I attracted him to France, gave him a pension and a château on the Loire, and there he died on the 2nd May 1519. Leonardo was perhaps the greatest draughtsman of the age, the master of perspective.

Michelangelo was born in 1475 in the territory of Florence. At the age of thirteen he became an apprentice in the workshop of Domenico Ghirlandajo. Growing up amid the masterpieces of Florentine art, Michelangelo early showed his great capacity, and attracted the attention of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent, the chief magistrate and ruler of Florence. He became a pupil in Lorenzo's school in the garden on the Piazza, where the art of antiquity was represented by the best surviving classical statuary. Influenced by this Michelangelo became the greatest exponent of the antique, although he never allowed it to warp or cramp his own energetic individualism.

In 1492 Lorenzo the Magnificent died, and Michelangelo lost his best friend then. After some changes of residence he at length went to Rome, on the invitation of the Cardinal San Giorgio, and established himself there in 1496. In the Eternal City, amid the severe majesty of classical buildings and the magnificence of classical sculptures, Michelangelo found his true line. He 'tore out of marble' those immense and perfect monuments, the *Pietà*, *David*, *Moses*, which combine the beauty of classical sculpture with the strength, the realism, the solemnity of the Middle Ages. Under the influence of Pope Julius II, a great patron of the arts, Michelangelo executed the *David* (which was designed to be part of the Pope's tomb), and also the beautiful oil paintings on the ceiling of the Sixtine Chapel in the Vatican. Julius II died in 1513. His successor Leo X, Medici, although anxious to employ the talents of Michelangelo, could never agree with the great artist, and interfered with and spoiled much of his work. In 1528 Michelangelo returned for good to Florence. For the rest of his life he worked chiefly on designs, sculptural and pictorial, for St. Peter's, of which he was officially appointed architect in 1541. He died in 1564 in his ninetieth year.



Florence. From a Belvedere in the Boboli Gardens

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

Devoted to his art, loving solitude and simple living, Michelangelo in his long life produced works of grandeur and genius in many arts. Besides painting and sculpture, he wrote some of the finest Italian sonnets in his later age. He constructed the fortifications for the second (short-lived) Florentine republic of 1529, he designed in part the gigantic and magnificent basilica of St. Peter's.

Raphael Santi was born in 1483, and was only thirty-seven when he died, at the height of the Renaissance, seven years before the sack of Rome. He was a native of Perugia in Umbria, and learned his art in the workshop of Perugino. In 1505 he received a commission to help in decorating the Piccolomini Palace at Siena. Another early commission resulted in the painting of the Madonna, Child, and Saints, called the *Madonna Ansidei*, now in the National Gallery at London. As fame and a busy practice came to him Raphael kept two painting-rooms busy, one at Perugia, the other at Florence, where he and his pupils came under the influence of Leonardo and Michelangelo. His picture, the *Madonna of Terranuova* (now in the Berlin Museum) therefore combines 'the sweetness and brightness of the Umbrian School, with the breadth of execution of the Florentine'. At Florence Raphael—when Michelangelo had gone to Rome and Leonardo to Milan—reigned supreme; in his busy painting-room were produced the celebrated pictures, the *St. Catherine* and *Belle Jardinière* of the Louvre, the Esterhazy *Madonna* of Vienna, and many others. In 1509 Pope Julius II drew him to Rome to paint the ceilings of the Vatican. When Leo X became Pope, Raphael continued to work for the Papacy, and designed the wonderful tapestries which, woven at Brussels, became, with Michelangelo's paintings and his own Madonna, the glory of the Sistine Chapel. Besides sacred and classical paintings of great beauty and charm, he executed some of the finest portraits of all time, such as that of Julius II in his red cardinal's gown, or the living likeness of Leo X, at Florence.

The number of Raphael's works is unknown; in his short life of incessant activity he and his pupils produced masterpieces which became the glory of almost every great palace in Italy, and



Florence. S. Maria Novella, Campanile

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

were sought after by all the lovers of art in Europe. He died in 1520 of a malarial fever, caught in excavations that were being made in some classical ruins at Rome.

Supplementary Dates.

I

- 1495 Boiardo's 'Orlando Innamorato' inaugurates the Romantic Epic.
- 1499 Bramante settles in Rome and perfects the classic style of architecture.
- 1506 Julius II lays the foundation stone of the new St. Peter's.
- 1510 Ariosto's 'Orlando Furioso'.
- 1513 Pope Leo X restores the gymnasium of Eugenius IV.
- 1528 Castiglione's 'Courtier', a manual of etiquette.

II

THE REFORMATION

IN the first half of the sixteenth century the religious unity of Europe was broken by the Reformation. Yet the movement towards Reformation was no new thing. For at least a hundred and fifty years the Catholic Church had been menaced with disruption through heresy or reform. It is likely that if the leaders of the Church had met this movement with a moderate and enlightened attitude the split would have been averted.

Wycliffe (c. 1325-84) and Huss (1369-1415) had failed to reform the Church in the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the modern epoch Savonarola made an earnest attempt to arouse Catholics to a sense of their danger. This eminent man was a Dominican Friar of the Florentine Convent of San Marco, of which he became Prior in 1491. It was in this Convent that Brother 'Angelico' had painted, fifty years earlier, his exquisite frescoes of the life and death of our Lord. In every cell and along the corridor were these touching pictures of love and devotion: the air itself was 'vibrant with adoration'.¹

From the Convent Savonarola preached and prayed for a reformation of manners among the cultivated but too pleasure-loving citizens of Florence. Alexander VI (Borgia), a man of evil habits, was then Pope. Savonarola thundered against the corruption at the centre of the Catholic Church as well as against the corruption of his own city. For two years the Florentines became a reformed people. Pope Alexander VI exerted himself. By his orders in 1498 Savonarola was imprisoned. At last he was strangled; the body was then publicly burned.

In the harsher atmosphere of the German cities the reform movement made a more decisive advance than it did under the warmly coloured sky of the valley of the Arno.

Martin Luther was the son of a Thuringian miner. He was

¹ *Sainte-Marie-des-Fleurs*, by René Boylesve, Chap. XI.

a student of Erfurt University and obtained the degree of Master of Arts, at the age of twenty-six, in 1505. He had already resolved to devote himself to a life of religion; accordingly he joined the ministry of Augustinians at Erfurt. In 1508 he became a teacher in the University of Wittenberg which the good Elector, Frederick of Saxony, had founded. A visit to Rome in 1511, during the pontificate of Julius II, gave him direct experience of the secular as well as the sacred pomp of the Papacy; but it was not this that aroused him to criticism of the Church: such criticism came from his close study of the works of St. Paul and St. Augustine. His readings and his meditations gradually convinced him that it was by faith in Christ and not by works that man could be saved: by reliance upon the sacred truths of religion, not by penances, fasts, and other outward acts enjoined by the Catholic Church. For although the Church always urged upon sinners the duty of inward repentance and contrition as well as of outward acts of penance, it was the outward acts that at this time were being chiefly demanded. For the artistic secularly minded Leo X required much money for his court as well as for the building (or rather rebuilding) of a new magnificent house of God, at Rome—St. Peter's Church—and money could be got most easily by a religion that was not austere. To insist on inward repentance after agonies of remorse made religion unattractive to sinners, who would gladly pay good money for 'indulgence' or forgiveness, to be got without much trouble.

In 1517 John Tetzel, a Dominican Friar, Papal agent for the sale of indulgences, came to Wittenberg. A rather dull little town to-day, Wittenberg was in those days a more lively and picturesque place, for it had a university thronged with students (now all gone), and his Highness the Elector often visited it. The broad Elbe flows past Wittenberg, making, in Luther's day, a convenient highway for merchants and students. The two fine churches and the monastery made the town a centre for country people on holidays. 'On the day before the festival of All Saints (1 November 1517), on which the relics of the Church were displayed to the crowds of country people who flocked into the town, Luther passed down the long street with a copy of ninety-

five theses or statements against indulgences in his hand, and nailed them on the door of the palace church ready for the festival on the morrow.' ¹ A struggle then began which was to split Christendom into Protestant and Catholic. The tremendous step of setting his face against the universal Church was taken by a German monk. Condemned and excommunicated by Pope Leo X, Luther publicly defied him, and on 10th December 1520 burned the Papal Bull outside the Elster Gate of the town.

On the 28th January 1521 the Diet or Parliament of the Empire, consisting of the College of Electors, College of Princes, College of Cities, met at Worms. The Rathaus, in which the Diet sat, has since been destroyed by the French (1689). The picturesque old town is on the left bank of the swiftly flowing Rhine, and has a fine sandstone cathedral, and quaint red-tiled houses. When Luther was summoned to the Diet, his friends, remembering the fate of Huss, who was burned to death at the Council of Constance, besought him not to go; but he said that 'he would go to Worms, even though there were as many devils within its walls as there were tiles on its houses'.

On the 2nd April Luther, taking leave of his friends, especially of Lucas Cranach, the Elector's court painter (whose works can still be seen at Wittenberg) set off in a covered wagon on the long journey to Worms. Travelling was a slow business, but in those days people did not mind that; they read, and thought, and wrote, and gossiped on the way. Luther had plenty to think about on his twelve days' journey. When he got to Worms he was asked to recant his heretical views, and to disown the books that he had written; but he answered: 'I may not and will not recant, because to act against conscience is unholy and unsafe.' He spoke to the Diet in his own homely German and in Latin.

The Emperor decided against Luther, and condemned him in an edict of outlawry which the Electors present at the Diet were with some difficulty induced to sanction. But for the moment Luther was secure, for Charles V respected the safe-conduct which he had given. The truth is that Luther had powerful

¹ Frederick Seebohm, *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, Part II, Chap. III.

friends at Worms, like the Elector Frederick of Saxony and the veteran General Freundsberg who six years later was at the capture and sack of Rome.

Luther left Worms and took refuge in a castle of the Elector of Saxony—Wartburg, just outside Eisenach. In the Wartburg, looking out from his chamber over the tree-clad hills of Thuringia, he meditated and wrote. In particular, he made progress with his translation of the Bible, for to give the Scriptures directly to the ordinary man in his mother-tongue was one of the chief aims of the Reform movement.

The Reformation had now begun in earnest. The Papacy had definitely rejected Luther and all his ways. The first result was that Germany was split ; next, Europe ; next, the whole world. Three hundred years later Napoleon said that if Charles V at Worms had only decided in Luther's favour he would have made himself and his imperial throne supreme, at least throughout Germany. But ' events had come to pass which determined the future of Germany and of Europe '.¹

Europe had lost its unity. The Princes of Germany drew apart, and asserted their right to choose between being Protestant or Roman Catholic, whether the Emperor willed it or not. In Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, which were then (and until 1523) all under one king, Protestantism became the national religion. In England King Henry VIII, though averse to Lutheranism, nevertheless cast away all dependence upon the Pope in 1534. In Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli, a curate of the Canton of Glarus, converted Zurich to reform in 1524 ; and in 1541 the Frenchman, John Calvin, made Geneva, under his severe magistracy, a Protestant City of God.

In Germany there were years of religious war, not such widespread, destructive war as came in the next century, but local wars of certain princes against the Emperor. In 1522 Charles V entrusted his brother Ferdinand with the task of governing Austria. In 1526 Louis II, the last Angevin king of Hungary, was killed in battle with the Turks ; Ferdinand became King of Hungary. In 1552 some of the Protestant Princes of Germany,

¹ Barry, *The Papacy and Modern Times*, Chap. III.



Dr. Martin Luther

From the drawing by Lucas Cranach

headed by Maurice of Saxony, made an alliance with King Henry II of France. Coming down from Saxony into Austria, Maurice just missed capturing the Emperor himself, who escaped by fleeing from Innsbruck, across the Brenner Pass, to Villach in Carinthia (May 1552). After a respite the Emperor recovered sufficient power to make war against the French, who had captured Metz, in Lorraine (see above, p. 394). But the siege of Metz by Charles was a failure. The Empire was falling into anarchy. Maurice of Saxony, the Protestant hero, met his death in a fight to impose peace upon a princely bandit, at Sievershausen in Brunswick, on the 9th July 1553. He was only thirty-two years of age.

At last on the 25th September 1555 Charles brought (for a time) internal quiet to his empire by publishing the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Each Prince or Free City was given the right to choose between the Catholic or the Lutheran Faith, and their subjects must either agree with the Prince or emigrate. This was not toleration of religion for individuals; it was establishing the right of each of the three hundred and fifty States-Governments of Germany to fix their own religion. After this Charles V abdicated, on the 25th October 1555, in a magnificent pageant at Brussels, which the historian Motley has made famous through the power of his pen.¹

Causes similar to those which brought about the Reformation on the continent of Europe were operating in Great Britain. The separation of England from Rome actually took place over the divorce of King Henry VIII. Unable to obtain from Pope Clement VII a divorce from his wife Catherine of Aragon, King Henry induced Parliament to expel the Papal jurisdiction from England (1534). In the previous year he had married Anne Boleyn; and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had declared the marriage of Queen Catherine void *ab initio*. At the same time Protestant opinion was spreading in the country, partly from ancient Lollard sources, partly owing to Archbishop Cranmer's continental connexions and friendships. The doctrinal Reformation, however, did not come fully to England until the reign of Edward VI (1547-53), when the Protector Somerset made

¹ Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Chap. I.

the First Prayer Book the law of the land (1549), and when, three years later, the Duke of Northumberland established the Second Prayer Book. This, for the most part incorporated in the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth (1559), is substantially the basis of the English liturgy to-day.

In Scotland the Reformation was later than in England, for the Scots monarchy set its force against it. It was chiefly due to John Knox, who had been at Geneva between 1554 and 1558 and who, after his return to Scotland in 1559, was the life and soul of the rising Presbyterian party.

In Ireland Henry VIII enforced the separation from Rome successfully, and Reformation doctrine made considerable headway. But the greater part of the Irish people were reconverted to Roman Catholicism by Jesuit missionaries after 1570.

Supplementary Dates.

II

- 1497 Celtes founds the ' Danube Literary Society ' at Vienna.
Bebel and Rufus introduce Humanism into Germany.
- 1501 Publication of the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* of Erasmus.
- 1511 Luther visits Rome.
- 1512 Luther develops his doctrine of Justification by Faith.
- 1515 *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*.
- 1520 Luther's *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, The Babylonish captivity and Freedom of the Christian Man*.
- 1500 *Geneva Bible*.

III

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL AND THE REVOLT OF THE DUTCH

THERE were more revolts in Europe in the sixteenth century than in any other period except the nineteenth. In 1523 the Swedes threw off the government of Denmark and became an independent nation under Gustavus Vasa. In England, ruled by the Tudor monarchs, there were revolts, although not on a large scale, on an average one every ten years. In the Netherlands rebellion started an Eighty Years War against Spain. In France Huguenot and Catholic fought eight civil wars, which the Valois kings were unable to quell.

These revolts were connected with, and some of them were caused by, the Reform movement. Those in the later part of the century were connected with the Counter Reform movement, or Catholic Revival.

Macaulay, in a famous essay on the History of the Popes, has described the power of revival which is inherent in the Roman Catholic Church.

How was it that Protestantism did so much, yet did no more ; how was it that the Church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost, is certainly a most curious and important question.

The answer is—because every institution has ‘ ups and downs ’. The human mind and spirit is tense at times, and again relaxes. The Roman Catholic communities in the Middle Ages were for long periods fervent and devout, then alternately grew lukewarm and lazy ; and this condition again would arouse some holy man indignantly to reform them. But the Church herself is based on the divine spirit, and so is always capable of revival :

She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian elo-

quence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.¹

Both Rome and London are still in existence and strong. In the sixteenth century it was Rome that required reviving most : and this task was carried out by a wounded young Spanish hidalgo, Ignatius Loyola.

This knight in 1521, at the age of thirty, was wounded and lamed for life in the defence of Pampeluna, which was being held for Charles V against the French. In the long days of illness and then of convalescence which followed, Ignatius meditated on the mysteries of life and death ; and being debarred from continuing his military career by his wound, he resolved to raise another kind of army, for the service of God. In 1523 he went to Jerusalem. On returning to Europe he studied at the Spanish universities, and in 1528 at the University of Paris. There he met Francis Xavier, a brilliant young Spanish nobleman. Two or three other Spanish students gathered round him. In 1534 Ignatius and six companions received the Communion in St. Jacques at Montmartre, the mother-church which from its steep hill overlooks all Paris ; and there they took perpetual vows of poverty and celibacy. This occasion was the real foundation of the Society of Jesus. In 1540 Pope Paul III gave his approval of it by the Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*. Henceforward there was a compact army of priests, a disciplined Order of servants of the Papacy, well educated, cultured, absolutely obedient to their General, and all for life working with one object, the advancement of the interests of the Church.

There was a movement inside the Roman Catholic Church to cleanse it of abuses without producing schism or revolution. This movement originated as early as the Lutheran schism, but it died down after the sack of Rome in 1527. After 1540 it sprang into new life. In 1545 a General Council of the Church was assembled at Trent.

¹ Macaulay, Essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*, 1840.

Trent was a Prince-Archbishopric within the Empire, situated in the pleasant valley of the upper Adige, and easily reached by that valley from Italy and by the Brenner Pass from Germany. Yet although many learned prelates and doctors assembled from all parts of Europe they could not settle the troubles of the Church. In its long existence, nominally of twenty years, the Council of Trent really sat for six—1545-7, 1551-2, and 1562-3. The last group of Sessions, held during the pontificate of Pius IV, was decisive, and it was in those Sessions that the influence of the Jesuits was most felt.

The result of the decrees and rules of the Council of Trent was a reformed Catholic Church, although the reform was different from that which produced the Protestant communion. The ancient doctrines of the Church were reaffirmed clearly in the *Creed of Pius IV*, so that the Protestants should be strictly marked off from the Catholics; the boundaries of Catholicism were temporarily contracted, but the Church was compacted and made ready for a fresh advance. A severe course of education was made necessary for all who would become priests; bishops were made to attend to their duties; non-residence was treated as an offence. Since that time there have been no scandals in the Papacy, and few even in the rank and file of the clergy. The reforms of the Council of Trent were completed by the work of Sixtus V, who was Pope from 1585 to 1590. He reorganized the Papal States of Central Italy, by creating proper Departments (Congregations) of Government; he limited the number of Cardinals to seventy; and he built, in the cause of Catholic Learning, the magnificent structure of the present Vatican Library. Revived Catholicism was conscious of its strength, and ready to use the secular sword.

The Catholic Reaction which conquered in Italy, Spain, France, Southern Germany, and Poland, had also a striking success, although only temporary—in England. On the death of Edward VI in 1553, Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, became Queen. Strong minded, as all the Tudors were, she was also deeply religious. She had been brought up, and had remained, in the old faith. At the moment of her



*the Most Rev^d DR THOS CRANMER Archbishop of Canterbury, pulled down from the
Stage by Fryars & Papists, for the True Confession of his Faith, in St Mary's Church, Oxford
— and led immediately from thence to the STAKE. —*

accession to the throne she had to face a rebellion by the Duke of Northumberland, who wished to make his Protestant daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, Queen. The rebellion failed, but in 1554 there was another, against Mary's proposed Spanish marriage, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt. This movement was suppressed too, but it left Queen Mary more than ever determined to suppress the new form of religion.

In July 1554, Queen Mary married Philip of Spain. Cardinal Reginald Pole, a relative of the Royal Family who had refused to agree with Henry VIII's divorce and had gone into exile, returned and became the Queen's chief ecclesiastical adviser. Parliament was induced to repeal all the statutes passed against the Pope since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII, that is, since the Divorce Question of 1529. The Act *De Heretico Comburendo* was revived, and over two hundred and seventy people were burned for holding the Protestant faith. Among these martyrs were Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, the maker of the Prayer Book of the Church of England; Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, one of the most learned and earnest of the reformers, and Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, whose sermons are among the best in English literature. After the execution of Cranmer (1556) Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury.

The religious policy of Mary created deep discontent in the country. When she took part in the war against France on the side of her Spanish husband and lost Calais in January 1558, the discontent became irrepressible. Only the Queen's death in November prevented a rebellion. Pole too was fortunate to die on the same day, so that he escaped punishment for what he had inflicted on the martyrs. Queen Elizabeth peacefully restored the Reformed Faith in England.

The first people to react against the revived Catholicism were the 'wise Dutch'.¹ When Charles V put off his many crowns in 1556, he procured the election of his brother Ferdinand (Archduke of Austria) to the Empire; to his son Philip he gave Spain, Naples, Milan and—to the misfortune of all who were

¹ It is thus they are alluded to in a document of the English East India Company in the reign of Charles II.



Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots
From a Dutch engraving made in the year of her execution

concerned—the Netherlands. This indeed was the crowning blunder of Charles, and the cause of fearful disaster to Spain. Had the Netherlands been loosely united with Austria, these two unequal, but not incompatible, partners might have jogged along together comfortably enough. But the Spaniards and the Dutch were poles asunder in temperament, manner, ways of life. The blunder of Charles V in joining Spain and the Netherlands together involved the Spaniards in a secular, an age-long war which nearly bled them and their proud Empire to death. When the struggle ended in 1648, it was only a pale figure of the former Spain that was left.

The revolt of the Netherlands, which was largely although not wholly due to religious differences and oppression, began in the year 1566 and continued, intermittently and rather feebly, until 1572 when some of the confederated rebels who had taken to the sea seized Brill. Brill is a seaport on the island of Voorn, in the mouth of the Maas, opposite the long mud-bank known as the *Hoek van Holland*; when the Water-Guessen, the ‘Sea Beggars’, seized it, insurrection became general. The Spanish legions, although they could win land-battles, found that their power stopped at the sea. Even on land, the Netherlands, often beaten, were unconquerable. They had for leader *Guillaume le Taciturne*, William, Prince of Orange-Nassau-Dillenburg. He was the grand young noble on whose shoulder Charles V had leaned at the ceremony of abdication in the great hall of the palace of Brussels in 1555; he had gained the name of William the Silent because, employed often on diplomatic missions for Charles, he had been cautious and always held his tongue. But he was fitted for sterner work than diplomacy; and until his assassination in 1584 he withstood, shaken but invincible, the onslaughts of Spain’s armies and the military prowess of Alva and Don John. In 1579 the seven northern Dutch provinces had agreed to form one federal State by the ‘Union of Utrecht’.

After the death of William the Silent, the Dutch continued the struggle with gradually increasing success as William’s eldest son, Maurice, grew older and became the finest captain of the age. The destruction of Spanish naval power, when the Great Armada

The NETHERLANDS

1565-1648

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40 50 60



Not: *G* = Gelderland *N* = Namur

was defeated by the English in 1588, did much to ease the pressure upon the Dutch. In 1609, partly through the 'good offices' of King James I of England, a peace (called, to please the proud Spaniards, a *truce*) was arranged for twelve years. The Seven Northern Provinces were henceforth known as the Federal State of the United Netherlands. The Dutch had to all intents and purposes become an independent nation. But the ten southern provinces—the modern Belgium—had (since 1579) gone back to their allegiance to Spain. They were now called the Spanish Netherlands, and were ruled by a viceroy for Philip III of Spain.

The long struggle had been no mere two-sided affair between Spain and the Dutch. It had been a veritable international episode; and it is not too much to say that freedom and the fate of the Protestant religion in Western Europe were bound up with it. Claims of separate national existence have often been exaggerated; Europe and the whole world can have too much division and sub-division. But nobody will deny the claim of the Dutch to be a separate nationality. It may be confidently asserted that no people has made a better use of freedom.

The Dutch War of Independence, like every struggle in which high ideals have been at stake, was marked by many heroic incidents; in courage, neither side could yield the palm to the other. The raising by Colonel Mondragon and his Spaniards of the siege of Goes on the island of South Beveland in 1572 deserves to be famous. The town of Goes was besieged by the Dutch soldiers, and a Dutch fleet prevented the Spanish ships from reaching the island. But the Spanish soldiers were not to be kept off:

Determined not to lose the town, they formed the bold undertaking of wading along a narrow causeway on the 'Drowned land' (once dry, but now covered by the sea), and separating the island from the mainland). The water on this narrow causeway was four feet deep at low tide, and rose with the tide to ten feet. It was a terrible hazard for the band of 3,000 men who undertook this journey of ten miles by night with the water reaching up to their shoulders. A few false steps and they would be lost; if they failed to accomplish their task in six hours, the rising tide would sweep



Leyden. The Senate House

From a seventeenth-century engraving in the Sutherland Collection

them away. Yet such was the disciplined precision of the Spanish soldiers, that of the 3,000 only nine were lost on the way. The rest reached South Beveland in safety, and Goes was saved.¹

The relief of Leyden by the Dutch in 1574 shows the methods and character of this people. The city held out until almost no food was left. Surrender was inevitable unless a miracle happened. The miracle was that Dutch relieving ships should sail over the land to Leyden. It was done. The Prince of Orange commanded that the sea-dikes should be broken. The water poured in and the Dutch fleet sailed through the gaps. After about two miles journey, however, the ships were stopped by shallows. All night the fleet lay in shoal water. Then a gale came from the sea and piled up the water upon the land to a depth of two feet. This was enough. The ships of light draught sailed up to the walls of Leyden. The Spaniards broke up their encampment and fled by the few remaining dry ways inland.² The inhabitants of Leyden commemorated the relief by founding their now famous University.

From all sides of Europe, volunteers or mercenaries had come to support one side or the other. Both types of men are characteristic of that age. The mercenary was a man of hard physique and stern character. War was his trade: he took his wages and served his master for the time being; and when one expedition, one enlistment was finished, he passed on to other fields where fighting was to be done and where a king or a general was ready to hire him. As a whole the mercenaries were a tolerant race of men: a Roman Catholic, provided his private opinions were not interfered with, would serve a Protestant master; and a Protestant would serve a Catholic. They learned to make themselves understood in different languages; they came and went and made a sort of fraternity throughout Europe. But war was a dangerous and thankless trade; they received no honour, and they fought for a living, for pay only, and not for duty. So they were no respecters of persons, and looked upon a wayside village, or a captured city as their legitimate booty. The Dugald Dal-

¹ Creighton, *The Age of Elizabeth* (1892), p. 119.

² Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Part IV, Chap. II.

getys of the seventeenth century could be good servants, but they often became a pest. The rise of national armies has in the last two hundred years displaced the mercenary, and has done much to regularize the conduct of war.

The volunteer could never become a pest. There were never enough of them to become this. Besides, they fought for an ideal: it was not pay or plunder that attracted them; a Philip Sidney could never be a Dugald Dalgety. The volunteer was usually a gentleman, or the son of a moderately well-to-do tradesman or yeoman. His education, his readings in Plutarch and Livy, his schooling in the chronicle-histories, had told him about Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Julius Caesar, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Henry V. He had heard tales of the Khan of Tartary and Prester John; he may, like the young Raleigh, have watched the ships putting out from their busy ports and sailing beyond the horizon towards the Spanish Main. The volunteer, like the Crusader, went where fighting was to be done for a cause which he loved. Such a man was John Smith.

Born in 1580, in Lincolnshire, on the estate of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, he went at the age of sixteen, as squire to the younger son of Lord Willoughby, to the wars for Henry of Navarre. When the Peace of Vervins put a term to this service in 1598, he passed on to fight for the Dutch and served under Maurice of Nassau. Returning to England, to the Lincolnshire estate, he made a wigwam or hut of tree-branches, and passed his time between walls out of doors and the reading of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius and the *Prince* of Machiavelli. But the call of an active life again came to him, and he went to fight for the Emperor against the Turks. Taken prisoner in battle, he was for a time a slave in the Crimea, but he escaped and made his way back to England. When the old project of Raleigh to found Virginia was restarted, Smith went out with the Virginia Company in 1606 to make a new England overseas. He was to be President of the Colony of Virginia, and died in London in 1631. The story of his life is contained in his own work *The True Travels of Captain John Smith*.

Of such a type were the men who volunteered to go with the

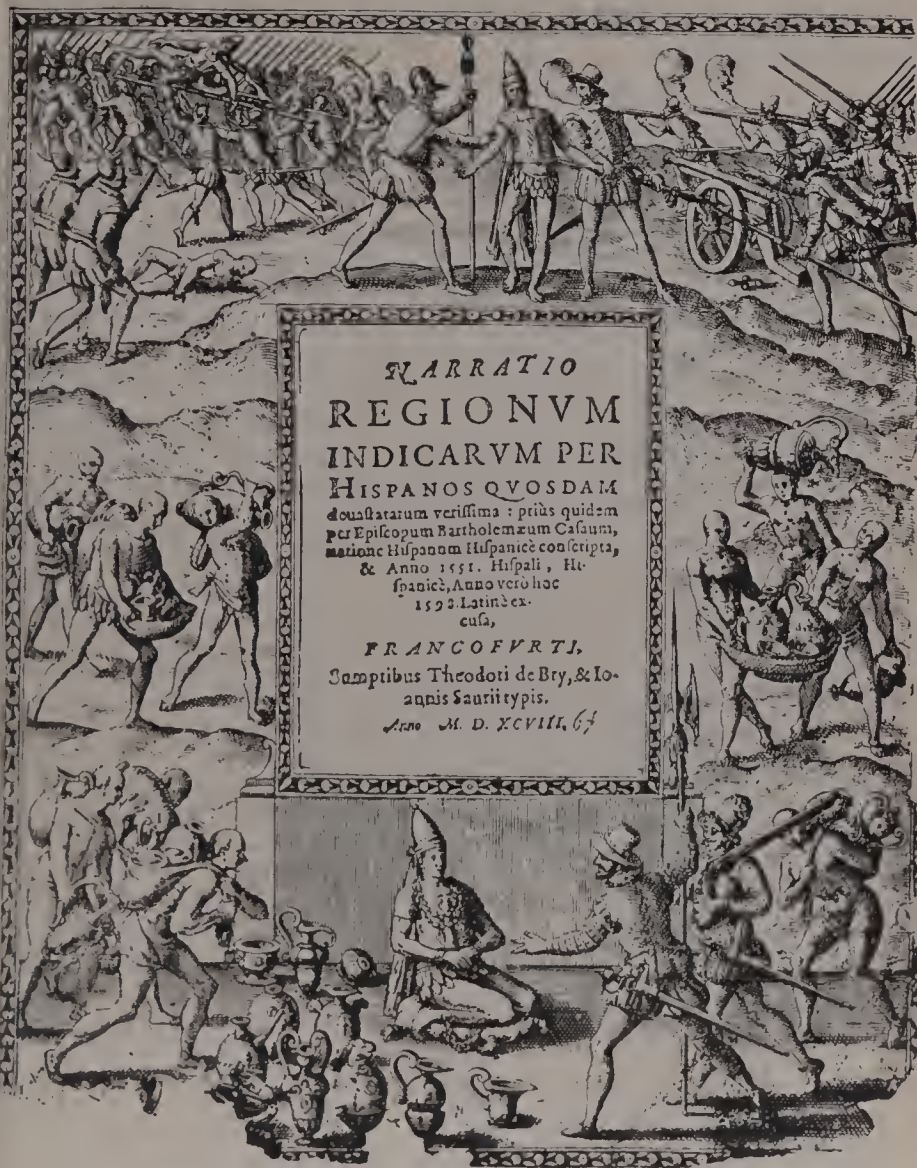
Earl of Leicester to Holland in 1583, or who went abroad with 'the fighting Veres' for over a generation between 1586 and 1625. With their sword at their side, and their copy of Caesar or Xenophon in their valise, they had the peace of mind that came from service to a cause which they admired, and from the intellectual enjoyment of literature. They fought for God and honour, and relaxed their tired spirit with 'the sincere love of letters and the innocent charm of the Muses'.¹ Such were the Elizabethan volunteers.

Yet the Elizabethans and the Dutch did not monopolize all the grandeur of spirit in the fifteenth century. When Philip II, the son of Charles V, succeeded to his father's throne, the power of Spain was at its height. Spanish Governors ruled in Sicily, in a large part of Italy, in Franche-Comté, in the Low Countries; in 1580 by the conquest of Portugal (a conquest which endured for sixty years) Philip united the whole Iberian Peninsula under his rule. Along with these European possessions there was included in the Spanish Empire vast tracts of North America and all of South America.

This, indeed, was Spain's great period; *The Century—El Siglo*—the Spaniards lovingly call it. The Spanish infantry, Spanish generals, were the pride of European chivalry, Spanish sailors cruised on every sea, discovering the undreamt of riches of the Indies, East and West.

What the Age of Elizabeth is in English Literature, the sixteenth century is in Spanish. Lyric poetry, chiefly religious, reached its highest point. Fernando de Herrera (1534-97) sang so sweetly that his fellows called him *divine*. His ode on the Battle of Lepanto is the loftiest expression of Spanish patriotism. But the marvel of sixteenth century Spanish literature is Lope de Vega, who was born in 1562, served in the Armada of 1588, wrote over two thousand plays, and died 'of melancholy' in 1635 at the age of seventy-three. Most of his plays were 'comedies of the cloak and sword', tales of the loves and jealousies of upper-class society, and some of them later served as models for Molière. To these glories of Spain in the sixteenth century must be added

¹ Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi* (M. de Latouche, *ad fin.*).



**NARRATIO
REGIONVM
INDICARVM PER
HISPANOS QVOSDAM**
doutatatum verissima : prius quidem
per Episcopum Bartholomæum Casium,
natione Hispanom Hispanicè conscripta,
& Anno 1551. Hispali, Hi-
spanicè, Anno vero hoc
1593. Latine ex-
cusa,

FRANCOFVRTI.
Sumptibus Theodori de Bry, & Io-
annis Saurii typis.
Anno M. D. XCVIII. 64

The Exploitation of South America by the Spaniards

A German title-page, 1598

the development—almost the invention—of the novel. The *picaresque* (rogue) tales, the stories of inns and highways, of bankrupt nobles, out-at-elbows students, sham priests, swash-buckling soldiers, begin with *Lazarillo de Tormes*, a novel ascribed to a high minister of Charles V, Don Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–75). Soon all European society was laughing or crying over Spanish novels. The highest mark of grave and gay was reached just after the century had closed when, in 1605, the first part of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* appeared.

Spanish history is too little known in this country. Spain inherited in generous measure the classical tradition, and added to it by her own native genius. And this genius was most potently and lavishly displayed in the long reign of those two great Burgundians, Charles V and Philip II.

Supplementary Dates.

III

- 1526 Boscan inaugurates a literary revolution in Spain.
- 1528 Foundation of the Order of the Capuchins.
- 1531 Cajetan maintains the doctrine of Papal infallibility.
- 1536 Death of Erasmus.
- 1540 Appointment of Tallis as organist of the Chapel-Royal.
- 1542 Establishment of the Inquisition at Rome.
- 1564 'Utraquism' conceded in Bohemia.
- 1565 Palestrina's 'Missa Papæ Marcelli'.
- 1566 Catechismus Romanus.
- 1567 Burning of Carnesecchi puts an end to the Protestant movement in Italy.
- 1578 Death of Hans Sachs.

IV

THE FRENCH WARS OF RELIGION

THE French Wars of Religion were very different from the Revolt of the Dutch. They were not struggles of one nation against another; they were civil wars pure and simple. The Protestant part of the French people, called Huguenots, who were a minority of the whole, fought against the Catholic part for religious freedom. Other causes, as always happens, contribute to the dissensions; animosities between powerful families, the desire to gain personal influence in the State, anger at the misgovernment of a degenerate Royal Family, and the intrigues of Spain hoping to advance her political interest as well as the interest of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Huguenots were—and are—the Puritans of France. ‘How is it’, says Froude in his Rectorial address at St. Andrews, ‘that if Calvinism is indeed the harsh and unreasonable creed which modern enlightenment declares it to be, it has possessed such singular attractions in past times for some of the greatest men that ever lived?’¹ The Calvinists were ‘predestinarians’; they believed that men were born ‘incurably wicked’, doomed, unless exempted by special grace which he cannot merit, or by any effort of his own obtain, to live in sin while he remains on earth, and to be eternally miserable when he leaves it, born unable to keep the commandments, yet justly liable to everlasting punishment for breaking them.² Whether saved by God’s grace or not, always hoping for salvation, yet never assured of it, the Calvinist must still fight on and strive to live the good life. It was this austere faith that inspired with indomitable spirit the Dutchman William, the Scotsman Knox, the Englishman Cromwell, the Frenchman Coligny. Yet even in Scotland and Holland, Calvinism in its purity remained only as the faith of a sect; the mass of the people could not endure it as a rule of life and a faith. In France it has had no apparent influence on the character of the people as a whole. And yet one is tempted to believe that

¹ *Short Studies in Great Subjects*, vol. ii, Calvinism.

² *Ibid.*

430 The French Wars of Religion

Calvinism would have added to the French people just the one thing that is necessary to make them nearly perfect. For they have every brilliant quality that the human spirit can achieve ; Puritanism, had it become a national force, would have given to the French that touch of austerity and inflexible moral purpose which they are said (perhaps unfairly) to lack. On the other hand, it might have robbed them of their gaiety.

*Qu'as-tu fait, O toi que voilà
Pleurant sans cesse,
Dis, qu'as-tu fait, toi que voilà,
De ta jeunesse ?*¹

Would Calvinism have taken away the gaiety, the essential youthfulness, the genius of France ?

The French Royal Family (the House of Valois) had fallen upon evil days : Louis XII, Francis I, Henry II had all lived imprudently, in work and in play. When Henry II died, on the 10th July 1559, pierced by the lance of (the knight) Montgomery² in a tournament outside Paris where is now the Place des Vosges, he left a family of four sons, all diseased in mind and body ; for the blood of the Medici family into which he had married was no better than that of the Valois. Francis II lived just long enough to make his wife, Mary ' Queen of Scots ', also for a short time Queen of France. Charles IX reigned from 1560 to 1574. He tried to govern a country, which was getting to be like England during the Wars of the Roses, amid the distractions of a senseless court at the palaces of St. Germain, the Louvre, or Fontainebleau.

The eight French Wars of Religion were fought by a few thousands of men on either side. Each war, until the last, ended with a patched-up peace which by its trial and failure paved the

¹ What hast thou done, O thou over there, weeping ceaselessly ;

Say what hast thou done, thou over there, with thy youth ?

(*Sagesse*, by Paul Verlaine, see *Oxford Book of French Verse*, No. 317).

² Gabriel, Comte de Montgomery, was only 20 years old at the time. After the death of the King he retired from Court. Later he took part in the Religious Wars, and became one of the leaders of the Huguenots. He escaped in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, but was captured and executed in 1574.

way to a more complete system of toleration. The first war was in 1562-3, the second in 1567-8; the next came only a few months afterwards (1568-70); the fourth began with a massacre of Huguenots in Paris and other cities on St. Bartholomew's Day,



24th August 1572, and lasted for about a year; the next was in 1576; the sixth was in 1577-8; the seventh was in 1580; the eighth, called when it began in 1585 the War of the Three Henries (Henry III and Henry, Duke de Guise, against Henry of Navarre), endured after the death of the first two Henries, gradually increasing in intensity, for ten years.

Such a condition of affairs could only be in a country which

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had no proper administrative system and where the Government had not an efficient standing army. There had once been a standing army in France, but at the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, at the end of the Italian Wars in 1559, it had been mostly paid off. So the Huguenots could rise in arms, and the Crown had to call upon the Catholic nobles to come to its help. Consequently, the wars that ensued were not normal contests of disciplined armies, but desultory struggles, never properly ended, slowly draining away the resources of trade and agriculture and debasing the social life of the people.

Few noble characters give light in the struggle. One was Michel de L'Hôpital, the Chancellor, chief officer of the legal and legislative system when the wars began. He had besought the Estates-General (the national Legislature) which met at Orleans in 1560; 'let us get rid of these devilish words, these names of party, faction, sedition—Lutheran, Huguenot, Papist; and let us keep the pure name of Christian'; and he had added a charge 'to go straight forward as politic men', *cheminer droit en hommes politiques*, a phrase which inspired the *Politiques* who were in the end to save France.

Yet before the *Politiques*, the moderate men of both sides, could bring compromise and peace into fanatical, distracted France, the horrors of civil war and massacre had run a long course. In the biggest massacre of all, the St. Bartholomew of Paris, during a brief peace that was no peace, the noblest of all the Huguenots lost his life. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, had never been to sea. But he had fought his country's battles on land and had saved France from the most powerful attack ever made by the Spaniards, when he defended St. Quentin in 1557. He led the Huguenots in war when their faith was in danger but accepted a compromise when it was offered; he was gaining the confidence of the King, Charles IX, and was starting a new rule of peace when the Duke of Guise had him murdered when lying, already wounded, in bed. His statue, between emblematic figures of Country and Religion, looks out upon the Rue de Rivoli from the front of the chief Huguenot church, the *Oratoire*, at Paris.



' Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France '

From a drawing by Francis Clouet in the Cabinet des Estampes

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There was only one man left who could cure France of her ills, and he, fortunately, though exposing himself to every danger, escaped death in massacre and battle. This was Henry, King of Navarre, chief prince of the House of Bourbon.

The reigning line of Valois was drawing to its end. Charles IX died raving about the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1574. His brother, Henry III, rather more capable in mind, although no stronger in body, was assassinated by a Dominican friar in 1589. He was the last of the Valois, who had ruled in France since 1328. His cousin, Henry of Navarre, was the lawful heir to the throne; but, because he was a Huguenot, the Roman Catholics (all except the Politique wing or party among them) would not accept him as King. These extreme Catholics, headed by the family of Guise, had formed a Holy League for the defence of their religion in 1576.

The League was a widespread association, with a Council of Sixteen in Paris and federated clubs in every provincial city. Controlling Paris and the chief cities, heavily subsidized by the Spanish Government, the League could always secure an army of devoted Catholics or of hired mercenaries. And the mob of Paris were leaguers almost to a man. But 'Paris is worth a mass', said Henry of Navarre, and in 1593 he began to receive instruction. In July of this year, he was received into the Catholic faith at St. Denis, outside Paris. Already he had all the Huguenots and Politiques (that is to say, the more moderate Catholics as well as moderate Huguenots) behind him; and now even the extreme Catholics could not object to him. On the 22nd March 1594 he entered Paris with his army. 'Politiquism', the spirit of strength and moderation, triumphed under 'the helmet of Navarre'.

Now let there be the merry sound of music and of dance,
Through thy corn-fields green, and sunny vines, oh! pleasant land
of France . . .

For our God hath crushed the tyrant, our God hath raised the slave,
And mocked the counsel of the wise, and the valour of the brave.¹

In 1598 the Edict of Nantes gave full toleration to the Hugue-

¹ Macaulay, *Ivy, a Song of the Huguenots*.

nots, and for the next eighty years there was religious peace in France.

The Wars of Religion rendered difficult, but did not stop, the intellectual activity of the sixteenth-century Frenchman. This activity had shown itself powerfully, riotously profuse in a writer of the period before the wars, François Rabelais. Born in 1483 at Chinon in the sunny region of the Loire, Rabelais had been placed in a monastery at the age of nine. In time he became a Franciscan friar and priest, but the life of a religious irked him, as it had irked another great 'Humanist', Erasmus, largely because the monks of those days despised studies; and at the age of forty Rabelais fled. He had friends who gave him hospitality, and he lived and read—read everything that he could lay his hands on—until he entered the University of Montpellier in 1530, and qualified in the profession of a physician.

In 1532 Rabelais went to live at Lyons, which was then a great centre of French intellectual life. There he discoursed with eminent scholars, there he read, and wrote. *The Great and Inestimable Chronicles of the Grand and Enormous Giant Gargantua* was printed at Lyons in 1532. It was followed by a sequel or second part, *Pantagruel*. The works leapt into almost universal popularity. Their satire, their wit, their wise sayings chimed with the spirit of the age, a spirit which revolted against superstition, and was prepared to make fun of the extravagances of religions and social life. Yet many people too were offended at Rabelais's work, not merely by its frequent coarseness, but by its open satirizing of the clergy. The writer narrowly escaped persecution as a heretic, but King Francis I favoured him. In his last years he was parish priest at Mendon, led a good life, preached to his parishioners, and doctored their ills. His writings, in spite of their buffoonery, are an inexhaustible well of jollity and common sense, the outcome of the wide, tolerant, cheerful spirit of the Touraine people, amid whom Rabelais had passed his youth before the monastery shut its gates upon him..

As Rabelais was one of the first great prose-writers of France, so Ronsard was one of the first great poets to use the ordinary French tongue. His friends called him the Prince of Poets, and

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he was the leader of a famous group of ardent young poets called the *Pléiade*: Pierre Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Lazare de Baïf, Jean Dorat, Amadis Jamin, Étienne Jodelle, and Pontus de Thiard. Several of these had been fellow students at the University of Paris. Ronsard, who was of noble birth, was born in 1540, studied at the Collège de Navarre in the University of Paris, and became one of the official gentlemen in the household of the Duke of Orleans. Illness attacked him and made him deaf, so he went back to the University, studied literature, and founded the *Pléiade* group. His *Odes* were published in 1550, his Hymns in 1555. He was greatly favoured by the Court, was given pensions and every encouragement, and lived tranquilly through the Wars of Religion until 1585. His last years were spent, for he was unmarried, in the abbey of Croix-Val in his native district of Vendôme. In 1584 he edited and produced the complete edition of his works, and died next year, honoured by all the men of Church and State. Ronsard is the sweetest singer of the sixteenth century in France. The troubles of the age did not disturb him. His delicate verses, his love of God and men and Nature, give his works a charm that never fails. In freshness and sweetness his work is like that of Sidney and the Elizabethan 'Arcadians'.

Another writer who quietly pursued his literary inclinations through the Wars of Religion was Michel de Montaigne, Seigneur of Montaigne in Périgord. He was born in 1533 and educated at the Collège de Guienne in Bordeaux which was at this time the best school in France. One of young Montaigne's tutors at the College was George Buchanan, the most famous Scottish scholar of that, or indeed of all time, who was later tutor of King James I. On leaving school Montaigne entered the profession of law, but his career was chiefly influenced by Étienne la Boétie, a poet who died young. In 1571 Montaigne, succeeding to his elder brother's estate, retired from his post of counsellor in the Parlement of Bordeaux, and took up the life of a country gentleman. It was then, when he was nearly forty years old, that he began to write his now famous essays, those pithy repositories of the random thoughts of a tolerant observer of life. The only

changes in his quiet way of life were in 1580 when he went on a journey through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. Next year he was elected Mayor of Bordeaux, and held this difficult position with distinction for two years of Huguenot warfare. He died in 1592.

Montaigne is the perfect *Politique*, a wise, tolerant man, an honest searcher after truth, but never going to extremes, unable to see why Christian people should massacre each other in the name of religion, and looking with an equable eye even upon the moral faults to which the society of that time was prone. He started the short essay in modern literature. The Englishman, Bacon, followed in his steps.

Another pupil of the Collège de Guienne at Bordeaux, where Montaigne was educated, was Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609). He was a Huguenot, and found it convenient in 1572 to become professor at Calvin's Academy in Geneva. But he only spent two years there, and passed the rest of his life in France until 1593 when he removed to Holland. His great editions of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius appeared in France during the 'Religious Wars'. His contemporary Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) was also a Huguenot; he taught at Geneva and London more than in France. It is doubtful if the French were ever more learned than in the sixteenth century. But although French learning went on throughout the Wars of Religion, the disturbances and persecutions were not good for it, and in the next century the palm for classical scholarship passed from the French to the Dutch.

Supplementary Dates.

IV

- 1544 'The Heptameron' of Margaret of Navarre.
Odes of Ronsard.
- 1550 Predominance of the *Pléiade* in French Literature.
- 1553 Death of Rabelais.
- 1555 Hymns of Ronsard.
- 1584 Publication of Ronsard's complete works.
- 1592 Death of Montaigne.
- 1609 Death of the Humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger.
- 1610 'Grand Design' of Henry of Navarre.
- 1614 Death of Casaubon.

V

THE RISING TIDE

THE Catholic Revival was a rising tide which nearly engulfed the Protestants in the Thirty Years War. This was not a local struggle like the French Wars of Religion. It was contested on a more European scale than the Dutch War of Independence, although this too involved European interests. The Thirty Years War was the last and biggest struggle of Protestants and Catholics, although Catholics sometimes fought on opposite sides.

Since the Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555, the Germans had jogged along fairly happily. Living was easy in late sixteenth-century Germany. An English traveller, Fynes Moryson, a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, went through the country in the year 1592, and notes in his *Itinerary* that there was an abundance of food, that the people were cheerful and, except for a tendency to drunkenness, well-behaved. They were very fond of salted fish and cheese, because this sort of food stimulated thirst: even without this, they were only too ready to drink—'the least crumb is sufficient'. Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* was first published in the year 1617.

Another authority, Samuel Lewkenor, about the same period describes with admiration the abundance of universities. Student-life was a notable feature of sixteenth-century Germany as it came to be again in the eighteenth. Younger men, earnest seekers after knowledge, clad in coarse cloth and heavy boots, lived frugal lives in the garrets of Erfurt or Heidelberg or Göttingen, studying the scriptural or classical texts in the editions of Erasmus, Scaliger, or Casaubon, and lightening their leisure hours with music and songs, many of which were still in the Latin tongue:

*Gaudeamus igitur,
Iuvenes dum sumus;
Post iucundam iuventutem,
Post molestam senectutem,
Nos habebit humus.*¹

¹ 'Let us rejoice, therefore, while we are young. After a merry youth, after a troublous old age, the earth shall have us.' This song was first



Heidelberg in 1879

This care-free, industrious student-life was soon to be interrupted for many, many years. Suddenly in May 1618, into the busy markets of the mercantile Free Cities, and into the sleepy streets of the dull electoral and princely capitals, came the news that the nobles of Bohemia had revolted against their Austrian Sovereign and had thrown his two ministers out of a window of the palace of Prague. This was the signal for the bursting out of troubles which, however, had long been brewing in Germany.

The chief causes of the Thirty Years War were the *Ecclesiasticum Reservatum* and the autocratic Catholic policy of the three Habsburg emperors, Rudolf, Matthias, and Ferdinand II.¹

The Ecclesiastical Reservation was inserted, under protest of the Lutherans, in the Religious Peace of Augsburg. It enacted that bishops, canons, or abbots who changed from Catholicism to the Reformed Religion after the year 1552 should forfeit their lands and revenues. The Protestants, on the other hand, contended that when in a bishopric, for instance, not merely the bishop but all the canons became reformed, then the lands should go with them and pass away from the Catholic Church; and acting according to this principle, they 'secularized' many an important see, like Magdeburg which became practically a principality for a younger son of the House of Brandenburg (1561), or Bremen, into which King Christian of Denmark forced one of his sons in 1621. Some of the secularized revenues in Germany, like some of the proceeds of the dissolution of the monasteries in England, went to endow university or scholastic foundations, like the almost unique public school of Schul Pforta in (Prussian) Saxony; but the bulk of the revenues were not so well employed, and—in any case—the Catholics had a legitimate grievance where ecclesiastical property was secularized after 1552.

On the other hand Protestants had their grievance too. The Emperors Rudolf, Matthias, and Ferdinand 'of Styria' were printed in the year 1776, but its origin goes back to the late thirteenth century.

¹ Rudolf, 1576-1612; Matthias, 1612-19; Ferdinand II, 1619-37. Ferdinand had been elected King of Bohemia in 1617, while his cousin the Emperor Matthias was still alive.

deeply under the influence of the Jesuits. They were determined to assert their position as Catholic monarchs. Ferdinand, before he came to the Imperial throne, had reconverted his duchy, or archduchy, of Styria. In Bohemia he began a similar policy in 1617. The Protestant princes feared for their liberties, and doubted if even the guarantees of the Religious Peace of Augsburg

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Note. W.P. = West Pomerania

would protect them. Besides, Calvinists were not included in the Augsburg peace. In 1608 some Protestant princes, headed by Ferdinand IV, Elector of the Palatinate (a Calvinist), formed the Evangelical Union. Next year, 1609, a number of Catholic princes, led by Maximilian 'the Great' of Bavaria, started the Catholic League. It was in 1610 that King Henry IV of France, Catholic though he now was, took up arms to check the advance of the Catholic princes, especially the House of Austria, on the Rhine, but he was assassinated in his carriage, as he was leaving Paris for the scene of action, on the 14th May. Had he lived

longer he might have done more than check the Habsburg designs. He himself had a design to federate all Europe into a community of allied though independent Christian States. But this *Grand Dessein* remained only as a memory in the memories of his friend and minister Sully, until it became famous again when the Covenant of the League of Nations was made.

The age was productive of great men. Henry IV was a hero, with sufficient will-power, genius, and moral earnestness to stop the ruin of France, but not in a sufficiently high degree to stop the ruin of Europe. There was only one man who could do that ; he was a Swede, Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, and when he came to Germany in 1630 he had only two years of life left to do the work in. But before he came a good many things had happened ; and another pair of great men had made their mark in Europe. These were Maximilian of Bavaria and Walenstein.

Although nobody knew it, the fates had decreed that three families were to be rivals for pre-eminence in Germany. These were the Habsburgs (Austria), the Wittelsbachs (Bavaria), and the Hohenzollerns (Brandenburg) ; and had the fact been made known in 1618 and a wager started, everybody who did not put their money on the Habsburg chances would have ventured it on the Wittelsbach. Nobody took any account of the Hohenzollerns.

When the Bohemians revolted in 1618-19 against their Austrian sovereign, they looked around to find another man for king. They offered the crown to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, a Calvinist, the head of the Evangelical Union, and son-in-law to King James I of England. Frederick accepted the alluring but dangerous offer (1619), and went to Prague with his wife, the Princess Elizabeth, henceforth to be known as the Queen of Bohemia.

So, when my mistress shall be seen,
 In form and beauty of her mind,
 By virtue first, then choice, a Queen,
 Tell me if she were not design'd
 Th' eclipse and glory of her kind.¹

¹ Sir Henry Wotton on *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (c. 1625).

Des gvesten Pfaltzgrafen Glück und Englück.



The revolving wheel of the King of Bohemia's career

From a seventeenth-century satirical engraving in the Sutherland Collection

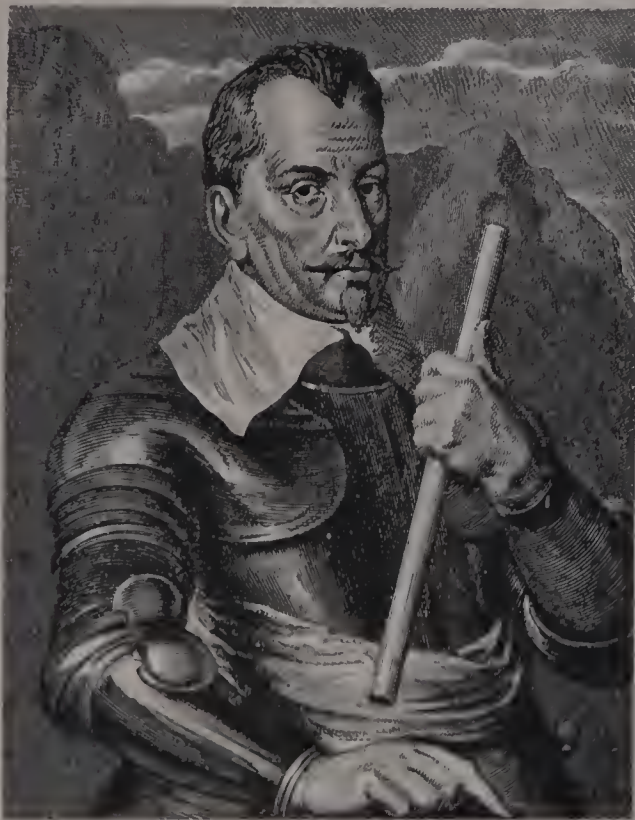
Elizabeth, however, did not remain queen for long, except in name. Her husband Frederick was only a 'Winter-king' as the Jesuits prophesied that he would be, for on the 8th November 1620, he was defeated by Maximilian of Bavaria with the troops of the League and of Austria, at the battle of the White Mountain, three miles from Prague along the road that leads towards the Saxon frontier and Dresden. Thus Frederick lost Bohemia and soon he lost the Palatinate too.

The Protestants in Bohemia had begun the war to assert political and religious liberty. Their failure provoked a reaction by the Catholics against them. One State after another was drawn into the struggle; England and Denmark tried to intervene; but nothing, as it seemed, could stop the progress of Maximilian of Bavaria, with his Catholic League troops, under the immediate command of the famous Walloon, General Tilly. The Emperor Ferdinand II (Ferdinand of Styria and Bohemia, who had been elected Emperor in 1619), Maximilian, Tilly, and finally their Spanish allies (for the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs acted in concert) were too much for the German Protestant forces. By the year 1623 the Palatinate had been conquered, and its capital Heidelberg was garrisoned by Catholic troops. King Christian IV of Denmark joined in the war, with the promise of English subsidies, in 1625; but the League troops, under the apparently invincible Tilly, defeated him at Lutter (August 1626). Denmark was invaded and Christian was glad to accept peace in 1629.

So far, the war had gone in favour of the Catholics, but they had pressed their arms chiefly against the Calvinist princes. The Lutherans had, for the most part, kept out of the war. Maximilian of Bavaria had proved himself to be the strong man of Germany; he possessed the best general (Tilly) and the best army; he had money, too, and lent it freely to the Emperor Ferdinand to carry on the war. But the Emperor's star was rising too, for he discovered a general in a young Bohemian nobleman, whose genius went far beyond that of Tilly.

This man was Albrecht von Wallenstein, who had carried on the last part of the campaign against Christian of Denmark, and

had forced him to make peace in 1629. The campaign in Jutland had only stopped when the Imperialist army reached the sea. King Christian himself was safe in his islands. Standing on a Jutish promontory, looking across the Little Belt of water to



Albrecht von Wallenstein

the island of Fünen, Wallenstein saw that without a navy a military empire is helpless. The same lesson was given him when he besieged the Pomeranian town of Stralsund. This place, although on the mainland opposite to the island of Rügen, is practically an island and can only be approached by bridges. Wallenstein besieged it in the grand style, but as the town remained open to the sea, and the Danes and Swedes sent men

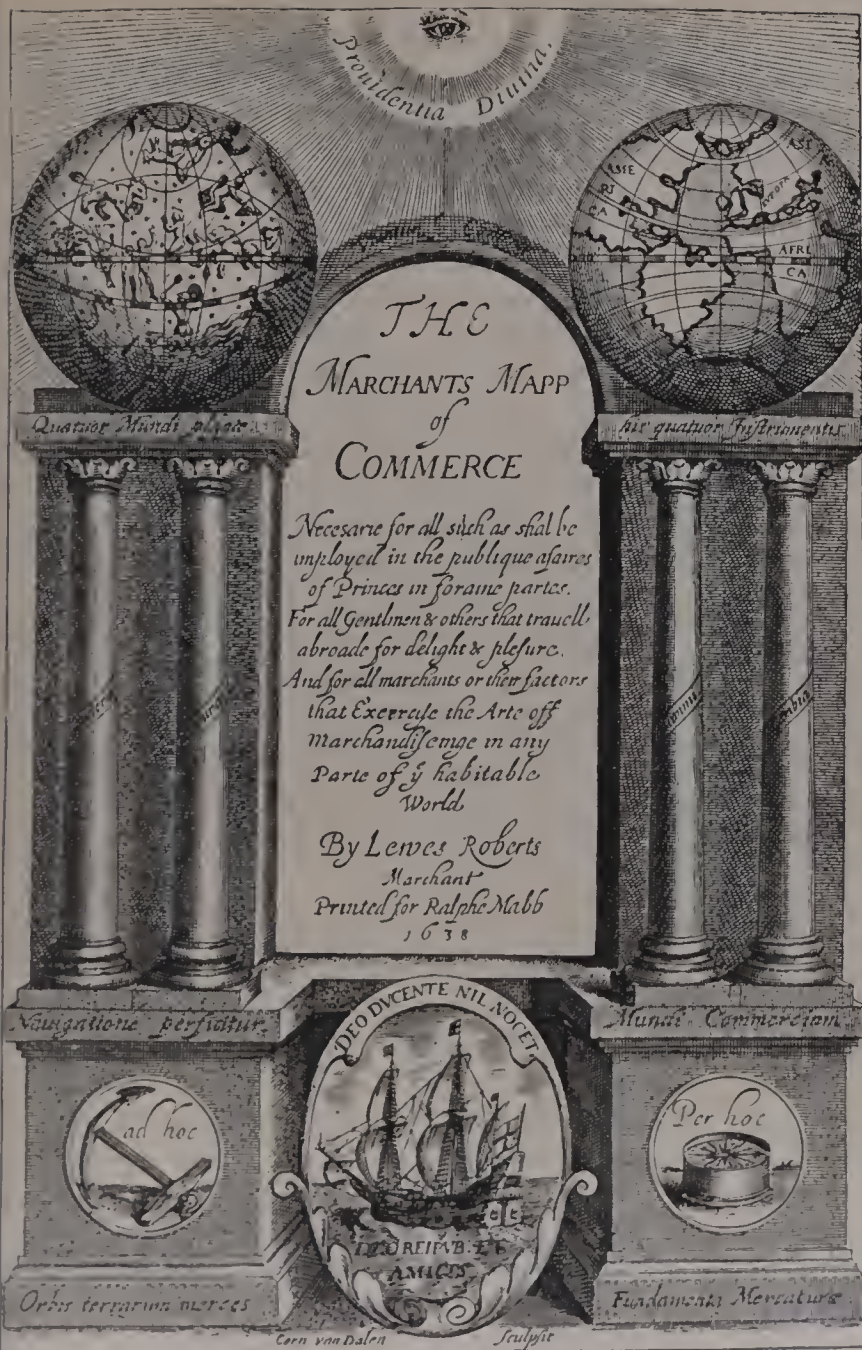
by ship to help the burghers, it remained untaken. This was the first real check to the Catholic party in the Thirty Years War.

Wallenstein had been brought up in Bohemia, in the middle of Central Europe, and had never seen the sea until he came upon it with his army pursuing Christian of Denmark. But when he discovered the sea he realized its full significance. He at once began building ships. The Emperor gave him the necessary authority. He was made Duke of Mecklenburg (the State was confiscated from the reigning Dukes) and Admiral of the Baltic. An idea, produced apparently by some Jesuits thirty years earlier, was now to be put into effect under the name of the *Habsburg Maritime Design*. An alliance of the Habsburgs with Poland secured the use of the Lithuanian ports. Ships would take the Wallensteiners to Sweden, and all Scandinavia would come under Catholicism and the Empire.

It was the political rather than the religious aspect of the Habsburg Maritime Design that interested Wallenstein; it was the religious side that chiefly interested Ferdinand. In March 1629, against the wishes of Wallenstein, he issued the Edict of Restitution, decreeing that all ecclesiastical property which had been secularized since 1552 should be restored to its original owners. This edict, although in lawful accordance with the *Ecclesiasticum Reservatum* of the Peace of Augsburg, was like a declaration of war against all the Protestant princes of Germany. For they or their relatives held secularized Church property; and many Reformed schools and other foundations depended upon the revenues of such property. Thus the Edict had the effect of completing the division of Germany into two hostile and, as it seemed, irreconcilable camps, one Protestant, the other Catholic; and in the face of the all-conquering Imperial and Leaguer armies of the Emperor Ferdinand and Duke Maximilian further resistance seemed impossible.

There was a man, however, on the other side of the Baltic who was watching the affairs of Germany with a cool brain and an untroubled eye. This was Gustavus Adolphus, statesman and soldier, then aged thirty-five.

Sweden was still a young State. Her independence was just



The Commercial expansion of Europe

A title-page of 1638

over a hundred years old. She was surrounded by hostile neighbours, Norway (which belonged to Denmark), Russia, which under Ivan the Terrible (1533-84) had made some steps towards material power, and Poland, ruled by a Catholic branch of the House of Vasa, as Sweden was by Protestant Vasas. Sweden, moreover, her mineral wealth quite undeveloped, had few agricultural resources to depend upon. In the course of a long struggle with Russia and Poland, Gustavus had won the Baltic provinces of Karelia and Livonia; and with the corn from these lands Sweden could live well, and could, besides, wall off the Catholic Poles from trying to put their Vasa king back on the throne of Sweden. But all Gustavus's precautions and conquests would be unavailing when the Habsburg Maritime Design should be put into effect. The Imperialists would conquer all Germany; they would sail across the Baltic, like another Great Armada with shiploads of soldiers and priests, and would conquer Sweden.

On the 30th May 1629 Gustavus announced his great decision to the Swedish Diet. He was going to throw his little nation (about two million people as compared with thirty million Germans) into the scales against the whole Empire. On the 26th June 1630 he landed in the island of Usedom, on the Pomeranian coast, with an army of 16,000 men.

Then ensued a campaign which is justly considered one of the wonders of the world. For months Gustavus seemed to accomplish nothing. The princes of Northern Germany, hoping to save themselves from the Emperor by neutrality, held aloof from the invader. Tilly took and horribly sacked the great Protestant city of Magdeburg (10 May 1631). Then Gustavus moved: neutral or not, Brandenburg would have to let him through its territory. Old George William of Brandenburg sulkily agreed. *Que faire? ils ont des canons*,¹ he said when asked why he admitted the Swedes. Then Gustavus proceeded to go through Germany like a battering-ram. Within a few months Europe turned a definite corner in its history. The Habsburg Maritime Design was no more heard of. The army of the Catholic League

¹ 'What can one do? They have cannon' (See Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, Book III, Chap. XVI, quoting *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*.)

was shattered at Breitenfeld (September 1631). The Swedes marched to the Main, the Rhine, the Danube. An irruption of Wallenstein into Saxony recalled the great king north again. At Lützen (6 November 1632) the two greatest captains of the war met; Wallenstein, the cool defender, held his line; the impetuous Swede attacked, drove the Imperial forces off the field,



but was hacked to pieces leading a cavalry charge in which he had outrun all his men. The glorious Lion of the North was dead; but he had saved Northern Europe, perhaps all Europe, from Habsburg dominion, and had re-established equilibrium between Catholics and Protestants. Gustavus, therefore, is the first maker of the modern European system, which depends on a balance of power, with no domination by any one State, and with the two branches of the Christian religion holding powerful sway, without rivalry or competition, each in their separate spheres.

It was this separation of spheres, Catholic and Protestant, that

the peace which came at the end of the struggle definitely recognized. The war had not ended with the death of Gustavus at Lützen. He died too soon for either side to acknowledge complete defeat, or even to acknowledge, through the exhaustion of both parties, 'stalemate'. Had Gustavus lived he meant (and he had strength and genius to do it) to federate all the North German States, with Denmark (which he was going to conquer) and his own kingdom of Sweden, into a *Corpus Evangelicorum*, a Society of Protestant States, which should counterbalance the Catholic Empire. This was a fine conception, but with Oxenstjerna, the minister whom Gustavus left to carry on his work, it was only a memory. Oxenstjerna had the plan, but he could not put it into effect. He was sufficiently glad if he could withdraw Sweden from the long war, compensated for her heroic sacrifices in the common Protestant cause.

It was this necessity for a Swedish compensation, coupled with the military intervention of France in 1635 to gain Alsace and the Rhine frontier, that prolonged the war for sixteen years after the death of Gustavus. But wisdom in the long run prevails. By the year 1648 the statesmen of the belligerent Powers, after years of negotiation which did not interrupt the hostilities, at last arranged a peace. Two Treaties, signed at Münster and Osnabrück, together make up the famous Peace of Westphalia (October 1648). The terms of the Religious Peace of Augsburg were extended to include Calvinists as well as Lutherans. Secularizations of ecclesiastical property made before 1624 were recognized as valid. Sweden was given financial compensation and the possession of Western Pomerania. France gained the greater part of Alsace. Bavaria reached the peak of her greatness (though there may be greater things yet to come for her); Maximilian, hitherto only a sovereign Duke, became an Imperial Elector, with his territory increased by the whole Upper Palatinate (Amberg and district). The Elector of Brandenburg got Magdeburg, and increased his State in other directions. Yet no one thought, even yet, that the Hohenzollerns could rival the Wittelsbachs. Charles Louis, the son of Frederick V and the Princess Elizabeth, was restored to his hereditary position of

Elector of the (Lower) Palatinate, with his capital at Heidelberg. His father had died in 1632. The Princess Elizabeth herself lived to a ripe old age, dying in England in 1662. Her daughter, Sophia, married Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, and became the mother of George I of Great Britain.

It was the result of many curious vicissitudes that brought the grandson of the Princess Elizabeth on to the throne of the Stuarts. James I, the father of Elizabeth, had ruled in peace until his death in 1625. Her brother Charles I ended a stormy reign in the rebellion of 1642-9, with his death on the scaffold in the latter year. Republican England, which became the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was only preserved from disaster by the powerful character of Oliver Cromwell. With his death in 1658 disintegration began in the Commonwealth. General George Monk stopped this disintegration and restored the monarchy in the person of Elizabeth's nephew, Charles II, in 1660. But Charles's successor, James II, tried to Romanize England, and so was expelled in 1688 by the Bloodless Revolution. William III of Orange and his wife Mary, a daughter of James II, then became joint sovereigns. They had no children, so were succeeded by Anne, another daughter of James II. Queen Anne died in 1714 with no child to succeed to her throne. She had a half-brother, James III, son of James II, but the English people would have none of him. They preferred instead 'a wee bit German lairdie', as the Scots called George of Hanover. Thus the grandson of Princess Elizabeth came to the throne of his maternal ancestors, while James III went to live at Bar-le-Duc.

Supplementary Dates.

V

- 1501 Secularization of Magdeburg.
- 1574 Death of John Knox.
- 1598 Death of Tasso
- 1607 'Orfeo' of Monteverde establishes the Opera.
- 1609 Death of Arminius.
- 1617 Publication of Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*.
- 1621 Secularization of Bremen.

VI

THE LAW OF NATIONS

BETWEEN the years 1494 and 1648 the various races of Europe, worshipping, trading, tilling, learning, or fighting, were gradually becoming solid national units, consciously inspired by national sentiment. It is in the form of nations that (so it seems) Europe and the whole world will continue to exist, at least for many, many years. The national sentiment supplies driving-force to every man in the nation; it stimulates devotion to a cause; properly directed, like all our passions, it is a power for good. Misdirected, however, national sentiment produces hatreds, feuds, fratricidal quarrels.

The system of nationalities has already provoked and will provoke more wars than religious quarrels made formerly, and more than the ambition of kings make in our days. The covetousness of nations is more keen, their triumphs are more arrogant, their contempt is more insulting, than are those of princes; they arouse also feelings of resentment more bitter and more durable. It is no longer an abstract principle—the State or royalty—that actuates man; he is touched in his blood and in his race: the passions which formerly agitated only individuals gain the mass of the people, and they become all the more terrible in proportion as the spirits which they take possession of are more limited.¹

Only, therefore, by submitting to law can nations live together without perpetually clashing. The life of the world depends on the Law of Nations.

‘The history of the Thirty Years War’, says Heeren, ‘constitutes an interesting section of the history of the German Empire; but is most important for its bearing on the Law of Nations.’² In the first place the Thirty Years War settled for ever the

¹ Sorel, *Histoire diplomatique de la guerre franco-allemande*, tome II, p. 358-9, quoted in Mantencyer, *L'Offre de Paix Séparée de l'Autriche* (1919), p. 8.

² Heeren, *History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies* (trans. 1857), p. 90.

religious struggle which had begun with the Reformation. 'The Peace of Westphalia has terminated the religious quarrels, and has fixed a *status quo*, Catholic and Protestant'—so wrote one of Napoleon's active diplomatists a hundred and fifty years later.¹

The second outstanding result of the war was the creation of the Law of Nations. There had been no such law before this, because in ancient days the Roman Empire had governed all civilized Europe; and in the Middle Ages the existence of the universal Catholic Church seemed to make unnecessary the creation of a secular code of international law. But the Reformation had destroyed the universality of the Roman Catholic Church: a large portion of the European peoples did not even pay lip-service to it.

When the Thirty Years War opened, the customs of war had never been codified. The casual way in which mercenaries were recruited and discharged was bad for discipline; the mercenaries themselves, homeless, wandering swordsmen, had no domestic ties to soften them towards the inhabitants among whom they moved. Armies 'lived upon the country'. Towns were plundered, villages ravaged, peasants were tortured to disclose their savings. A book, called *The Lamentations of Germany*, published in England in 1638 by Vincent, a Protestant pastor, gives a gruesome account of the horrors of the Thirty Years War. Grotius also writes:

I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a licence in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed; recourse being had to arms for slight reasons or no reason; and when arms were once taken up, all reverence for divine or human law was thrown away, just as if men were thenceforth authorized to commit all crimes without restraint.²

Hugo Grotius was born in 1583, at Delft. The Dutch were great students of the classics in those days. Grotius went to their

¹ Laforest to Talleyrand, 17 Dec. 1802, quoted in Mowat, *The European States System* (1923), p. 30.

² Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis* ('concerning the Law of War and Peace', 1625), Prolegomena, § 28.

university, Leyden, and became a famous scholar, especially in the study of Cicero. In 1599 he began professional life as a practising barrister, and in the next years was often employed in State diplomatic business. Civil dissensions between the province of Holland and the other provinces of the United Netherlands drove him into exile in 1619. He spent the following years after that poorly enough, chiefly at Paris. Yet he never abandoned his legal, historical, and theological studies. He had good friends with whom he occasionally stayed in the French countryside; and he was able to get information on the public events of the day. The result of his studies, his observations, and of his practical, compassionate outlook on contemporary Europe was the book *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, published and sold at the Frankfort Fair in 1625. It was a learned and carefully argued statement of all the customs and modes of behaviour which States would reasonably be expected to observe in their relations with each other, or which individuals could be expected to observe when war for the time being suspended the laws that prevailed during peace. *Silent leges inter arma*, 'in war the laws are mute', Grotius quoted in his book; yes, he added,

but let this be understood of laws civil, judicial, proper to peace; not of those laws which are perpetual and accommodated to all time. For it is excellently said that between enemies, written laws, that is, Civil laws, are not in force; but that unwritten laws are, namely, those which Nature dictates, or the consent of nations institutes.¹

Grotius, therefore, set himself to write down in a reasoned system those unwritten laws of war. No book of modern times has had a greater effect, although it might be said of it, as of the Bible, that few books have been more commonly disregarded. The *De Jure Belli et Pacis* is the foundation of the whole body of rules which civilized States observe, and which the public opinion of mankind supports, in international affairs. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden knew and admired the work of Grotius, and governed his armies on its principles as long as he lived. In the later stages of the Thirty Years War the conduct of belli-

¹ *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, Prolegomena, § 26. *Silent leges inter arma* is a quotation from Cicero, *Pro Milone*, § 1.

gerents again became particularly atrocious. The sufferings of the German peoples made them almost hopeless. A man who had lived through these years, Grimmelshausen, wrote a novel called *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1669), the adventures of a boy in the long-drawn-out conflict. When the war is over, Simplicissimus, like a pious Christian in the Dark Ages, feels that he must withdraw from an evil world into solitude. So he retires to an island, refusing all invitations to return to the troubled land.

Simplicissimus, however, was wrong. The future of mankind lay with the men who, like Quintus Fabius Maximus of old, 'did not despair of the State'. The Peace of Westphalia was the work of such hopeful statesmen. It is the first grand treaty of the European System, the first Conference of the Powers. It ended the religious struggle; it made the final recognition of the independence of the Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation, two small States that might be called the homes of International Law; for Holland produced Grotius, and Switzerland produced Vattel, unrivalled exponents of the Law of Nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And to-day Holland has the International Court of Arbitration, while Switzerland has the seat of the League of Nations.

All the wars in Western Europe, from 1648 to 1815, were wars in which the question of maintaining or abrogating some part of the Law of Nations was at best one of the chief causes of hostilities. The other chief cause was the persistent effort of the French to gain their 'natural' frontiers, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, the Alps. Indeed for the last three hundred years one of the great problems of Europe has been—and still is—how to reconcile the reasonable claims of France for natural, defensible frontiers with the maintenance of the existing international system and the Law of Nations.

The continuous striving of France to attain the natural frontiers began in 1552 when King Henry II switched off the French military effort from the disastrous fields of Italy to the eastern regions of Lorraine and Alsace. The wars of Huguenot and Catholic interrupted the process, but King Henry IV resumed it after he had pacified France with arms and 'a Mass'. In 1600

he won, from the Duke of Savoy, Bresse and Bugey, two provinces that brought the French frontier up to the Jura Mountains. In 1624 Richelieu became the chief minister of France. His aim throughout life was to restore to France, as he says in his *Testament politique*, its natural limits ; for she was pressed by the Habsburg Powers, both from the east and the west. The Spanish State extended over the Pyrenees into Roussillon ; in the east of France it possessed Franche-Comté, and in the north-east Artois. Alsace, with its great city Strasbourg commanding the Upper Rhine, was in the Empire. Richelieu set himself to restore to France the ancient limits of Gaul.

In 1635 Richelieu joined in the Thirty Years War to prevent any further increase of the Habsburg Power, which was already too great for the safety of France. In 1642 Richelieu died, but the next French minister, Mazarin, carried on the German war to its conclusion by the Peace of Westphalia. The result of the cessions of 1648 was that France touched the Rhine in Alsace, although she did not get the whole of that province. Mazarin still continued a combat with Spain in which France had become involved during the Thirty Years War. This conflict terminated with the Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659. The south-western frontier was fixed at the crest-line or watershed of the Pyrenees, and it has proved to be the most stable frontier in Europe. In the north-east France acquired Artois.

In 1661 Mazarin died ; Louis XIV, who had been nominally reigning since 1643, took the government of France into his own hands. In a long and truly magnificent reign (though it ended in gloom) he fought four European wars, each successive struggle being longer and more intense than the one before. In 1667 he attacked Spain in the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium, the part of the Netherlands which had remained to Spain when the United Netherlands became free in 1609). A Triple Alliance of Holland, Sweden, and England (1668) saved this 'buffer-province', although Spain had to cede a few of the frontier towns (Lille among others) to France. In 1672 Louis made a direct assault upon the Dutch by marching over the feebly defended Spanish Netherlands into Holland. This war provoked another



Dess. & grav. par D. Chodowiecki

*Les Réfugiés François établissent des Fabriques
dans le Brandebourg
Mem. pour servir à l'Histoire du Refuge TIV p. 251.*

The pride of French refugees in Europe after the revocation of the
Edict of Nantes. They carried their industries with them

From an engraving by D. Chodowiecki

coalition against France, and came to an end with the Treaty of Nymwegen in 1678. The Dutch were safe, but Spain again had to bear the sacrifice by ceding to France some more Belgian towns (including Valenciennes) and Franche-Comté.

In 1681 Louis XIV seized Strasbourg with other Imperial territories in Alsace. This provoked another coalition, a Grand Alliance, against France, and a war which ended with the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). Louis kept Strasbourg. In the course of the war he had revoked the Edict of Nantes (23 October 1685). The public worship of the Huguenots was forbidden. Consequently, a large number escaped to other countries, taking their industrial skill to strengthen the resources of Louis's enemies.

The last war (1701-14) was produced by Louis accepting Spain for his second grandson, under the will of the last Habsburg king of Spain, Carlos II, who died in 1700. In this war the great victories of Marlborough and Eugene of Savoy at Blenheim in 1704, Ramillies in 1706, and Oudenarde in 1708 were a little dimmed by the stubborn resistance of the French at Malplaquet (1709) and the French victory at Denain in 1712. The long struggle ended with the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714); Louis agreed that France and Spain should never be joined together, although his second grandson still remained king at Madrid (Philip V). With the necessary modifications due to the wars that had been fought and to the time that had passed, the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt reaffirmed the territorial system of Western Europe as made by the Treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees. But the Spanish Netherlands and Lombardy and Naples were transferred to Austria. Great Britain kept Gibraltar, captured from Spain in 1704.

It must not be thought that Louis XIV was merely breaking the Public Law of Europe in these four wars. His chief aim was to complete the natural frontiers of France. It was inevitable that Spain should, some time or other, lose territories like Franche-Comté or the Cambrésis, which were obviously within the geographical area of France. In a more reasonable age, if the seventeenth-century monarchs had had the idea of Napoleon III, the Spaniards might have given up Franche-Comté, Lille, and Cambrai

for an exchange or for purchase. But in the seventeenth century the public opinion of court, camp, or cottage never contemplated such transactions.

When Louis XIV extended his effort from gaining the natural frontiers to annexing or controlling Holland and Spain, his views became, as French historians acknowledge, *trop étendus*, too wide ; he caricatured (*dénatura*, says Sorel ¹), the normal aims of Richelieu. In a magnificent painting by Charles le Brun on the ceiling of the *Galerie des Glaces* at Versailles, Louis XIV and his councillors are seen making the fateful declaration of war against Holland in 1672. They were not deceived about the seriousness of the step that they were taking. This was a real war for conquest : it was an attack on a powerful State which was universally acknowledged to be a member of the European system. This war produced a reaction of Europe, under the influence of William of Orange, against the military despotism of Louis, comparable to Pitt's coalitions against Napoleon I. And, both times, the Law of Nations, after tremendous sacrifices, was vindicated.

¹ Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française* (1912), vol. i, p. 283.

Supplementary Dates.

VI

- 1630 Death of Malherbe.
- 1635 Richelieu founds the Académie française.
- 1638 'The Lamentations of Germany', by Vincent.

VII

THREE MONARCHS

§ I. *Louis*

'MONARCHY', says Rousseau in the *Contrat Social*, 'is suitable for large States, aristocracy for medium-sized, democracy for small States.'¹ No type of Government is perfect, because human beings are imperfect. 'Errors', wrote Milton in *Arcopagitica*, 'in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident': but not incidental in each to just the same extent. Three kings at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth show the virtues and defects of the monarchical form of government: these monarchs were Louis XIV of France, Peter the Great of Russia, Charles XII of Sweden. Other types of government existed. Holland and Venice were pure aristocracies. The Free Imperial Cities of Germany and some of the Swiss Cantons (each of which was practically an independent State) were democracies, although only of a very moderate kind. It was monarchies that bulked most largely in the public eye.

Louis XIV was the biggest figure of the age. The French look upon the time in which he lived as their great period. Everything was grand then; Louis was *le Grand Monarque*, his leading soldier was *le Grand Condé*, his spirited cousin, the Princess of Orleans, was *la Grande Mademoiselle*, the century in which he lived was *le Grand Siècle*.

France, in the reign of Louis XIV, had enormous resources, inherited from the successful administrations of Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin. Louis spent these resources royally. Before the increasingly long wars bit too deeply into his treasury, he had built the grand palaces of Versailles, St. Germain, and St. Cloud.

The Palace or Château of Versailles still stands in all its beauty, a worthy memento of the magnificent sovereign. About twelve miles to the south-west of Paris is a sandy plain, pleasantly wooded,

¹ Rousseau, *Du Contrat Social*, Livre III, Chap. III.



Versailles. The magnificent palace of Louis XIV

and bounded by hills that meet the eye at an agreeable distance. On a piece of low-rising ground in the middle of this plain, where there was a hunting-lodge of Louis XIII, the Grand Monarch employed all the strength and ingenuity and the brains and mechanical resources of France. Now a majestic broad avenue leads up to a spacious *Place d'Armes*. Next a gentle rise leads to a great cobbled courtyard, with giant-like statues of Louis's generals, admirals, and administrators all around it. The Château stands at the end of the courtyard, throwing out wings to half-enclose it. Chapel, halls, galleries, living-rooms—painted, gilded, beautified with vases of Sèvres china and pictures of Le Brun, Boucher, and Watteau—receive the visitor enraptured with the wealth of taste displayed before him. Everything is lofty, coloured, flooded with daylight from the spacious windows. The back of the Château is a long façade, of exquisite proportions. Looking through this, from the *Galerie des Glaces*, the eye is met by a long vista of avenue, lake, and fountain till it rests on the distant hills. The park of Versailles, terraced, wooded, watered—with lawns, flower-beds and borders, trees single, or in clumps or groves—is the triumph of landscape gardening. Here was Louis's Court; here until the Revolution were the public offices; here Racine produced *Esther*, and the plays of the aged Corneille were performed. The high life of Europe assembled purged of its gross manners; the atmosphere of a refined and liberal nobility—nobility of birth and nobility of service—lay lightly over all.

Versailles, incomplete as it remained throughout the reign of Louis XIV, was always thronged with courtiers. All the *noblesse* had to be there, at least very frequently. It was apparently Louis's policy to draw them away from their estates lest they should make difficulties for the Government there. His boyhood had been troubled by insubordination of the *noblesse*, by a sort of social war called the Fronde (1648-53), and he was not going to allow such a thing to happen again. The third Duc de la Rochefoucauld,¹ who was master of the Royal Wardrobe, said towards the end of his life that he had only spent twenty nights

¹ The son of the second Duke. The second Duke died in 1680 and was the author of the famous *Maximes morales*.

away from the Court in fifty years. The courtiers often found life monotonous at Versailles; they had to loiter in the windy alleys of the park (the plain of Versailles is swept by every wind that blows), or to stand about respectfully in the salons and galleries while the dignified monarch paraded slowly through the palace saying a word here and there: ' There is nothing comparable to the *ennui* which devours them ', wrote Madame de Maintenon, the noble governess who married the King in 1685. Yet the exquisite, if artificial, beauty of Versailles, and the leisureliness of the life of cultured people, gave opportunity for the choicer spirits to use their talents: some, like the third Duc de Saint-Simon, wrote Memoirs; some, like Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, or Bourdaloue the Jesuit, made the Chapel of Versailles the scene of the grandest preaching in the history of the French pulpit; some, like Fénelon, tutor to Louis's grandsons, wrote novels: Fénelon's *Télémaque* is long and restful, filled with the spirit of the ancients as well as of the *Grand Siècle*; the courtiers encouraged Racine or Molière to produce their masterpieces; they patronized Nicolas¹ and Gaspar Poussin, Claude Gelée (Claude Lorrain), and the other painters; Madame de Sévigné wrote her famous letters. But at the end of the reign Marshal Vauban detected the seeds of national misery beneath all this splendour and wrote the *Dîme royale* (1707). Versailles has the defects which the imperfections of heroic nature cannot escape even in its grandest enterprises, but it remains a magnificent monument of an age of great men.

§ 2. Peter

One day, in the year 1697, the great Duke of Marlborough happened to be in the village of Zaandam. He visited the dockyard of one Mynheer Calf, a rich ship-builder, and was struck with the appearance of a journeyman at work there. He was a large, powerful man, dressed in a red woollen shirt and duck trousers, with a sailor's hat, and seated, with an adze in his hand, upon a rough log of timber.²

¹ ' He alone has a right to be considered as the painter of classical antiquity ', says Hazlitt (*Table Talk*—' A landscape of Nicolas Poussin '). Charles Lamb said that Claude Lorrain's colours had the genuine light of the sun in them.

² Essay on *Peter the Great*, by Motley (1845).

This man was Peter, the Tsar of all the Russias, the ruler of territories covering about one-quarter of the whole world, who at the age of twenty-five had left his country and come to learn ship-building in Holland. He lived in a two-roomed log cottage, which is still there. But the celebrated apprenticeship of the Tsar at Zaandam only lasted three days, for the concourse of idle gazers very naturally disturbed this by no means placid man, and he speedily removed himself to Amsterdam to the dockyards of the Dutch East India Company.

In the seventeenth century Russia was an eastern Empire touching the sea nowhere but at the port of Archangel, which was frozen for about half the year. Its capital was Moscow, huge, turreted, crowded; churches like mosques, only with the cross on them instead of the crescent; a market for Central Asia, rather than for Europe; visited by slow caravans that came out of Mongolia or Turkestan; its male citizens, bearded, petticoated, illiterate; its women shut up in the houses like Orientals, never appearing in public; the Tsar and his court of ferocious nobles, *boyars*, living almost unknown to his people in the huge battlemented wall of the Kremlin, in itself almost a city, partly gloomy fortress, partly a collection of churches with flashing spires.

Peter, says Motley, is one of the comparatively small number of men who have definitely shifted the course of history. 'If he had not lived, Russia would very probably have been at the present moment . . . a vast wilderness, peopled by uncouth barbarians, and governed by a struggling, brawling, confused mob of unlettered boyards, knavish priests, and cut-throat Janizaries.'³ As a matter of fact, Russia appears to have returned to something like this condition since she got rid of the Tsars in 1917.

Monarchy is a profession, only differing from ordinary professions in being more strictly hereditary. The monarchs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took their profession very seriously. They paid themselves well for their work, but most of them worked hard. Peter rose at four o'clock in the morning, and spent the day in furious labours—engineering, drilling troops,

¹ Motley, *op. cit.*

ship-building, dictating to secretaries, yachting. As a boy he had learned to yacht on the river Yausa that flows by Moscow. Long before he had ever seen the sea he had grasped the fact that sea-power and sea-faring are the indispensable conditions of European civilization.

Peter had his friends. A solitary man could not have lifted the dead weight of his empire from the east to the west. He had many comrades: he assembled and trained (and was trained by) a whole school of councillors. The first was a young Swiss clerk, turned soldier. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were opportunities for talent, as indeed there always are. Moreover the existence of many Courts of enlightened despots who did not fear to run counter to local prejudices gave scope for adventurers who should chance to attract the fancy of a despot. Lefort, the Swiss, was such an adventurer. Born in 1655, he was brought up in the thriving, but rather parochial, city-state of Geneva. Finding the career of a clerk in a merchant's counting-house too small for him, he enlisted in a volunteer regiment, served in the Low Countries, and became known as a good officer. A Russian recruiting agent induced him to go to Archangel; from there he found his way to Moscow and got into Peter's service in 1690. Lefort was still a comparatively young man, enthusiastic, with keen powers of observation, like all Swiss a good linguist, clear headed, capable. There were others like him: all capable, all strong in will, like Gordon, the Scotsman, or Mentschikoff, the Russian. Peter took some of his councillors with him when he went abroad in 1697, to Zaandam, to London, Oxford, and back to Russia by way of Vienna. It was just after this that his long duel with Charles XII began.

§ 3. *Charles*

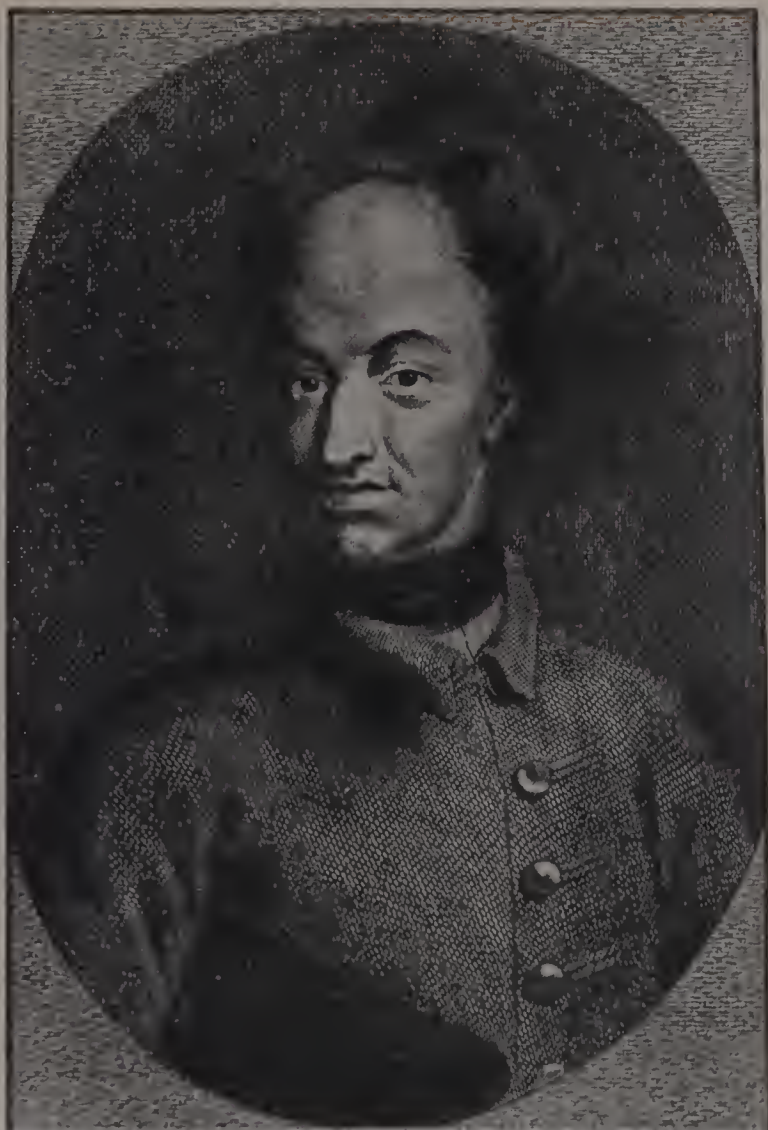
Charles XII of Sweden was born in 1682, and at the early age of fifteen succeeded his father, Charles XI. Nearly all the kings of the house of Vasa died young. Gustavus Adolphus was killed at Lützen at the age of thirty-seven; his daughter, Queen Christina, lived to the age of sixty-three, but abdicated the throne

in 1654, when twenty-eight years old; Charles X, like all the Vasas a brilliant warrior, died at the height of fame at the end of a long war with Poland and Denmark, at the age of forty-seven in 1660; and Charles XI, careful administrator, father of Swedish industries, and sound diplomatist, died at the age of thirty-seven.

When Charles XII came to the throne, his neighbours, the sovereigns of Denmark, Russia, and Poland, conspired to attack him. They had their reasons: Russia had claims to the Baltic provinces of Ingria and Carelia, which Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had won by arms in 1616 (Treaty of Stolbova). Poland had a claim to Lithuania, another Baltic province which Gustavus Adolphus had gained in 1629 (Treaty of Altmark), and which, after a subsequent war, had been solemnly declared to be Sweden's, by the Treaty of Oliva, 1660, between Charles XI of Sweden and John Casimir of Poland. Denmark had a cause of quarrel owing to the friendship between the Swedish Government and the Duke of Holstein, a duchy, once Danish, which the King of Denmark wished to recover.

Charles, like a healthy young man, was fond of hunting and of military exercises, but on coming to the throne he displayed little interest in political affairs. Yet when the design of the three northern Courts—Denmark, Poland, and Russia—was made known to him, he suddenly became a new man. A Council was being held: the youthful king had made one of his rare appearances, and was sitting with his legs on the table, and a distant, tired expression on his face. The grave generals and ministers alluded to the hostile preparations of the three Courts. At once Charles sat up; an air of seriousness and, at the same time, of confidence, came over his countenance. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'I am resolved never to make an unjust war, but never to cease from a lawful war except at the destruction of my enemies. My decision is made; I will attack the first who declares war.'¹ He was as good as his word. In May 1700 he started a combined land and water campaign from his base in Germany, the Swedish province of Western Pomerania. Soon an astonished Europe heard that Copenhagen itself had been forced to surrender, after

¹ Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII*, Livre II, at the beginning



CHARLES XII King of SWEDEN

Charles in person had led a force against it, wading from his ship's boat to the shore, shoulder deep in water.

It was the Tsar's turn next. Peter had a large army, and he was trying to organize it on the best European model; but it was still more than half Oriental; the quiver and the bow were more common in it than the powder-bag and the musket. Charles marched through his province of Livonia into Esthonia, and met Peter's forces at Narva: he had 8,000 Swedes against 80,000 Russians. The Russian army was routed, and its best generals made prisoner (20 November 1700).

The King of Poland, who was also known as Augustus II, Elector of Saxony, was the next to experience the prowess of this northern Alexander. Poland was a huge kingdom with a numerous, warlike, but undisciplined aristocracy. Charles was to prove the truth of Machiavelli's saying that a country of free nobles is easy to conquer but difficult to hold. The Polish armies were beaten; Warsaw was captured; King Augustus was forced to flee. But the years slipped past, and Charles found himself still fighting.

In 1706 he advanced into Saxony by way of Silesia: the Empire protested against the violation of Austrian territory in vain. At last Augustus was forced to own himself beaten and came to Charles's camp at Altranstädt. Augustus was one of the most handsome and luxurious men of his time; he was then aged thirty-six. Charles was twenty-three, bronzed, keen-looking, every inch a soldier; he took no pains to put on the regal grandeur which Augustus bore. He dressed habitually in a blue tail-coat with gilt buttons, and he always appeared in large serviceable riding boots. At Altranstädt the two monarchs conversed without any elaborate form, and Charles's straightforward methods soon brought matters to a settlement. Augustus had to renounce the crown of Poland, leaving the field free for a new king. This was Stanislaus Leszczynski, a brave, serious-minded young Polish nobleman, with whom Charles had made friends.

To Altranstädt came also the Duke of Marlborough, who left for the moment his high command in the War of the Spanish

Succession, in order to induce Charles not to intervene in western affairs. Marlborough was the first captain of the age, but Charles, born soldier though he was, took little interest in him: the Duke



was too well dressed, too fashionable, for the hardy Charles. Marlborough, however, was quite satisfied with his visit, for he found that Charles was bent upon making another campaign against Russia, and was not going to do anything to help Louis XIV. So the War of the Spanish Succession went on in the west, and the

great Northern War went on in the Slavonic region: this is the last time in history that hostilities have occurred in separate parts of Europe without spreading from one to the other and becoming general.¹

Charles's next campaign was fatal. He had resolved to invade Russia so as to finish off the war by taking Moscow. One hundred and four years later, Napoleon, when preparing to carry out a similar plan, asked a Russian envoy what was the best route by which to advance into Russia. 'Sire,' replied the envoy, 'there are several ways of invading Russia: Charles XII took that by Pultava.' The invasion which the Swedish king made by that route was a warning to all who came later.

Charles had a fine, though small, army. He did not, however, mean to invade Russia unsupported. The Cossacks of the Ukraine, under their Hetman, Mazeppa, were going to rise and join him. The campaign is one of the wonders of the world. Charles with 40,000 Swedes, having marched through Poland, crossed the Russian frontier at Michanowich, on the 1st October 1708. Slowly and steadily he advanced in the long Russian winter, although many of his soldiers succumbed to frost-bite—losing hands, noses, ears. By May 1709 the Swedes, now reduced from 40,000 to 20,000, laid siege to the Ukrainian fortress of Pultava, garrisoned by Russian troops. Peter was coming up with an army, not the half-drilled host which had collapsed at Narva, but a new model army, trained on the lines of the Swedes themselves. The fatal battle took place on the 26th June 1709. Nearly everything on the Swedish side was already exhausted—powder, food, physical strength, everything except the heroic spirit of the men and their leader. Spirit, however, was on the Russian side too, the titanic energy of their Tsar. The Swedish army was all but annihilated. The remnants had to surrender two days later.

Charles himself escaped southwards to Bessarabia, at that time a Turkish (subsequently a Russian, now a Rumanian) province. There, in the town of Bender, he lived for four years, trying to rule Sweden from afar, and at the same time to keep the Turks

¹ See Treitschke, *Politics* (trans., 1910), ii. 573.

stirred up against the Russians. Meanwhile Peter conquered all the Baltic provinces of Sweden except Finland. Augustus of Saxony recovered his lost kingdom of Poland; and the King of Denmark, Frederick IV, attacked Sweden from Norway. The captains—Count Magnus Stenbock was the best—whom Charles had left at home, kept Sweden itself safe: but almost all her territories across the Baltic were lost. One great opportunity came and went, for Charles, in 1711, when a Turkish army caught Peter's invading forces on the Pruth River, and could have annihilated them. Peter was saved not by war but by diplomacy; the Grand Vizier, Baltaji Mehemet, agreed (to the amazement of everybody) to allow the Russian army to retire, on condition of giving up all recent conquests from the Turks. A large bribe of money from the Russian side had something to do with the Grand Vizier's decision.

The Treaty of the Pruth allowed Charles a free passage from Bender to his own dominions. He was not willing to take it, but the Turks wanted to get rid of him. He refused to go until the Turkish Government sent a corps of Janissaries and made him a prisoner (1713). In 1714 he returned to Sweden with his faithful companions, by way of Hungary, Austria, Nuremberg, and Cassel, and arrived at Stralsund, in Swedish Pomerania, at midnight on 20th November. There he took up the apparently interminable war with the Northern League. Peace he would never make, unless he got his territories back: his spirit was unbroken, his resolution intact. Even yet, when he was present, his exhausted, war-weary soldiers were almost invincible. In 1718 he was the attacking party, invading the Danish dependency of Norway, so as to have a 'pledge' with which to force his enemies to an equitable peace. On the 12th December 1718 he was shot dead in the Swedish trenches in front of the Norwegian fortress of Frederikssteen, at the age of thirty-six.

His fall was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress and a dubious hand.
He left the name at which the world grew pale
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.¹

¹ Johnson, *The Vanity of Human Wishes*.

Charles was the last of a line of grand kings. He is, *par excellence*, the hero-king of the eighteenth century. Only one other can compare with him, Frederick the Great of Prussia. But Frederick, with his many splendid qualities, was too much of a schemer to be a real hero. Charles was a simple, straightforward man. In an age of sensual monarchs he was austere, abstemious, chaste. Attacked unjustly by his neighbours, he conceived the idea that no compromise must ever be made with his despoilers. It was this lack of moderation that ruined him. It was also want of the healing quality of compromise that made him put to a horrible death by the wheel the Livonian nobleman, Patkul, who, being technically a Swedish subject, had come under a charge of high treason (1707).

Yet if Charles XII has been blamed for pursuing war without ceasing, it must be remembered that he was no aggressor. He had sworn that he would not make an unjust war, and he never swerved from this. Had he lived a few years longer the peace which Sweden had to make in 1721 would undoubtedly have been made, but on more favourable terms. And then Charles might have returned to the Swedish capital, which he had never seen since the year 1700, and inaugurated a new reign of peace. The touching memorials of this—the last of the Vasas—his glove, whip, riding-boots—are in the National Museum at Stockholm.

§ 4. *Peter Again*

Peter had conquered. His ferocious energy had galvanized his vast, lethargic people into energy. His tailors had stood at the gates of Moscow, snapping with their great scissors the Oriental petticoats and the long beards of the men. He had made himself, like Henry VIII, head of the National Church. He had created a vast corps of civil servants who were to carry on the administration of Russia for the next two centuries. He had made a new capital: the seat of the Tsars was no longer to be land-locked, half-eastern Moscow, but Petersburg, a city of wide streets and large public buildings, on the banks of the Neva, within call of the sea.

In relation to Western Europe, Russia had become a Power. She had defeated the best soldiers of the day. And by the Peace of Nystad, which Charles XII's sister, Queen Ulrica Leonora, concluded on the 30th August 1721, Sweden ceded to Russia the Baltic territories of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Finland. Brandenburg had already secured the Swedish Pomeranian port of Stettin.

Peter the Great died at Petersburg on the 8th February 1725, at the age of fifty-three. He had spent the last months of his life in inspecting canals and iron-works which were being constructed in the neighbouring region. Yet he was by no means of a materialistic nature. His last words, painfully scrawled on a piece of paper, were 'forgive everything' ОУДАЙТЕ ВСЮ (отдайте всё). In the novel *Peter and Alexis*, Dmitri Merezhkowsky (born 1865) has told with exquisite art the tragic drama played around Peter's throne. The courtiers, the guards, the officials, the artisans, above all the dominating figure of the Tsar, impress themselves through the living words of that book, as they impressed themselves on the course of history. The history of modern Russia is the history of the Tsardom which, through its widespread bureaucracy, brought order and civilization into Russia, and by grafting the culture of the West on to the native genius of the Slav, made possible the high Russian art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Supplementary Dates.

VII

- 1643 Mézeray's History of France.
- 1659 Molière's first masterpiece. *Les Précieuses ridicules*.
- 1666 Boileau's *Satires*.
- 1667 Racine's *Andromaque*.
- 1670 Bossuet's first *Oraisons funèbres*.
- 1684 Death of Corneille.
- 1694 St-Simon begins his *Memoirs*.
- 1699 Fénelon's *Télémaque*. He is banished from court.
- 1708 Lomonosov's ode on the capture of Hotin from the Turks.
- 1709 Demolition of Port Royal
- 1715 Lesage's *Gil Blas*

VIII

TWO ARISTOCRATIC REPUBLICS

§ 1. *Open and Closed Aristocracies*

HOLLAND (or the United Netherlands, as it was officially called) and Venice were aristocratic republics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Literally, aristocracy means government by the *best* people; in actual practice, however, it has lost its ancient Greek sense, and has come to mean the government of a people by its upper class.

On the whole, this system has proved to be a good form of government. It has been superior to despotism. A good despot, like Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius or Peter the Great, is a benignant power; but the accident of birth may place on an hereditary throne a less good man, perhaps even a human monster, like Caligula, or a reckless debauchee, like Louis XV. On the other hand, a whole class of people, a nobility of birth, like that of Venice, or an aristocracy of commerce, like that of Holland, are unlikely to become degenerate all at once: there are always some good and capable men in every large body; and the good and capable are the people who tend to exercise authority in an aristocracy. Moreover, an aristocratic class is usually alert to notice talent outside its own circle, and to attract that talent into its own body. It was in this way that the eighteenth-century Whigs maintained their ascendancy in England: they were a group of ruling families, Russells, Cavendishes, Grenvilles, but they had the sense to attract into their circle talented men from the outside, a Pitt, a Fox, a Burke.

The English aristocracy was acknowledged to be the finest in the world, well born, wealthy, enjoying great privileges, and animated by a sense of responsibility. The members of the English aristocracy worked at the business of estate-management, as, for instance, did 'Turnip Townshend' (1674-1738) who was a Viscount and 'old Coke of Norfolk' (1752-1842) who eventually

became an Earl ; and they worked at the business of government, as did the Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768), who left office poorer than he entered it, or the younger Pitt (1759-1806) who was bred to be Prime Minister and held the office for twenty years. Its real glory, however, as Burke and Alexis de Tocqueville both testify, was that it was an open aristocracy : men of talent from the outside world got into it : it could admit at any rate a proportion, if not all, of the best brains of the nation.

It was likewise this quality of openness that marked the Dutch aristocracy, and saved it from being, as the Venetian aristocracy was, really an *oligarchy*. For the Dutch ruling class were burghers of wealth and strong character ; and any Dutchman who made a fortune and possessed ability and character could gain admittance to the ruling class. It was otherwise in Venice ; for about the year 1287 (the date is uncertain) the Venetian Government had inscribed the names of all the noble Venetian families in a Golden Book, and had then closed it. Nobody whose family name was not in the Golden Book could be a Councillor, and new names (with some exceptions) were not added to the Book. Thus the *Serrata del Consiglio* converted the Government of Venice into a closed aristocracy, a ruling class which did not admit new members, a caste.

§ 2. *The United Provinces of the Netherlands*

The Constitution of the United Provinces was created by the Union of Utrecht, 1579, just after the ten 'Belgic' or Southern Provinces had seceded from the War of Liberation and had made their peace with Spain. The Seven Northern Provinces formed a Confederacy with the central authority vested in a States-General, or Federal Parliament. The chief executive officers were the Captain-General and the Admiral-General. At certain periods there was a Stadtholder appointed for the whole Confederacy ; at other times the chief magistrate of the Province of Holland, who was called the Pensionary, practically wielded executive authority for the whole Union. The Princes of the House of Orange, although without any hereditary authority, usually held

a commanding or at least influential position, and were always called upon for leadership in times of danger.

The Dutch Constitution was extremely loose—

To speak properly (wrote the great jurist Pufendorf about 1660), these Seven Provinces do not make up one entire Commonwealth, but there are seven Commonwealths, which by the Union at Utrecht are joined into one Confederacy, and have their deputies constantly residing at the Hague; whose business it is to take care of such affairs as concern the whole Union; and if anything of moment is to be decreed, they send to the several Provinces, and according to the approbation of these they make their decrees; these deputies are called the States-General.¹

Each province could send as many delegates or deputies as it liked to the States-General, but they only counted as one voice: for the federal principle of government means that each of the component provinces is equal to any other. Each province also had an assembly, called, for example, the States of Holland, or the States of Zeeland. Every city sent from its city council deputies to the Provincial States; and the assembly of every Provincial States sent deputies to the States-General. The delegates were mainly drawn from the burghers of the cities: good middle-class families, whose wealth and position depended upon their own efforts. They came very near to the ideal of aristocracy, as defined by Montesquieu in *L'Esprit des Lois*:

The aristocratic families should be *people* as much as possible. The closer an aristocracy approaches to the democracy, the more perfect it will be.²

From 1579 to 1713, from the Union of Utrecht to the Peace of Utrecht, the Dutch had a very troubled history, in spite of which they managed to go on prospering. In 1609 the War of Independence was suspended by the Twelve Years Truce with Spain (see above, p. 422). From this date, until the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, there was peace for the Dutch abroad, although at home trouble was caused by religious dissensions, not between Catholic and Protestant but between those Calvinists

¹ *An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe*, by Samuel Pufendorf (English trans., 1728).

² *L'Esprit des Lois*, Book II, Chap. III.



A Dutch East Indiaman

From an engraving by Hollar in the British Museum

who adhered to the strict theory of predestination and those—the Arminians, followers of Arminius of Leyden—whose theory of fatalism was not so inflexible. The strict Calvinists believed that God had made an eternal decree, determining which persons should be awakened to repentance and faith and therefore to salvation. The Arminians held that Christ died for all men, and that all who believed in Him would be saved. God, however, foreknew who would believe and who would therefore be saved.¹ In the course of disputes, the noble Arminian statesman, Jan van Olden Barneveldt, was executed on false charges (1619). The Thirty Years War, in which the Dutch became involved in 1621, put an end to internal dissensions; and, in spite of the execution of Olden Barneveldt, Arminianism became the type of Dutch Calvinism.

In the Thirty Years War the Dutch, under the Stadtholder, Frederick Henry, a brother of Maurice of Nassau (and son of William the Silent and grandson of Coligny), fought against Spain on the Lower Rhine, and in the end won complete recognition of their independence by the Spanish-Dutch Treaty of Münster, January 1648.

After the Thirty Years War was ended, civil dissension broke forth between the *Burgher* and *Orange* parties in the Netherlands. The burghers were firm upholders of provincial independence within the Confederation, and they were particularly strong in the Province of Holland. The adherents of the House of Orange (which was very popular with the lower classes of the population) believed in a policy of centralization and wished that a prince of Orange should always have high military command. As long as war was going on the burghers acquiesced in the predominant position of the Orange family; but when hostilities ceased they always opposed it.

In 1650, as peace was prevailing, the burghers proposed to disband a number of regiments. The head of the House of Orange

¹ Jacobus Arminius was Professor at Leyden from 1603 to 1609. He had studied under Theodore Beza, the colleague of Calvin, at Geneva. After returning from Geneva to Holland, he reconsidered his views on Predestination, and entered on the Arminian controversy. In England in the seventeenth century, a Churchman who disagreed with the Calvinistic Puritans, for instance Laud, was called an Arminian.

was now William II, son of Frederick Henry (who had died in 1647). William refused to have the regiments disbanded, and he seized the Sieur de Witt, burgomaster of Dort, along with other prominent burghers, and imprisoned them in the Castle of Louvestein, on the island of Bommel (where Grotius had been imprisoned thirty years earlier). He then ordered troops to march by night against the city of Amsterdam to take it by surprise, but they were discovered on the way by the Hamburg post-boy. The Amsterdam burghers saved the city by opening the sluices. Soon after this William II caught a fever and died (6 November 1650) a week before the birth of a son who was destined to be famous. The death of William II enabled the burgher-party to triumph, and for the next twenty-two years they were supreme in the Netherlands.

Those twenty-two years (1650-72) were perhaps the most prosperous period of Dutch history. The whole Confederacy of the Seven Provinces allowed itself to be guided by the Province of Holland, whose Grand Pensionary gained practically the position of a Federal Prime Minister. The Grand Pensionary at that time was John de Witt, a son of that burgomaster of Dort whom William II had imprisoned in Louvestein. Under John de Witt Dutch commerce, which had for fifty years been carrying on operations in India, spread to North and South America, and to South Africa. A serious dispute with England about the Navigation Act of 1651 led to a naval war between the two peoples who ought to have been the closest of friends. In 1667 the Dutch had to face the greater power of France, because Louis XIV, by over-running the Spanish Netherlands (see p. 456) menaced the independence of the Seven Provinces. This dispute was made immensely more serious because at the same time Charles II of England had also embarked on a naval war against the Dutch. In this war the Dutch navy covered itself with glory, for it sailed up the Medway, burned Sheerness, and just failed to capture London. De Witt used this success to bring about a treaty of peace with England (1667). The English kept New Amsterdam, which they had captured in 1664 and renamed New York. In 1668 his diplomacy was able to join the Dutch

Government with its late enemy, Great Britain, along with Sweden in a *Triple Alliance* against France. This peace saved the Dutch. Louis XIV drew back and evacuated the Spanish Netherlands. So ended the first French war, which is called the War of Devolution because Louis had claimed, through his wife, devolutionary or hereditary rights in Brabant.



After this life in the Seven Provinces once more resumed its happy, even tenour. But again in 1672 the storm broke, this time with unparalleled fury. Louis XIV had bought over Charles II by the infamous Secret Treaty of Dover (1670). The might of the British Navy was directed against the Dutch. British troops under John Churchill (later Duke of Marlborough) fought on land along with the French troops under Turenne. The mob has a short memory. It forgot the services of the noble John de Witt and his brother Cornelius. The two de Witts were put into prison but the mob broke into it and tore them to pieces (1673). The young William III of Orange assumed the leader-

ship, and saved the State by arms and diplomacy. The Emperor and Brandenburg came to his assistance and formed (1672) the First Grand Alliance of the Hague. This alliance endured until the Peace of Nymwegen in 1678. Most of the rest of William's life was spent in combating Louis XIV.

In 1681 Louis XIV seized the Free Imperial City of Strasbourg. The unstable peace, however, lasted until 1686, when the League of Augsburg was formed by the chief States of the Empire to defend the Treaties of Münster and Nymwegen.

The war of 1686, which under the name of the War of the League of Augsburg lasted until 1697 (Treaty of Ryswick), and the next, the War of the Spanish Succession, which lasted from 1702 until 1713, were, for the Dutch, inevitable conflicts, on which their existence as a State depended. The result of the wars was that the advance of France towards the Rhine was checked; the former 'Spanish' Netherlands became the Austrian Netherlands; while on the frontier between the Austrian Netherlands and France a line of 'Barrier Fortresses' was established. These Barrier Fortresses were garrisoned by Dutch soldiers, but paid for by Austria. Lastly, to prevent the port of Antwerp from competing for the great sea-borne commerce of Amsterdam, the closure of the Scheldt (which had already been decreed by the Osnabrück Treaty of the Peace of Westphalia) was reaffirmed. No ships were to go to or from the sea on the Scheldt. Such were the provisions of the Peace of Utrecht (1713), so far as they concerned the Dutch.

The long wars were worth fighting, for they had saved the State, but at a fearful cost. The loss of Dutch lives had been serious, although greatly alleviated by the fact that the Government recruited many of its regiments from other countries: there was a Scots Brigade in the Dutch service until the time of the French Revolution. The financial cost of the wars against Louis XIV was almost more serious than the loss in lives. War taxation had to rise so high, that Dutch industry and commerce were crippled: capital which ought to have been invested in shipping and colonial enterprises was engulfed in the inevitable military budget. It was said that 'before you can get a dish

of fish ready dressed upon your table at Amsterdam, you have paid above thirty several taxes for it'.¹ It was the crippling cost of these long wars, not the Navigation Acts, that put Dutch commerce at a disadvantage as compared with English. It is only fair to remember this, for the sacrifices which the Dutch made in the wars was not merely for their own advantage, it was to the common benefit of England and of Germany, and indeed of all Western Europe.

Dutch painting was at its best in the seventeenth century. It developed locally. The hazy, humid atmosphere of the Netherlands was favourable for the study of colour; the Dutch painters became masters of colours, harmonious, although not so brilliant as the colours of the Venetian painters. The Dutch artists owed very little to foreign influence: they scarcely ever went abroad; Rembrandt, for example, the greatest of them all, never went to Italy.

Rembrandt van Rijn was born at Leyden in 1606, the son of a miller. After studying at the University of Leyden, he took up the career of a painter at Amsterdam. He was devoted to his art, worked assiduously, painting as long as the daylight lasted, and feeding simply off a herring, or a piece of bread and cheese.² About six hundred pictures which are known to be by him have survived. The finest and best known is *The Marching out of Captain Frans Banning Cocq*, generally called the *Night Watch*, painted in 1642. It depicts the Captain and the town guard of Amsterdam leaving the Assembly-hall to go on their rounds. The carefulness, the self-reliance, the underlying romance of the Dutch character shines forth in the strong draughtsmanship and colouring of this work. The picture is in the Rijks-Museum at Amsterdam; there is a reduced copy of it, by Gerrit Lundens, in the National Gallery at London (No. 289).

Another picture of Rembrandt's, which shows the scientific side of Dutch life in the seventeenth century, is the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp*; in this a medical professor is seen discoursing over the arm of a dead criminal to seven members of

¹ Pufendorf, op. cit., 246.

² *The National Gallery*, by T. Lemon Hare (1909), vol. i, p. 37.

the Amsterdam Guild of Surgeons. It was painted in 1632, and is in the Gallery at the Hague.

Rembrandt is one of the greatest portrait-painters in the world's history. Jacob Ruysdael (1636-81) is almost equally great in landscapes. He was born at Haarlem but worked chiefly at Amsterdam; he is, above all, the painter of trees and water, and quiet Dutch scenes where dark, brown tones predominate. Like him is Hobbema, who was born at Amsterdam in 1638 and died there in 1709.

In the National Gallery at London are many pictures of the Dutch School. Four in particular may be taken to illustrate the essentials of Dutch life in the seventeenth century. The first is *The Peace of Münster* by Gerard Terborch (1608-81), which is No. 896. It shows the Dutch delegation of diplomatists at Münster, in plain black clothes with white linen collars, surrounded by splendidly dressed Spaniards, ratifying the Final Peace with Spain on the 15th May 1648.

The second is a *Dutch Landscape* by Philips de Koninck (1619-89), No. 836. Here a wide extent of flat country is painted, with a slow stream, women washing clothes and a man fishing, and a few cottages in the foreground, trees and a little town with trees in the middle distance, and at the back water and flat land intermingled right up to the horizon.

A third is *The Court of a Dutch House* by Pieter de Hooch (who flourished about the year 1665), No. 835. The court is paved with bricks; on the left is a porch of lovely red and white brick-work, neat and solid; on the right, beneath a blossoming tree, a woman is leading a child down a step. The whole scene—court, passage, wall, figures—is as clean as a new pin. The Dutch passion for cleanliness is expressed in every detail.

The fourth picture is *The Avenue, Middelharnis, Holland*, by Hobbema, No. 830—a straight avenue of tall poplars enclosing a good road; a ditch to take off the water on either side of the avenue; a nursery for shrubs and trees on the right; a shady grove on the left, a church-steeple in the background; beyond the nursery a trim farm.

As the seventeenth century went on, the Dutch families

became more prosperous ; a well-to-do merchant's house was a sort of salon where men of talent assembled. In *Sebastian van Storck* Walter Pater has described one of those homely gatherings of geniuses :

The Burgomaster van Storck entertained a party of friends, consisting chiefly of his favourite artists, one summer evening. The guests were seen arriving on foot—in the fine weather, some of them accompanied by their wives and daughters, against the light of the low sun, falling red on the old trees of the avenue and the faces of those who advanced along it. Willem van Aelst expecting to find hints for a flower-portrait in the exotics which would decorate the banqueting-rooms. Gerard Dow, to feed his eye, amid all that glittering luxury, on the combat between candle-light and the last rays of the departing sun ; Thomas de Keyser, to catch by stealth the likeness of Sebastian the younger. Albert Cuyp was there, who, developing the latent gold in Rembrandt, had brought into his native Dordrecht a heavy wealth of sunshine, as exotic as those flowers or the eastern carpets on the Burgomaster's tables, with Hooch, the indoor Cuyp, and Willem van de Velde, who painted those shore-pieces with gay ships of war, such as he loved, for his patron's cabinet. Thomas de Keyser came, in company with his brother Peter, who afterwards married the niece. For the life of Dutch artists, too, was exemplary in matters of domestic relationship, its history telling many a cheering story of mutual faith in misfortune. Hardly less exemplary was the comradeship which they displayed among themselves obscuring their own best gifts sometimes, one in the mere accessories of another man's work, so that they came together to-night with no fear of falling out, and spoiling the musical interludes of Madame van Storck in the large back parlour. A little way behind the other guests, three of them together—son, grandson and the grandfather, moving slowly, came the Hondcoeters—Giles, Gybrecht and Melchior. They led the party before the house was entered by fading light, to see the curious poultry of the Burgomaster go to roost ; and it was almost night when the supper-room was reached at last. (*Imaginary Portraits.*)

‘ In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
Is offering too little and asking too much.’

wrote Canning a hundred years or so later. This couplet expresses—unfairly and in exaggerated language—the careful, commercial side of the Netherlands. But they had, and have, their romantic side too ; their paintings show this : look at *The Laughing Cavalier* by Frans Hals, in the Wallace Collection.

§ 3. *Venice*

Of the many beautiful cities of the world, Venice is perhaps the loveliest. Ruskin, in the *Stones of Venice*, at the end of Chapter XXX, and the beginning of Chapter XXXI, describes a journey of the old style into the city from Padua. For the first sixteen miles the journey is by road which crosses the Brenta and goes to Mestre ; for the last seven miles from Mestre to Venice, the way is by gondola along a canal :

Stroke by stroke we count the plunges of the oar, each heaving up the side of the boat slightly as her silver beak shoots forward. We lose patience, and extricate ourselves from the cushions : the sea-air blows keenly by, as we stand leaning on the roof of the floating cell. In front, nothing to be seen but long canal and level bank ; to the west, the tower of Mestre is lowering fast, and behind it there have risen purple shades, of the colour of dead rose-leaves, all round the horizon, feebly defined against the afternoon sky—the Alps of Bassano.

Two turns in the canal bring the traveller nearer : ‘ now we can see nothing but what seems a low monotonous dockyard wall, with flat arches to let the tide through it—this is the railroad bridge.’ Soon, there arise ‘ four or five domes, pale, and apparently at a greater distance . . . It is Venice.’

An island in a shallow lagoon, Venice has the appearance of being in the deep sea. ‘ The salt breeze, the white, moaning sea-birds, the masses of black weed separating and disappearing gradually, in knots of heaving shoal, under the advance of the steady tide, all proclaimed it to be indeed the ocean on whose bosom the great city rested so calmly.’

The boat draws nearer to the city : the mainland coast, left behind, sinks ‘ into one long, low, sad-coloured line, tufted irregularly with brushwood and willows, ‘ behind which are the hills of Arqua and the great girdle of the Alps. Again, turning his back to these, the traveller would cast his eye forward to the campaniles of Murano, glittering in the sun, and to the great city, ‘ where it magnified itself along the waves ’, as the quick, silent pacing of the gondola drew nearer and nearer. Then the boat enters, not through a towered gate, but through a deep inlet



Venice. S. Giorgio Maggiore

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

between two rocks ; and the traveller sees ' the long ranges of columned palaces ', each with its black boat moored at the portal, each with its image reflected in the green water below.

In former days these palaces were often scenes of great gaiety :

Past we glide, and past and past !
 Why 's the Pucci Palace flaring
 Like a beacon to the blast ?
 Guests by hundreds—not one caring
 If the dear host's neck were wried :
 Past we glide.¹

When at last the boat ' darted forth upon a broad expanse of water, across which the front of the Ducal Palace, flushed with its sanguine veins, looks to the snowy dome of Our Lady of Salvation, it was no marvel that the mind should be so deeply entranced by the visionary charms of a scene so beautiful and so strange, as to forget the darker truths of its history and its being '.

These ' darker truths ' refer chiefly to the method of government of Venice where, it is said, assassination was at times almost a normal part of the method of administration. For the authorities guarded with the greatest possible care against any chance of revolution : and every citizen who looked like becoming dangerous was quickly put out of the way. Certain it is that the Constitution of Venice was preserved, almost unchanged, for about a thousand years.

The nominal head of Venice was the Doge, who was elected for life. He represented the State on grand occasions, but had practically no power, except as a member of the *Collegio*.

This College was a Council or Cabinet of all the Ministers, who are called Savii or Wise men. Each Savio had a department to administer ; but the Admiralty had a board of five, the *Savii da Mar*.

The legislative power in the State was wielded by the Senate, the *Pregadi* (the ' summoned ' or ' called ' men). This consisted of over two hundred elected members. It declared war and peace, made treaties of alliances, and passed laws.

There was a still larger Assembly, the *Maggiore Consiglio*, the

¹ R. Browning, *Dramatic Lyrics* (*In a Gondola*).



Venice. Palazzo Ducale. Grand Staircase

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

Great Council, consisting of all nobles over twenty-five years of age whose names were inscribed in the Golden Book, that is, who were included in the Golden Book of the *Serrata del Maggior Consiglio* (Closure of the Great Council) of 1287 and the subsequent additions. The functions of the Great Council, which had originally been legislative, were by the sixteenth century, merely to elect Senators and Magistrates.

The last organ of the Constitution which has to be mentioned was the *Consiglio de' Dieci*, the Council of Ten. This was the terrible body which tried cases of treason against the State and arranged for the quiet extinction of conspirators or dangerous citizens.

To conclude, the Government of Venice has all its springs chained together in perfect good order. In it we see so just a temperament, such an admirable reciprocation of superiority and dependence, that from thence results a perfect union, and a fervent zeal for the common welfare, which are the lasting foundations of the power and strength of the Republic. In it we have a perfect appearance of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. For the Majesty of a Sovereign shines in the person of the Doge, in whose name all dispatches and negotiations run. The *Pregadi* represent a real aristocracy, as the Great Council does a democracy.¹

The Great Council or Assembly of all the Nobility, numbering perhaps five hundred, was democratic only in a very limited sense. All aristocrats are democratic towards each other. So it was with the Venetian aristocracy; but towards all the people below it was a close oligarchy.

The merits of the Venetian Government were its stability and its fund of experience. Stability of government ensured to the State the opportunity of steady, commercial prosperity; and the experience handed down from father to son in the governing families ensured a certain level of competence in the administration. These were the advantages which the population of Venice had to set against their lack of political rights.

Venice, being a comparatively small State, threatened by the Turks from Greece, by the Austrians from Carinthia, and by the Spaniards from Milan, defended herself by a careful diplomacy

¹ Putendorf, op. cit., p. 588

and by her valiant arms. She had to take part in the Italian Wars of France and Spain between 1494 and 1525. After this she was able, on the whole, to remain at peace in Italy, but had to face the terrible hosts of the Sultan Solyman the Magnificent. This monarch reigned from 1520 to 1566, and was almost equally powerful on land and sea.



After the death of Solyman, Venice, Pope Pius V, and King Philip II of Spain formed a Holy League and sent their galleys to sea. In the battle of Lepanto (the ancient Naupactus), 1571, the fleet of the League, which was under the supreme command of Don John of Austria, signally defeated the Turks. Cervantes, the future author of *Don Quixote* took part in the battle and was wounded. In the preface to *Don Quixote* he says that Lepanto was 'the noblest occasion that past or present times have witnessed, or the future can ever hope to see'. He lost a hand in the battle; but 'I would rather', he writes, 'be again present in that stupendous action than be whole and sound, without sharing in its glory.'¹

¹ Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Part II, Preface.

Turkish sea-power was greatly diminished at this battle, but not destroyed. In the next century a twenty-five years' war between Venice and Turkey resulted in the loss of Candia by the Venetians (1669). A French gentleman, La Feuillade, at his own expense, equipped a company of three hundred soldiers, and took them to the defence of Candia. If, says Voltaire, in his *Siècle de Louis Quatorze*, the other nations had borne their share, like La Feuillade, Candia would have been delivered.¹ Fortunately, after their success at Candia, the Turks did little more, for the Sultans, after the death of Solymán the Magnificent (who died in 1566), were poor creatures, luckily for Europe, as its energies were fully absorbed in the Thirty Years War. It was not until after 1650 that the Turks, under a succession of able Viziers of the Kiuprili family, began to renew their assaults upon Europe. It was then that the Turks made their last gain of European territory (Candia); it was then also that they made their greatest effort, besieging, and all but capturing, Vienna.

Throughout this war the brunt of the attack was borne by Austria, although Venice was fighting hard to save Candia. By 1683 the Turks had conquered all Hungary, had invaded Austria itself, and were battering at the gates of Vienna. An Austrian garrison of 14,000 men had to hold the city, one of the most populous and most highly civilized places in Europe, against 140,000 Turks. And while pillage and destruction seemed likely to be the fate of Austria, perhaps of all Central Europe, Louis XIV of France was actually co-operating with the Turks, by invading Imperial territory on the Rhine. Vienna, with all that it stood for, was relieved by the Poles, who came down to the Danube, led by their heroic king, John Sobieski. In a great battle before the walls, the Turkish host was scattered (12 September 1683). This was the farthest point in Europe which the Turks ever reached.

After the relief of Vienna, Venice entered into another Holy League with Pope, Poland, and the Emperor Leopold I (1684). The Venetians had a fine General, Francesco Morosini, who had defended Candia. This time he had better fortune for between

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, Chap. X.

1684 and 1689 he conquered the whole Peloponnese (or Morea), and even invaded Attica and captured Athens. It was in the siege of Athens by Morosini (1687). that a large part of the Parthenon was destroyed by artillery-fire. At the Peace of Carlowitz, 1699, when Austria recovered Hungary from the Turks, Venice retained the Morea. Unfortunately in the next war (1715-18) she was not successful, although her allies, the Austrians, under Field-Marshal Prince Eugene, won splendid victories on the Danube. At the Peace of Passarowitz, 1718, Austria gained Belgrade,¹ but the Turks recovered the Morea.¹

For the rest of its history, Venice took little part in European politics. The city was famous for its beauty, for its rich and cultivated aristocracy, and chiefly for the pleasures which could be obtained there: it was the Monte Carlo of the eighteenth century. Commercially it was no longer very important, for the Cape Route diverted to Portugal, England, and Holland the bulk of the trade of the Indies; and the Turks impeded all the land-routes from the East. But as a city of pleasure all the world knew about Venice, and all the world of fashion went there. In Voltaire's novel of *Candide*, published in 1758, there is a celebrated scene where five kings, exiled from their native countries, meet unknown to each other at the Carnival of Venice.

When all the servants had gone, the six foreigners, Candide and Martin remained in deep silence. At last Candide broke it by saying: 'Sirs, this is an extraordinary joke! Why are you all Kings? As for me, I must confess that neither Martin nor myself are kings.'

Cacambo's master then spoke gravely and said in Italian: 'I am not joking. My name is Achmet III. For several years I was the grand Sultan: I dethroned my brother; my nephew dethroned me; my Viziers were murdered. I am ending my life in the old Serrail. My nephew the Grand Sultan Mahmoud sometimes allows me to travel for my health. I have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

A young man who was near Achmet spoke next and said: 'My name is Ivan; I was Emperor of all the Rnssias. I was dethroned when in the cradle; my father and my mother were imprisoned; I was brought up in confinement; I sometimes have permission to

¹ In 1739 the Austrians had to retrocede Belgrade to Turkey.

travel with those who guard me, and I have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

The third said 'I am Charles Edward, King of England: my father has ceded to me his claim to the kingdom. I have fought to maintain it; 800 of my followers have had their hearts torn out—I have been put in prison; I am going to Rome to visit my father the King who was dethroned like myself and my grandfather, and I have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

The fourth then said: 'I am the King of the Poles;¹ the chances of war have robbed me of my hereditary estates; my father suffered the same reverses; I resign myself to Providence like the Sultan Achmet, the Emperor Ivan, and King Charles Edward, to whom may God grant a long life, and I have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

The fifth said: 'I am also the King of the Poles:² I have twice lost my kingdom; but Providence has given me another State in which I have done more good than all the Kings of the Sarmatians together have ever been able to do on the banks of the Vistula: I too resign myself to Providence and have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

There still remained a sixth monarch, and he said 'Gentlemen, I am not so great a lord as you; but as a matter of fact I have been a king as much as any of you. I am Theodore; I was elected King of Corsica; I used to be called "Your Majesty"—at present am scarcely called "Sir". I have had money coined and do not possess a farthing; I have had two Secretaries of State, and now I have scarcely a valet. I have seen myself on a throne, and have for a long time been in prison in London on a straw mattress. I am very much afraid of being treated in the same way here, although I have come, like Your Majesties to spend the Carnival at Venice.'³

The five other Kings listened to this speech with noble compassion. Each of them gave 20 sequins to King Theodore to procure suits and underlinen and Candide presented him with a diamond worth 2,000 sequins.

¹ Augustus III of Saxony, temporarily driven from his dominions by Frederick the Great, 1756.

² Stanislaus Leszczynski, see pp. 523-4.

³ Theodore Neuhoﬀ was one of the many interesting eighteenth-century adventurers. Born in Metz in 1669, he obtained employment from Cardinal Alberoni as a political agent. In 1736 he was elected King of Corsica in rebellion against their lawful ruler, the Republic of Genoa. Driven from Corsica, he came to England in the course of his wanderings, and was imprisoned from 1749-56 as a debtor in the King's Bench. He died in Chapel Street, Soho, in December 1756.

'Who is this plain private gentleman' said the five Kings, 'who is in a position to give a hundred times as much as any one of us, and gives it?'

At the moment of their leaving the table, four Very Serene Highnesses arrived at the same inn, and they too had lost their estates in the chances of war and had come to Venice to spend the Carnival. But Candide merely glanced at these new-comers.

The Venetian School of painters rose to fame much later than the Florentine, of whom the greatest was Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). The first of the School in fact was not a Venetian, for Antonello da Messina, as his name shows, was born in the kingdom of Sicily. In 1483 Antonello came to Venice and took up his residence there. He had already painted his magnificent *Condottiere* which is now in the Louvre Gallery at Paris. Carlo Crivelli (1430-93) was a native Venetian, and confined himself almost entirely to sacred works. The splendid succession of what we called 'Painters of pageantry' began with the Bellini family, who were something of a class in painting as the Bachs were in music.¹ One of the finest of the Venetian paintings is also one of the earliest—the portrait of the Doge *Leonardo Loredano*, by Giovanni Bellini, done in 1503. It is No. 189 in the National Gallery. Loredano, who is depicted as an austere, laborious, noble man, was Doge from 1501 to 1521 when he died at the age of eighty-four. He had thus the task of piloting the ship of State through the troubled times of Pope Julius II and Leo X, and King Louis XII and part of the reign of Francis I.

The *Family Group* of Lorenzo Lotto (1480-1556)—No. 1547 in the National Gallery—represents a husband and wife sitting at a table with two children playing about it. The man is handsomely dressed, as befits a sober nobleman, in dark clothes; his golden-haired wife is splendid in a rich red dress. The embroidered table-cloth is one of the triumphant works of the fine North Italian craftsmen. Through the open window is a regular Venetian landscape, an estuary of the sea, two trees on a promontory, and hills in the distance.

¹ For over two hundred and fifty years, 1550 to 1800, the German family of Bach produced musicians. The greatest of them was Johann Sebastian Bach, 1685-1750.

Titian is the greatest glory of Venice. He was born in 1477 at Piave di Cadore, among the mountains to the north of Venice. He came into the city as a young man, and the rest of his long life was closely associated with it. All the Courts of Western Europe desired paintings by Titian. In 1548 he went into Germany, and at Augsburg painted *Charles V on horseback, at the Battle of Mühlberg*. This is in the Prado Museum of Madrid, where alone it can vie with the magnificent equestrian portraits of Velasquez. At the court of Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua in 1523 Titian painted the *Bacchus and Ariadne* which is No. 35 in the National Gallery: a superb, pagan picture, energetic, warmly coloured, vivid, so strong in passion that the eye and mind looks for relief to the tranquil Italian landscape in the distance. Titian died at Venice in 1576 at the age of ninety-nine. One of his pupils was Giorgione (Giorgio Barbarella), a young man of exquisite poetic feeling and deep love of nature. Giorgione's influence on those who followed was powerful, yet only a few genuine pictures of his own have come down to us. He died at Venice in 1511 at the age of thirty-four.

Jacopo Robusti, nicknamed Tintoretto, the Little Dyer, is the painter who has caught and conveyed to posterity the gorgeous scenes he saw on lagoon and piazza, in hall and church. Born in 1518, his active life covered the greater part of the sixteenth century—until 1594—the period of Venice's historical grandeur, of the siege of Candia, the battle of Lepanto, and the conquest of Morea. His *View in Venice*, No. 1054 in the National Gallery, happily includes all the typical things of Venetian life—palaces, gondolas, canal spanned by a graceful arched bridge, a square of dry land paved with large flag-stones, nobles in blue and red clothes sunning themselves upon it. A contemporary of Titian was Paolo Veronese (1528-88). Veronese's pictures, of biblical or classical subjects, are remarkable for their large size, their splendid colours, their dignified figures, and their noble architectural backgrounds. The most celebrated is the enormous *Marriage Feast of Cana in Galilee*, at the Louvre.

In the seventeenth century, Venetian art, like Venetian commerce, declined; but it arose again in the eighteenth century,



Charles V

From Earlom's engraving of the picture by Titian

with Tiepolo (1692-1769), and—to a lower degree—with Canaletto (1697-1768). A gorgeous picture of Tiepolo, of *Antony and Cleopatra* in the wonderful clothes of Venetian grandees is in the Edinburgh National Gallery. Canaletto was a fine painter of architecture; and as he lived at a time when all Europe came to the Carnival at Venice and wished to take home a substantial souvenir, his works are common in the great capitals—at London, Paris, Vienna, and Petersburg. Most of his pictures are scenes of canals, quays, churches, palaces; and all are highly pleasing. He came to England from 1746 to 1748 and left behind him a picture of Eton College, which is in the National Gallery (No. 942).

The painters and the architects were the glory of Venice, more even than her heroic sailors and soldiers who faced the terrible hordes of the Turk. It is chiefly to the buildings, which might be truly called heavenly, that our memory turns. Says Ruskin:

Sometimes when walking at evening on the Lido, whence the great chain of the Alps, crested with silver clouds, might be seen rising above the front of the Ducal Palace, I used to feel as much awe in gazing on the building as on the hills, and could believe that God had done a greater work in breathing into the narrowness of dust the mighty spirits by whom its haughty walls had been raised, and its burning legends written, than in lifting the rocks of granite higher than the clouds of heaven, and veiling them with their various mantle of purple flower and shadowy pine.¹

¹ *The Stones of Venice*, ad fin.

Supplementary Dates.

VIII

1606	Birth of Rembrandt.	1556	Death of Lorenzo Lotto.
1608	Birth of Terborch.	1576	Death of Titian.
1638	Birth of Hobbema.	1594	Death of Tintoretto.
1681	Death of Jacob Ruysdael.	1669	Venice loses Candia.
1689	Death of Philips de Koninck.	1687	Siege of Athens by Morosini.
		1689	Venetians complete the conquest of the Morea under Francesco Morosini
1483	Antonello takes up his residence in Venice.		
1503	Giovanni Bellini's portrait of Doge Leonardo Loredano.	1768	Death of Canaletto.
		1769	Death of Tiepolo.



Venice. Rio Piccolo Trovaso

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart



IX. THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

IN the last two hundred years Prussia has had a prominent place in the life of Europe ; and for about thirty years of that period from 1878 to 1914 she had a position almost of ascendancy. Her rise to power, however, was very slow.

The cradle of the royal family of Prussia was a little principality in South Germany near the borders of Wurtemberg and Bavaria. A younger son of this family about the year 1170 left the castle of High Zollern (Hohenzollern) and made a career for himself as Burgrave or Protector of Nuremberg. In 1417 the family of the Burgrave acquired Brandenburg by purchase from the Emperor Sigismund, who also gave them the dignity of Elector. The elder branch, which had remained at Hohenzollern, is almost unknown to history (although it supplied a sovereign to Rumania in 1856). The younger branch, the head of which was called Margrave of Brandenburg, ranked as moderately important German princes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Brandenburg was a fairly large State in North Germany, about 50 to 100 miles broad, and about 200 miles long, between the Elbe and the Oder. The country is flat and sandy : the Elbe and the Oder just touched its territory ; the only river of any size, which it wholly controlled, the Spree, was useless for commerce until it could be canalized ; there were no seaports. Berlin, the capital, at the time of the Thirty Years War, was a poorly

built city. The State of Brandenburg counted for so little in European affairs that Henry IV, when drafting his *Grand Design* in 1610, omitted to mention it altogether.

Farther east, on the coast of the Baltic, between the rivers Vistula and Niemen, a crusading Order, the Teutonic Knights, had in the Middle Ages conquered a large territory from the pagan Slavs. This territory the Teutonic Knights governed as a State of their own under the name of Prussia. In 1525 their



Grand Master was Albert, a member of the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns. He became a Lutheran, along with the majority of the Knights, and 'secularized' the State. It thus became the Duchy of Prussia, hereditary in the line of the first Duke, Albert of Hohenzollern. In 1618 his line became extinct; the Duchy of Prussia thus passed, by inheritance, to the Elector of Brandenburg.

In the Thirty Years War, George William, Elector from 1619 to 1640, did his best to remain neutral, but was drawn into the hostilities. In the war Brandenburg was devastated by friend and foe. The next Elector, however, Frederick William, who

reigned from 1640 to 1688, raised Brandenburg-Prussia to real prosperity, and is justly held to be the founder of its greatness. By sending his trained household officials to govern the various districts of his State he created the great Prussian bureaucracy which became the most efficient Civil Service in Europe. Almost his last act (he died on 9 May 1688) was to send troops to the Lower Rhine against Louis XIV, to cover the expedition that William III of Orange was making to England. Frederick William is thus one of the makers of the Protestant Settlement, the Revolution of 1688. He is justly called, by his own people, the Great Elector (*der Grosse Kurfürst*).

The next Elector, Frederick, was an extravagant ruler who tried to maintain a court on the model of Versailles. As a reward for siding with the Allies in the War of the Spanish Succession, he obtained from the Emperor Leopold I the dignity of King. Henceforth the Elector of Brandenburg was called King in Prussia, or King of Prussia (1701). It was in his reign that the University of Halle (1694) and the Berlin Academy of Science (1700) were founded. The philosopher Leibnitz (1646-1716) was a leader of this movement of enlightenment.

The son of King Frederick I was Frederick William I (1713-40). This monarch was a first-rate administrator. Returning to the frugal habits of the Electors before King Frederick I, he kept a modest court and household, and spent all his money on developing the State. The various provincial Boards of Administration were joined into one General Directory (1723) for all the Prussian dominions, which now included, besides Brandenburg and Prussia (East Prussia, it was now called), Magdeburg, Minden, Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg. The General Directory was responsible to the King for the whole financial and military administration.

Frederick William raised the Prussian Army to the enormous figure (for those days) of 80,000 men. About half the number was recruited abroad, and some were even kidnapped, as happened to Thackeray's sordid hero, Barry Lyndon. Yet the military King did little fighting, except by intervening in the war against Charles XII of Sweden, and so gaining Stettin at the

mouth of the Oder (from Swedish Pomerania) in 1720. Frederick William I was indeed no mere militarist. He was tolerant in his religious policy; he read foreign papers, which he got from Holland (for there were no newspapers in the kingdom of Prussia). But he drove the celebrated professor of philosophy, Johann Christian von Wolff, from the University of Halle for teaching a doctrine of 'pre-established harmony'. He schooled his people in a very direct and personal way, walking freely among them in the streets of Berlin, and beating them with his cane if they did not behave as he wanted.

Every evening the careful King got his councillors together for a smoke and a long talk about affairs of State. These regular discussions became known as Tobacco Parliament or Tabagie. Carlyle describes them in his *Life of Frederick the Great*:

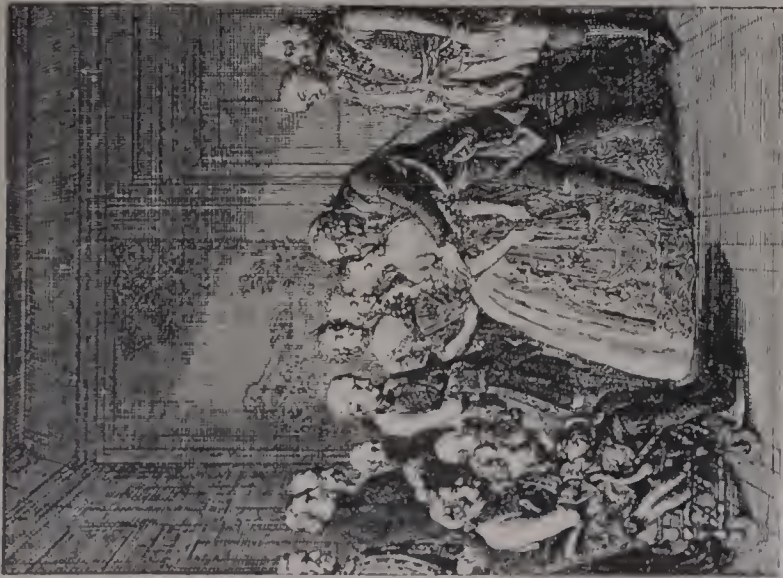
A smoking-room—with wooden furniture we can suppose—in each of his Majesty's royal Palaces, was set apart for this evening service, and became the Tabagie of his Majesty. In summer season, at Potsdam and in country situations, Tabagie could be held under a tent: we expressly know, his Majesty held Tabagie at Wusterhausen nightly on the steps of the big Fountain, in the outer Court there . . . Any room that was large enough, and had height of ceiling, and air-circulation and no cloth-furniture, would do; and in each Palace there is one, or more than one, that has been fixed upon, and fitted out for that object. A high large Room as the engravings (mostly worthless) give it us: contented saturnine human figures, a dozen or so of them, sitting round a large long table, furnished for the occasion; long Dutch pipe in the mouth of each man; supplies of Knaster easily accessible; small pan of burning peat, in the Dutch fashion (sandy native charcoal which burns slowly without smoke) is at your left hand; at your right a jug, which I find to consist of excellent thin bitter beer. Other costlier materials for drinking, if you want such, are not beyond reach. On side-tables stand wholesome cold meats, royal rounds of beef not wanting, with bread thinly sliced and buttered: in a rustic but neat and abundant way, such innocent accommodations, narcotic or nutritious, gaseous, fluid and solid, as human nature bent on contemplation and an evening lounge, can require. Perfect equality is to be the rule: no rising or notice taken, when anybody enters or leaves. Let the entering man take his place and pipe without obligatory remarks: if he cannot smoke, which is Seckendorf's case, for instance, let him at least affect to do so, and not ruffle the established stream of things. And

so Puff, slowly Puff!—and any comfortable speech that is in you; or none, if you authentically have not any.

Old official gentlemen, military for most part; Grumkow, Derchau (Old Dessauer, when at hand), Seckendorf, old General Flans (rugged Platt-Deutsche specimen, capable of *tocadille* or backgammon, capable of rough slashes of sarcasm when he opens his old beard for speech): these, and the like of these, intimate confidants of the King, men who could speak a little or who could be socially silent otherwise,—seem to have been the staple of the Institution. Strangers of mark, who happened to be passing, were occasional guests; Ginckel the Dutch Ambassador, though foreign like Seckendorf, was well seen there; garrulous Pollnitz, who has wandered over all the world, had a standing invitation. King, high Princes on visit, were sure to have the honour. The Crown-Prince, now and afterwards, was often present; oftener than he liked—in such an atmosphere, in such an element. ‘The little Princes were all wont to come in’ doffing their bits of triangular hats, ‘and bid Papa good-night. One of the old Generals would sometimes put them through their exercise; and the little creatures were unwilling to go away to bed.’ (Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, Book V, Chap. VII.)

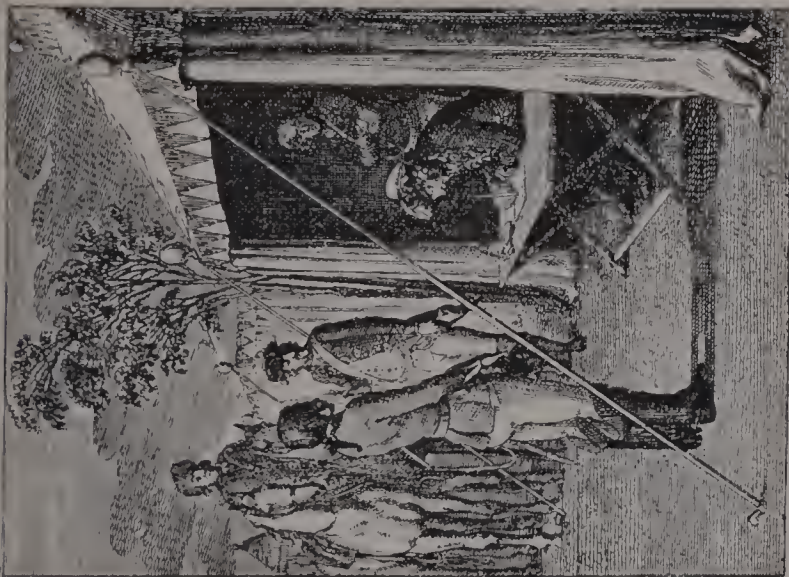
Frederick William did not understand his son who was later to be known as Frederick II, the Great. Frederick was a dreamy, sentimental prince, like many other young men, of high and low birth, in Germany at this time. They were all preparing that German renaissance, that *Aufklärung* or enlightening, which was to reach its highest development with Goethe at the end of the century. The young Frederick played the flute, made verses, liked talking (generally in French) with cultured people. His father's severe discipline galled him, and in 1730 he tried to run away from it. He was caught and condemned to death, and was only released on the urgent petition of foreign sovereigns. When Frederick II succeeded to the throne in 1740 he continued to play the flute and to make verses, but he embarked upon sterner work as well: and being clear-headed, methodical, and tirelessly energetic, he found time for everything.

The war in which he almost at once engaged was not creditable to his political morality. The Emperor Charles VI, the head of the House of Austria, had died in the same year as Frederick became King of Prussia. The Imperial crown was elective (and for five years it passed out of the Habsburg Line to Bavaria),



*Frederick's kind treatment of the younger sons and daughters
of the King of Poland after the taking of Dresden*

.



*Frederick despatching the order for a Te Deum
after his victory at Torr*

Engravings by D. Chodowiecki, who was Engraver to the King at the time

but the Austrian dominions were hereditary. Charles had bequeathed them all—Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia and the rest, with the Kingdom of Hungary—to his daughter Maria Theresa. He had, in 1720, established an Edict, called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, to secure this undivided succession to her; and all the chief States of Europe, including France, England, and Prussia, had promised to adhere to the Pragmatic. But Frederick II chose to break the Prussian promise, claiming that part of the Austrian dominions, the province of Silesia, was his by an ancient hereditary right. So in December 1740 he invaded Silesia.

In his *History of My Times* (Frederick was a considerable author) the King gives the various reasons for starting this momentous war. He states his claims very fairly, and concludes: 'Add to these reasons an army always ready to act, plenty of money in hand, and perhaps the desire of making oneself a name'¹—this perhaps was the final cause. It is, at any rate, a frank statement. And so, as Macaulay says in his *Essay on Frederick the Great*, 'in order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America.'

The Silesian War soon became general, and is now known as the War of the Austrian Succession. Prussia fought Austria; France took the Prussian side, and England (alone faithful to the guarantees of the Pragmatic) fought against France. The battles of Dettingen (1743) on the River Main and Fontenoy (1745) in the Austrian Netherlands, the first a victory, the second a defeat for the English, occurred in Europe while French and English troops were struggling for the mastery in India and Canada. Frederick, in the Silesian theatre of war, was successful against the Austrians; and when the final peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 he was left in possession of Silesia.

After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Frederick turned to the task for which he was supremely fitted, of administering and developing his dominions. Silesia was absorbed into the Prussian

¹ *Histoire de mon temps*, par Frédéric le Grand, Chap. II.

system with remarkably little friction. It was a Protestant country. The Oder, which ran through the whole length of it towards the Baltic, linked the commercial interests of the province quite naturally with Brandenburg. The nobles, a capable, land-owning body of squires, were carefully favoured by Frederick and became loyal Prussians: 'nobles', the King wrote in his



THE HABSBURG MONARCHY IN 1740

Note: S = Salzburg, C = Croatia and D = Dalmatia.

Political Testament (1752), 'are the base and columns of the State.' Throughout the whole Prussian dominions Frederick did everything possible to encourage trade: he drained marshes, and settled families of peasant proprietors on the reclaimed land; he gave or lent money to establish cloth-manufactures; he dug canals. A code of justice was prepared on the best models by his great lawyer Cocceji, for 'Government rolls upon four principal points', wrote Frederick: 'upon the administration of justice, the wise management of the finances, the vigorous maintenance of military discipline, and finally the art of taking

the most suitable measures for promoting one's interests—this art is called Policy.' ¹

It was in 1752 that the King wrote the *Testament politique* (a splendid little treatise on government and politics in the French tongue), from which these words are taken. There was a quiet interval of about eight years between the Austrian Succession War and another war which Frederick knew was almost sure to come: for 'Austria has not forgotten Silesia', he wrote in the *Testament*. Meanwhile he did more than attend to the material prosperity of his dominions. He found time, not merely to write the *Testament politique*, but to engage in other literary work and to enjoy the society of men of letters. He built Sans Souci, 'an elegant commodious little Country-Box, quite of modest pretensions, one story high, on the pleasant hill-top near Potsdam, with other little green hills, and pleasant views of land and water, all round. . . . Tourists know this Cottage Royal: Frederick's three rooms in it; one of them a Library, in another a little Alcove with an iron bed—altogether a soldier's lodging.' ²

Frederick had a great appetite for conversation: he talked well and listened well.³ He induced Voltaire to come to his Court in 1750, and gave him a pension of £850 a year; but after two and a half years of intimacy the King and the man of letters quarrelled. A few years later, however, they made up the quarrel, and wrote to each other as long as they both lived.

During the interval of peace between the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War, the Diplomatic Revolution was being arranged. This was not exactly a *catastrophic* revolution, but it was sufficiently startling to create a sensation at the time. Ever since the days of Francis and Charles V, the French had been fighting against the Habsburgs, first in Italy, then on the Rhine and Scheldt. It was what French historians call a *secular struggle*; it went on from age to age.

After the loss of Silesia, however, the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, formed a design to put an end to the age-long hostility of Habsburg and Bourbon, and, instead, to make the

¹ *Testament politique de Frédéric II* (edition Teubner, 1920), p. 3.

² Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, Book XVI, Chap. I.

³ *Ibid.*



Frederick II, the Great

two dynasties into allies. This seemed to be an almost impossible plan when Kaunitz himself went to Paris, as Austrian Ambassador, in 1750. But he persuaded the French King, Louis XV, and the Ministers that it was to the advantage of both France and Austria; and thus on the 1st May 1756, the Habsburg-Bourbon Alliance (the Treaty of Versailles) was made. This was the Diplomatic Revolution.

There was nothing dishonourable about the alliance. Two Governments have a perfect right to make a treaty for mutual assistance. It is the expediency of the alliance that has been doubted. Austria it is true gained the support of a French Army for her effort to regain Silesia; and she got security for the Austrian Netherlands which, hitherto, in every European War, had been overrun by French troops. But what did France get? Many historians have said that the Habsburg-Bourbon Alliance only involved France in a continental war, when she should have been concentrating on a maritime and colonial war with England. The criticism is not sound. France was bound to be involved in continental war whether she made alliance with the Habsburgs or not; for if there was to be an Anglo-French maritime and colonial war (and this was certain) the English Government would be sure to arrange a European alliance for itself, to keep the French Army occupied by war in Europe. Besides, the French Government hoped, through being friends with Austria, to induce that Power to hand over these Austrian Netherlands which hitherto France had failed to gain by centuries of warfare.

Before France and Austria made their alliance, Great Britain and Prussia had already joined themselves together by the Convention of Westminster on the 16th January 1756. Thus all the great Powers, except Spain, were ready for war when Frederick of Prussia, who had no intention of waiting to be attacked, suddenly invaded Saxony (an ally of Austria) and occupied Dresden.

The Seven Years War thus began on the 29th August 1756 and lasted until the 15th February 1763. It was fought on three continents (Europe, Asia, and America), and on the sea. At sea the British and French Navies alone contended, until 1762 when

Spain became involved in the struggle on the French side. The result was virtually the annihilation of the French Navy, by the battles of Lagos and Quiberon Bay (both in 1759). In India, the forces of the English East India Company, led by Robert Clive, displaced the French East India Company from all power, and took its 'factories' and settlements. The battle of Plassey (1757), fought by Clive against the Rajah of Bengal, gave the English control of that territory. The battle of Wandewash (1760), fought by Colonel Eyre Coote, completed the ruin of the French Company. In Canada, Major-General Wolfe took Quebec in 1759, and General Amherst took Montreal in 1760.

It was not lack of talent that ruined the French power overseas. Dupleix in India, Montcalm in Canada, were capable, energetic governors. Dupleix was a genius in administration; Montcalm had the same heroic qualities as his rival Wolfe. But the English gained command of the sea, and on this the fate of Canada and India, separated by the great oceans from France, obviously depended. It was William Pitt who saw most clearly the value of sea-power, and who arranged the masterly 'combined strategy' (interrelated¹ operations on land and sea) in the years from 1757 to 1761.

Frederick of Prussia was not so happily situated as the English. His was an almost land-locked State; its military and economic strength was pitted against France and Austria, the two wealthiest military Powers of Europe. Moreover, the Tsarina Elizabeth joined in the war, on the Austrian side, in 1757, and poured her armies over the open eastern frontier of Prussia. The help of England (an army of 20,000 men and a subsidy of £720,000 a year) was of enormous value to Frederick: yet even with this, the odds against him were tremendous.

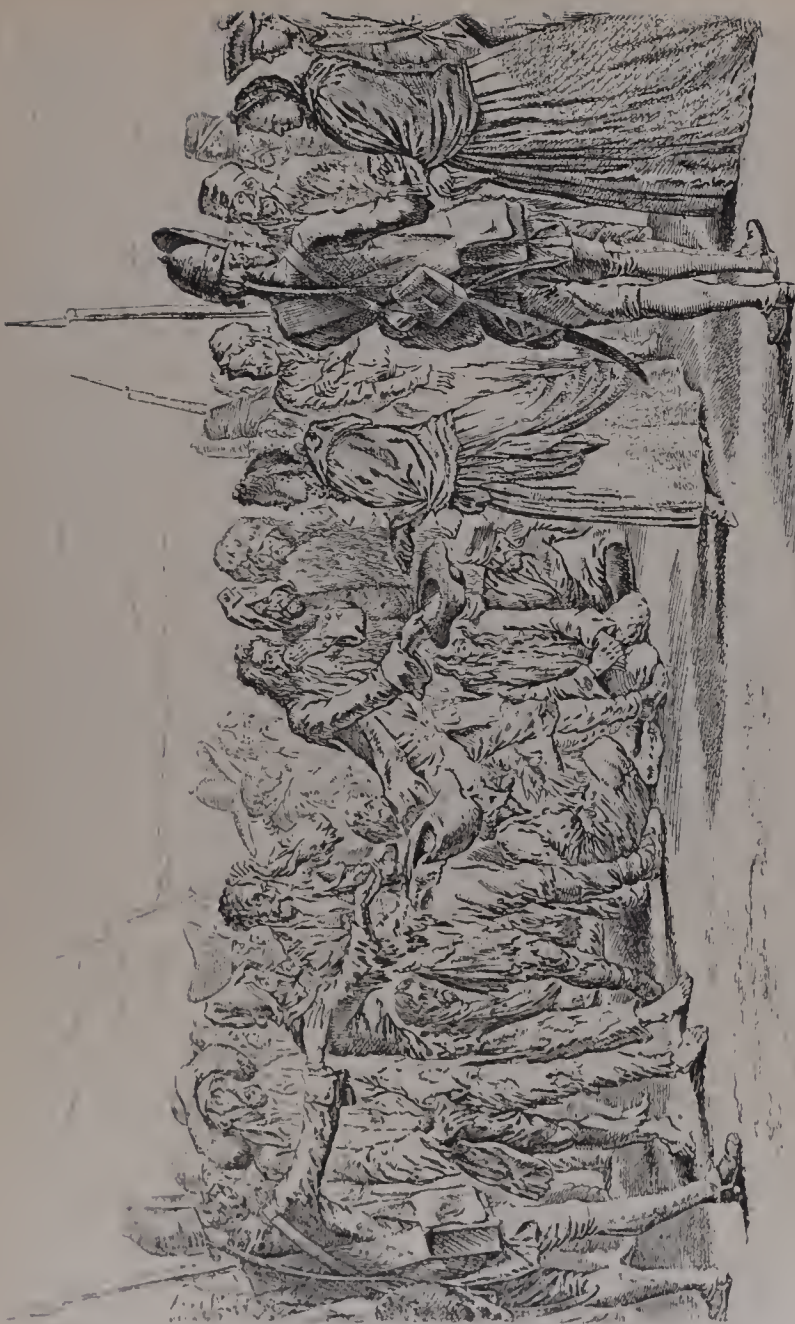
It was in the agonies of the Seven Years War that Frederick II discovered to Europe the heroic qualities which gained him the name of Great. His armies were beaten, his capital, Berlin, was captured; yet he maintained the fight and won decisive victories, so that his defeats had little result. The battle of Rossbach (5 November 1757), the first victory of the Prussians over a French army, is justly famous in German history. The battle of Minden

(1 August 1759) was not one of Frederick's fights; it was the British Army's chief contribution to the common military effort. At Liegnitz, on the 15th August 1760, Frederick reasserted his dominion over Silesia against the Austrians.

The Russian Army had beaten Frederick at Kunersdorf in 1759 and taken Berlin in 1760. But on the 5th January 1762 the Tsarina Elizabeth died; her successor, Peter III, admired Frederick and made peace with him. A crisis of a somewhat similar nature had occurred in England. George II, an unswerving supporter of the war, died in 1760. His grandson, George III, thought that the objects of the war had been sufficiently gained; and therefore, against the advice of Pitt, he had Preliminaries of Peace signed with France, on the 3rd November 1762, and the Full Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, on the 10th February 1763. Frederick to his disgust was left alone, but his objects had really been obtained, for he had preserved his State and made good his hold upon Silesia. Therefore he too made peace at Hubertusburg in Saxony, on the 13th February 1763. He had proved himself to be the greatest king in Europe; and, meanwhile, the bulk of France's Colonial Empire had passed into English hands.

The rest of Frederick's reign was a period of reconstruction after the Seven Years War. The territories of Brandenburg and East Prussia especially had been severely ravaged. Frederick estimated that he had lost 180,000 men by fighting; and that from the indirect effects of hostilities 500,000 of the population of his dominions had perished. Judged even according to standards of recent wars, the Seven Years War was a gigantic struggle. Frederick's estimate of the total loss of soldiers of all the belligerents was 853,000.

In the misery and breakdown of government, produced by the war, the conditions that always attend these at once appeared: scarcity of commodities, high prices, and inordinate greed of gain: not the disciplined and regular pursuit of gain, which only helps on production and trade, but the heartless 'profiteering' which battens on bad times and the breakdown of government. As soon as peace came, however, Frederick's firm hand



2. 1. 1918. d. 8. 1. 1918. d. 8. 1. 1918.

The Russian War. Scene in Berlin on the arrival of the first Russian prisoners

From a contemporary etching by D. Chodowiecki

and fatherly care re-established normal conditions. The work of draining marshes, cutting canals, and ploughing up the waste spaces was resumed. Ruined husbandmen were restarted with stocks of tools and of grain. Factories were reopened; and the demands of the growing population gave them a good market. Carlyle quotes from the memories of one of the Royal Bailiffs a conversation which shows the King's methods. Frederick in 1779 inspected the moorland country, where there were large estates of the Crown, about twenty-five miles north-east of Berlin. It was near Fehrbellin, where the Great Elector gained a victory against the Swedes in 1675. Coming to a place from where the party could see the river Havel discharging itself into the Elbe below Havelberg, the King turned to his bailiff and spoke:

Hear now, the tract of moor here to the left must also be reclaimed; and what is to the right too, so far as the moor extends. What kind of wood is there on it?

Bailiff. Alders and oaks, Your Majesty.

King. Na! The alders you may root out; and the oaks may continue standing; the people may sell these (the alders) or use them otherwise. When once the ground is arable, I reckon upon 300 families for it, and 500 head of cows—ha?

Bailiff. Your Majesty, the Luch is still subject to rights of common from a great many hands.

King. No matter for that. You must make exchanges, give them an equivalent. I want nothing from anybody except at its value.¹

Trade and agriculture were not the King's only domestic concerns. He established or re-established schools everywhere, appointing as schoolmasters either retired army sergeants or else refugee Jesuits, after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Carlyle in Chapter I (Book II) of *Sartor Resartus* gives a pleasant picture of one of Frederick the Great's old sergeants.

In foreign affairs Frederick had still some difficult crises to deal with. He was continually desirous of maintaining good relations with Russia, and in 1764 made a treaty of alliance with that Power. Meanwhile the kingdom of Poland was in a condition of something very like anarchy; and grave disputes broke out

¹ Carlyle, *Life of Frederick the Great* ('A Day with Frederick').

between one section of the Poles, and Russia. The Turks, always ready to profit by the difficulties of the Powers, and anxious to prevent Russia from controlling all Poland, made war against Russia (1768-74). As it happened, Austria at this time was encouraging Turkey, so that the upshot of the whole affair would be an Austro-Russian War, with Turkey on the Austrian side, and Prussia (according to its treaty of alliance) on the Russian : that is to say, a European War on the grand scale, with all its incalculable losses and miseries, would ensue. King Frederick was now only desirous of maintaining the public tranquillity. The Empress Catherine of Russia suggested to his brother, Prince Henry, at Petersburg, that the rival Powers should sink their differences and agree to divide Poland (1771). Frederick acquiesced with alacrity ; and in 1772 the First Partition of Poland was put into effect by arrangement between Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

Poland was not destroyed, but about one-fifth part of it was taken away, and distributed between the three Powers. Frederick got the smallest share, ' Polish Prussia ', about 20,000 square miles : this was the part that just suited him, for it connected Prussian Pomerania with East Prussia. Austria got Galicia (62,500 sq. miles), and Russia got a slice of Eastern Poland (Polotsk, Mohilev), about 87,500 square miles.

About this famous First Partition of 1772 Carlyle, who always defends Frederick, makes three remarks : (1) that Frederick did not start the idea of partitioning Poland, but that, when it was proposed, he grasped it eagerly to save Europe from a general war ; (2) that the partitioning itself would, but for Frederick's skilful diplomacy, have produced a European War ; and (3) that the Partition was ' an inevitable event in Polish history ' : the anarchy of Poland brought upon the country its own doom.

Two more crises in foreign affairs had to be faced by Frederick. Both of these were concerned with the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, the son of Maria Theresa and Francis I. Joseph wished to round off and consolidate his dominions. A chance came on the 30th December 1777, when, with the death of the Elector Maximilian Joseph, the reigning line in Bavaria became extinct.

The heir was Charles Theodore, Elector of the Palatinate, the head of another branch of the Wittelsbach line. Early in 1778, the Emperor Joseph II occupied Bavaria with Austrian troops. Frederick of Prussia at once began war, and invaded Bohemia. For three months a Prussian and an Austrian army gazed at each other from entrenchments in the valley of the Elbe ; but no fighting took place. The diplomatists were at work, and peace was made in a Conference of Prussian, Austrian, Saxon, French, and Russian plenipotentiaries, at Teschen, May 1779. Joseph II evacuated Bavaria, except one small district between the Inn and the Salza, which he was allowed to keep.

In 1785, the same trouble arose again. This time the Elector Charles Theodore of Bavaria agreed to the plan of Joseph II, which was that Austria should annex Bavaria, while the Bavarian Elector was to become King of the Austrian Netherlands. The new realm thus created was to be called the Kingdom of Burgundy. Again Frederick intervened. He formed a *Fürstenbund*, a League of German Princes, in defence of the existing territorial system of the Empire. Joseph II submitted: the 'Bavarian Exchange Question' was dropped. This was Frederick's last work. On the 17th August 1786 he died at Potsdam at the age of seventy-four.



Berlin fashions of the period

Supplementary Dates.

IX

- 1619 Accession of George William, Elector of Brandenburg.
- 1640 Accession of Frederick William 'The Great Elector'.
- 1688 Accession of the Elector Frederick (Frederick I).
- 1694 Foundation of Halle University.
- 1700 Foundation of the Berlin Academy of Science.
- 1713 Accession of Frederick William I.
- 1716 Death of Leibnitz.
- 1720 Frederick William annexes Stettin from Swedish Pomerania.
- 1723 Formation of the General Directory.
- 1729 Bach's *Matthew Passion*.
- 1740 Accession of Frederick the Great.
- 1742 Handel's *Messiah*.
- 1748 Klopstock's *Messias*.
- 1750 Voltaire takes up his residence at the Prussian Court.
- 1752 *The Political Testament* of Frederick the Great.
- 1775 Frederick's victory over the Swedes near Fehrbellin.
- 1786 Death of Frederick.

X

FRANCE AND SPAIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

‘ THERE is a European atmosphere. The same ideas are spread everywhere : they are all French, and find naturally in France their most perfect expression.’¹ Such is the judgement of Sorel on the pre-eminent position which France has occupied in the life of modern Europe. It was true of France in the age of Louis XIV ; it was true of France in the eighteenth century. But there was a difference. In the age of Louis XIV not only French ideas, but also French power, were felt everywhere. Under Louis XV the ideas still had universal influence, but the power of France was not the same. Other governments could run counter to the policy of the French Government without paying dearly. France was still a great country, and was better managed than admirers of the French Revolution will admit. Nevertheless there was a lack of first-class ability in the governing class of France ; and so this grand nation ceased to be chief in the councils of Europe. The First Partition of Poland proved this : the French, allies to Austria, looked on with folded hands.

The Constitution of France was that of an Absolute Monarchy. It was unwritten ; consisting only of customs, it had altered as time went on. In the Middle Ages and in the sixteenth century there had been a representative Legislative Assembly, called the Estates General. This body, however, although still, in theory, an existing institution, had never been summoned to meet since the year 1614. There were, however, local Estates in some five of the French provinces, for instance in Languedoc and in Brittany. The French provinces were divided into two kinds : *pays d’élection* and *pays d’états*. The *pays d’élection* were ancient Royal Domains and were administered simply by officials. These

¹ Sorel, *L’Europe et la Révolution française*, i. 147.

officials were at one time *elected* locally, but had now for centuries been simply appointed by the Central Government in Paris. The *pays d'élection* had no representative assemblies. The *pays d'état* had each an assembly of Estate, and to a certain extent governed themselves. There was still a third kind of province, namely those on the eastern frontier : for instance Metz was administered directly by the Ministry of War.

The central Government at Paris consisted of the King and the Ministers of Departments—War, Finance, the Navy, Justice, and the rest. The chief Minister was the Controller-General, the head of the financial system, which was an extremely complicated affair. There was no Cabinet. The King would hold a Council of all his Ministers if he chose to do so, but such meetings were comparatively rare, and were only held on very critical occasions. Instances of such meetings were 1551, when Henry II in Council made the momentous decision to attach Metz and so changed the whole course of French foreign policy (see above, p. 394) and 1700, when Louis XIV in Council at Fontainebleau decided to accept the will of Charles II of Spain, by which will Louis' grandson was to become King of Spain. This began the long War of the Spanish Succession. Besides these occasional Council-meetings, there was a permanent council of officials, the *Conseil du roi*, which met from day to day and transacted the ordinary business of the realm.

The link between the Government in Paris and the twelve provinces was the Intendant. There were thirty Intendants, each of whom was a sort of sheriff presiding over a large district. Nobles were never chosen for the post ; capable young men of the professional class, sons of lawyers, doctors, and teachers, first of all would become clerks in the Controller's office, and then, if they rose in the service, would be sent out as Intendants to Limoges, Périgord, Auvergne, or elsewhere. France was full of different authorities which had come down from the Middle Ages : chartered towns, rural communes, noble fiefs with various rights, royal estates, abbeys, bishoprics ; it is said that there were over three hundred various local customary codes of law. ' At the first glance thrown on the ancient administration of the realm,

everything there appears to be diversity of rules and of authority, entanglement of powers.' ¹

The administration was so 'tangled', that without the Intendants it would not have worked at all. They became a regular professional class, the most skilful and experienced men chosen out of the civil service, laborious, competent, the link between central and local affairs, the dispersers of uniform principles of administration, where all else was diversity and complication. 'Do you know', said John Law to the Marquis d'Argenson, 'France is governed by Thirty Intendants.' ² The regulations of the Government were rigid, but the Intendants varied their application to suit local needs. 'There is the whole *Ancien Régime*: a rigid rule, an easy practice: such is its character.' ³

When Louis XIV died on the 1st September 1715, the new King, Louis XV was only five years old. The Government was left in the hands of the late King's nephew, the Duke of Orleans, a clever, lazy, dissipated man for whom and whose friends the name of *roués* had been invented: they were so bad, it was said, that they deserved to be broken on the wheel. But Orleans, although he set a bad example of conduct, was in many ways a good Regent. Among his achievements was a treaty of alliance with France's late enemy, England.

France was not the only country ruled at this time by a Bourbon. The Habsburg line of Spain had died out in 1700, with King Charles II. He had bequeathed his dominions, Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily, and the Indies (South America) to the grandson of Louis XIV. Louis, in the Council of Fontainebleau, had accepted the bequest for his second grandson, Philip of Anjou; and in sending the boy off to his new realm he had significantly remarked, *Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées*.⁴ To prevent France and Spain being thus practically joined together William III had made the Grand Alliance of England, the United Netherlands, the Empire, and Savoy. His successor, Queen Anne,

¹ Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime*, Book II, Chap. II.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ There is some doubt whether this statement was really made by Louis XIV, but it is published as by him in the *Œuvres de Louis XIV* (1806), II. 460.

along with the Allies, had fought the long War of the Spanish Succession. The results of the war were embodied in the Treaties of Utrecht. According to these, Philip of Anjou, or Philip V, the second grandson of Louis XIV, remained King of Spain, but under the perpetual condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be joined together in one person. The Spanish overseas domains were divided, so that there should be



a proper balance of power: the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sardinia were given to Austria, but Spain retained the Indies. Sicily, with the title of King, was given to the Duke of Savoy.

King Philip V of Spain was an earnest, pious man; and personally, he would have liked to let Europe remain quiet. His second wife, however, Elizabeth, a princess of the House of Parma (Farnese was the family name), was of a different spirit. She wanted to see the Austrians driven out of Italy, and, after she had children, she wanted to get her sons made into Italian ruling princes. So she soon began to conspire against the Treaties

of Utrecht, and in the end she did bring it about that the Austrians were forced to leave Naples, and that one of her sons should become King of Naples (1735), another Duke of Parma (1748). This shifting about of princes and governments made people say that in the eighteenth century statesmen carved up States like Dutch cheeses. There is truth in this, but the facts show that the carving was not badly done. It compares quite favourably with many later annexations and distributions of territory, even in the twentieth century.

The first step in the process of revising the Utrecht settlement was taken in 1718. Queen Elizabeth Farnese had made Chief Minister in the Spanish Government Julius Alberoni, the agent at Madrid of the Duchy of Parma. Besides being chief Minister, Alberoni, who was in priest's orders, became a Cardinal. Under his energetic and skilful administration, Spain began to recover from the decadence of the reign of Charles II and from the long Succession War. The dockyards began to resound to the noise of shipbuilding; the spirit of the nation awoke. A few more years would have enabled Alberoni to carry his work to something like completion. But this was not to be. In 1718 Spanish troops occupied Sardinia (which was an Austrian possession under the Treaty of Utrecht) and the island of Sicily (which belonged to Savoy under the same treaty). This interference with the treaty settlement of Europe neither England, Austria, or the Dutch would tolerate. France, under the Regent Orleans, also stood by the Treaty, and was in alliance with England. At the battle of Cape Passaro, off the south-eastern coast of Sicily in August 1718, the revived Spanish fleet, Alberoni's pride, was annihilated by Admiral Byng. So Spain gained nothing by this assault upon the Utrecht Settlement; but a change was made, for Austria gave Sardinia to Savoy and received in exchange Sicily (1720). Henceforth the Duke of Savoy (who since 1714 had been called King of Sicily) was called King of Sardinia. One hundred and forty years later he was to become King of Italy.

Spain's first effort had failed. Alberoni had to resign from politics, and betake himself to his clerical duties in Italy. He died at his native place of Piacenza in 1752.

The next effort of Spain was made under a real adventurer. John William Ripperda was a Dutchman, born of good family, at Groningen. After serving in the Dutch infantry, and rising to the rank of colonel, he obtained a diplomatic post and was sent to Madrid. There he got himself into the good offices of the King and Queen, and after Alberoni's fall he became chief minister. But the opportunist Dutchman was no more successful than the honest *cure* of Piacenza. In 1725 he tried to arrange a European war against Great Britain, chiefly with the object of regaining Gibraltar. But the European coalition failed to come into action; and Robert Walpole, the very cautious English Prime Minister, managed to confine the war to local naval operations (near Gibraltar and in the West Indies) which diplomacy brought to an end in 1727. Ripperda was dismissed, and went to Morocco, where he turned Mohammedan and lived the exciting life of an energetic, unprincipled renegade, managing to make money somehow. He died at Tetuan in 1737.

After the English war (1725-7) the affairs of Spain remained quiet for a few years. France was at peace with the rest of the world too. The Regent Orleans had died of apoplexy at the age of forty-nine, in the year 1723. Louis XV, although nominally of age, was too young to do much in government, and left the conduct of affairs to his former tutor, the Cardinal Fleury, a gentle, peace-loving old clergyman between seventy and eighty years of age. In 1733, however, a crisis occurred in the place where it was most likely to happen, namely the Kingdom or Republic (as it was called) of Poland. The celebrated King Augustus the Strong died in February 1733. As the throne was elective the death of a Polish king was always the signal for the outbreak of international rivalries.

On this occasion there were two candidates who between them divided the whole of continental Europe. One was Stanislaus Le zezynski, who twenty-eight years earlier had been made, for a brief time, King of Poland by Charles XII. After losing Poland (for his throne fell with Charles's defeat at Pultava) he had retired to Alsace where he lived the life of a respectable studious nobleman until he was brought into the eye of Europe

again by an unexpected proposal. This was nothing less than an offer of marriage from King Louis XV of France to Stanislaus's daughter Marie. Louis had originally been betrothed to the Infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip V and Elizabeth, but the two Courts had quarrelled and, to the indignation of the Spaniards, the Infanta was sent back to Spain unmarried in 1725 (in point of fact she was only five years old at the time). So a new betrothal was arranged in haste for Louis XV, and the young Marie Leszczynski was chosen.

The result of this was, that when Augustus II of Saxony and Poland died in 1733, the French Government supported the candidature of the father-in-law of Louis XV. Austria and Russia supported Augustus III of Saxony, the son of Augustus the Strong. Queen Elizabeth of Spain saw a chance again arise to revise the Utrecht settlement of Italy. She concluded the First Family Compact between the Bourbon Houses of Spain and France (7 November 1733). The Polish Crown Question produced a war, for the Polish nobles were not left alone to elect whomever they chose. On the whole, victory lay with the French and Spanish forces, but it was found that battles on the Rhine and in Italy did not settle the fate of Poland. Augustus III made good his candidature to the throne. But France and Spain indemnified themselves by changing the territorial settlement of the West by various treaties made in 1735 and 1736.

In the first place the Duchy of Lorraine was given as a consolation to King Stanislaus Leszczynski who entered into a covenant to leave it, when he died, to France. Actually, the Duchy had been administered by French Intendants since the reign of Louis XIV, and was already French to all intents and purposes. Stanislaus was a philosopher who cared little for the crown he had lost. He took up his abode in the Ducal Palace at Nancy, studied, wrote books, was kind to the people, and died in 1766, leaving behind him the memory of a genuine philosopher-king.

When Stanislaus went to Nancy, however, there was already a reigning Duke of Lorraine, of the ancient line. This Duke, Francis, had to leave Lorraine, but was compensated by getting a new duchy, Tuscany. Tuscany itself was not exactly free to be

given away at the moment, for the old reigning family, the Medici, was still in being, in the person of John Gaston. He, however, was childless. He died in 1737, and so ex-Duke Francis of Lorraine went to Tuscany. He had married Maria Theresa, heiress of the Emperor Charles VI, in 1736. A still greater fate was reserved for him, for he became Emperor himself in 1745. His eldest son became the Emperor Joseph II, and the throne of Austria continued in his line until 1918. His second son, Leopold, became Archduke of Tuscany, which continued in Leopold's line until 1860. The House of Lorraine-Tuscany therefore ruled both in Austria and in Tuscany, and provided two of the most enlightened monarchs of the eighteenth century, Joseph II and Leopold II. Tuscany became the best-governed of Italian States.

One more piece of king-making resulted from the War of the Polish Succession. Austria, defeated in Italy, could not keep Naples and Sicily. She resigned it to Prince Charles of Spain, one of the sons of Queen Elizabeth Farnese. Charles founded the Bourbon House of Naples which reigned there until 1860. Charles of Naples, like Stanislaus of Lorraine and Francis of Tuscany proved to be an excellent monarch. The populations in Lorraine, Tuscany, and Naples had no reason to complain of their change of masters.

The next, and—until the French Revolution—the last breach in the Utrecht Settlement, occurred during the War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-8. This struggle began with Frederick II's celebrated invasion of Silesia (December 1740), and developed, when France intervened on the side of Frederick, into a war for the dismemberment of Austria. Spain, attached to France by the Family Compact, also joined in the attack on Austria, by invading that State's dominions in Italy. In this war, as in the War of the Polish Succession, it was found that Spain, which has so often been called decadent, was capable of a fine military effort. Milan, which was an Austrian province, and Parma, which (since the extinction of the Farnese line in 1731) had been occupied by Austrian troops, were conquered; and although in the last years of the war the Austrian troops

again drove the Spaniards out of those territories, the Peace Conference, which met at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 returned the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (but not Milan) to Spain, for Elizabeth's second son. Don Philip therefore betook himself to the town of Parma, which with its university, its witty society, its elegant palaces and stately churches, was one of the pleasantest little capitals of eighteenth-century Europe. His dynasty, known as the House of Bourbon-Parma, reigned there until 1860, and it is still an important family in Europe.

Philip's elder brother, Don Carlos, the King of Naples and Sicily, had taken no part in the War of the Austrian Succession. Some British ships under Captain Martin, who held the local rank of Commodore in the Mediterranean Squadron, put into the bay of Naples in 1742, and the Commodore went on shore. He called upon the Neapolitan Ministers and placing his watch upon the table gave them sixty minutes to decide on war or neutrality. The Neapolitan Government had really no choice, as the British Navy commanded the Mediterranean, so Naples remained neutral.

Charles, an autocratic but also an industrious and enlightened monarch, reigned in the 'Kingdom of the Two Sicilies' until 1759, and did much to reform the condition of that hitherto ill-governed country. The reigning King of Spain was Ferdinand VI who, as the eldest son by a first marriage, had succeeded Philip V in 1746. In 1759 Ferdinand died without male heir, and Charles succeeded to the Spanish throne. As, however, he could not, by the terms of his coronation, reign both in Madrid and Naples, he had to resign the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his own second son. So Charles went off to Spain, taking with him Tanucci, the very able Minister of Justice, who had helped him to carry out his reforms in Naples. His second son, Ferdinand IV, continued the Bourbon line of the Two Sicilies, which survived until Garibaldi and the Thousand went there in 1860.

On the 10th May 1774 Louis XV died, his strong constitution having been long since ruined by his vices. Like all the members of the House of Bourbon, he was a shrewd man, not without ability. He took a considerable interest in foreign affairs, but none at all in domestic government. His reign had been calamitous.

tous, for France had taken part in three great wars and had gained nothing—the Wars of the Polish Succession, the Austrian Succession, and the Seven Years War. A thoroughly worldly-minded man, Louis had a great fear of death, and would let nobody talk of it. The Baron de Bésenval in his *Mémoires* tells a curious story: the Court Secretary, reading some papers, had stumbled on the words, *feu roi d'Espagne* (the late King of Spain). Louis started up in a passion: '*Feu roi, Monsieur?*'—'*Monseigneur,*' hastily answered the trembling but adroit man of business, '*c'est un titre qu'ils prennent* (it is a title they take).'¹

In the reign of Louis XV France was still the intellectual leader of Europe, but other nations were making up to her in the race of progress. France was rich, her trade and commerce were increasing. A sign of this was the growth of Paris and the number of new buildings that were erected in the years before the Revolution.² The population of Paris rose from about 500,000 at the end of the reign of Louis XIV to 660,000 under Louis XVI. The theatre of the Palace of Versailles and the *Petit Trianon* were built under Louis XV.

The great French painters nearly all lived in the reign of Louis XIV—Watteau, Claude Lorrain, the two Poussins (Nicolas and Gaspar). The reign of Louis XV had the lesser lights of Lancret (who continued Watteau's 'pastoral' style), Boucher, and Greuze (who survived until 1805). The British School of painters, of whom Gainsborough was the most famous at that time, was growing into greater eminence than the French.

In literature France still had the primacy, though some of her greatest writers were often in exile. Voltaire was, in his lifetime, a sort of literary Pope for Europe: everybody stood in awe of his terrible judgements, his critiques, his satires. 'Supremacies of this sort are rare in modern times.'³ He laughed so much at French manners, French religion, and French politics, that he was exiled from France in 1726, and spent most of his long life either in Prussia, at the court of Frederick the Great, or at Cirey

¹ Quoted by Carlyle, *French Revolution*, Book I, Chap. IV.

² *La France sous l'Ancien Régime*, by the Vicomte de Broc (1889), p. 475.

³ Carlyle, *Miscellaneous Essays* (On Goethe).

in Champagne, or at Fernay in Pays de Gex—on French soil, but not in Paris, which was the Mecca of Frenchmen of letters. His literary activity was ceaseless ; and among many of his works the *Siècle de Louis Quatorze* and the *Histoire de Charles XII* stand pre-eminent. Voltaire bought land, managed his estate and other enterprises with great skill, and made a large fortune. He died in 1778.

Rousseau, whose stimulating but superficial work on *The Social Contract* had great influence with the *fin-de-siècle* sentimentalists, was not a Frenchman. He was born in Geneva in 1712. He received scarcely any education, and at the age of sixteen began a wandering career which ended with death in 1778. He was by turns a teacher of music, secretary to an archimandrite of the Greek Church, servant to a military officer, secretary to the French ambassador at Venice, a copier of music at ten *sous* a page. Shiftless, selfish, vain, and immoral, Rousseau was nevertheless a man of genius. His *Confessions*, with their beautiful descriptions of scenery, had influence in the development of the Romantic Movement in literature. His novel *Émile* was a notable contribution to the theory of education, and had a marked result in stimulating the views of Froebel (1782–1852), the originator of ‘Kindergartens’, and of Pestalozzi (1745–1827), an apostle of the elementary education of the poor. The *Contrat Social*, published in 1772, with its arguments for the equality of men and for democratic government, helped to bring on the French Revolution, and is still the finest exposition of political sentimentalism.

The French philosophers, *les philosophes*, of the last half of the eighteenth century had a deep effect upon French, and indeed upon European, society. Their views were greatly spread by their own particular writings, as well as by the *Encyclopédie* which Diderot edited, and which appeared in twenty-eight volumes between 1751 and 1772. This was not merely a great storehouse of knowledge, to which practically all the important writers and learned men of France contributed ; its essays and articles also formed a systematic exposition of contemporary ideas on religion, politics, and political economy.



Photograph by Braun & Cie.

The statue by Houdon in the Comédie Française

Yet none of these writers, Voltaire, Rousseau, or the Encyclopaedists who undoubtedly helped to produce the French Revolution, made as solid contributions to the philosophy of government as Montesquieu. Charles de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, was born in the family *château* near Bordeaux in 1689 and was educated like his father for the legal profession. In 1716 he became President of the Parlement of Bordeaux, and held the post until 1726. After this he travelled in Austria, Italy, Germany, and England, where he stayed two years, 1729-31. All this time he was observing and studying, and especially he was carefully collecting accounts of the laws and constitutions of the countries which he visited or could obtain knowledge of. In 1748 his grand work, *L'Esprit des Lois*, the fruit of twenty years of preparation, was published at Geneva. It contains a masterly analysis of the English Constitution, and profound discussions on political questions, such as the influence of climate upon national character and law. It is the greatest work on politics since the time of Aristotle, and is the sanest guide to all statesmen and political thinkers. Among other practical results, the Constitution of the United States of America (1787) can largely be ascribed to the inspiration of Montesquieu.

The condition of Spanish literature was inferior to that of the French. In the seventeenth century Spain had been the home of the novel. *Don Quixote*, published in 1605, is one of the great books of humanity, like the *Iliad*, the *Divina Commedia*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Vanity Fair*. It is a romance, a satire, a book of travels: nearly all its incidents take place in the open air. After *Don Quixote*, a whole host of novels appeared in Spain—novels that show the decline of Spanish society, for the characters are nearly all either poverty-stricken nobles, worldly-priests, thieves, card-sharpers, or bandit soldiers. The type of these *picaresque* novels is *Lazarillo de Tormes* by the Marquis Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, published in 1553 (see p. 428). By the end of the seventeenth century the Picaresque School had said its say in Spain, and produced no more first-class works, but it had great influence on the literature of other countries. The picaresque idea forms the theme of *Gil Blas* (1715), by Le Sage, of Fielding's *Tom Jones*,



Title-page of the first English translation of 'Don Quixote' issued in 1612

and of all De Foe's novels except *Robinson Crusoe*. In drama, Calderon de la Barca (1600-83) had an enduring fame. He wrote over one hundred plays, some of which have been finely translated into English by Edward Fitzgerald. In the eighteenth century Spain produced no great men of letters. In painting, only Goya (1746-1828), the Court-painter of Charles IV, continued to recall something of the greatness of Velasquez and Murillo, the painters of the reign of Philip IV.

The last, and indeed the only, eminent Spanish king between the death of Philip II in 1598 and the accession of Alfonso XIII in 1886 was Charles III. Yet one of the intermediate kings, Philip IV (1621-65), is one of the best-known European monarchs, because Velasquez painted forty famous pictures of him. Under this monarch there flourished two of the greatest glories of Seville. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618-1682) is known abroad for his pictures of gipsies and beggars, but in Spain chiefly for his solemn, religious pictures. Diego de Silva Velasquez (1599-1660) was also a Sevillian. The best collection of his paintings is at the Prado in Madrid; but outside Madrid the finest portrait by Velasquez is that of Admiral Pulido Pareja which is in the National Gallery of London.

Charles III had been King of the Two Sicilies for twenty-seven years when he succeeded to the throne of Spain in 1759, and during that period he had shown himself to be a capable and conscientious ruler. Like Frederick II of Prussia, and Joseph II of Austria, monarchs contemporary with him, Charles was the First Servant of the State, laborious and conscientious, yet at the same time autocratic. He was the careful steward of the State, but the only master that he recognized was God.

Charles was fortunate in having good ministers; or rather, he was clear-sighted enough to recognize talent in his officials. His loyal nature made him stand by his Ministers, and support their most unpopular acts. When he came to the throne of Spain he inherited a good Chief Minister, Admiral Wall, an Irishman. This man had joined an Irish regiment in the Spanish service, and fought in the battle of Cape Passaro in 1718. He rose to be Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1752 to 1764, and died in 1778

leaving behind him the reputation of an honourable, witty, and hospitable nobleman.

Another able Minister was the Marquis di Squilacci, who came from Naples. He was a most energetic reformer, and did much to restore the finances of Spain. The Marquis of Aronda was a skilful Ambassador and Minister of Foreign Affairs; but the best of all was probably Count Florida-Bianca who held office through the last part of Charles's reign. These names are worth citing because they show how eighteenth-century Spain was capable of producing able native ministers; an earlier instance was Patino, Chief Minister during the national revival at the time of the Polish Succession War. They show too how Spain absorbed and used foreigners, like Squilacci, or Wall, or another who has not yet been mentioned, General O'Reilly, Charles's best general.

Thus in spite of two unsuccessful wars (the Seven Years War and the American War of Independence) in both of which he took part quite unnecessarily, Charles III had a prosperous reign. He brought common sense into the antiquated and cumbrous governmental ideas of Spain. He stopped the absurd restrictions by which Spain tried to protect her commerce even from her colonies. The Free Trade which Charles made between Spain and Spanish America did more for his country than all the wars waged since the battle of Pavia. Under Squilacci's regulations Madrid at last became a capital with clean streets and an efficient police.

Charles III lived to an old age, for regular work all morning, and regular exercise in the afternoon (which he invariably spent in hunting and shooting) are good for the health. He died in 1788 at the age of seventy-two. Unlike all his dull, proud, and melancholy predecessors he was cheerful, lively, robust, a thoroughly normal and wholesome man, and an excellent instance of the *rois éclairés* of the eighteenth century. In the eyes of visitors to Spain to-day, Charles III still appears almost as its creator. He built the magnificent Prado, which houses the grand collection of pictures in Madrid. Many other public works stand to his credit, and memorials of him are practically every-

where. The Spanish seem to be naturally a royalist people, and answer most easily to the guidance of a king, whether he have the lively genius of Charles III or the gloomy temperament of Philip II, provided only that he be an energetic leader.

Supplementary Dates.

X

- 1553 Publication of the Picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*.
- 1721 Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*.
- 1723 Voltaire's *Henriade*.
- 1746 Birth of Goya.
- 1748 Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*.
- 1754 Voltaire's Essay *Sur les mœurs*.
- 1762 *Le Contrat social* of Rousseau.
Glück's *Orfeo*.
- 1772 Appearance of the 28th volume of Diderot's Encyclopaedia.
- 1775 Beaumarchais's *Barber of Seville*.
- 1781 *Confessions* of Rousseau.
- 1784 Beaumarchais's *Figaro*.

XI

THE AGE OF REASON

THE men of the eighteenth century prided themselves upon being strictly rational. Realism, the habit of taking things as they are, without troubling about the mysteries which may lie beneath the material aspect of the world, was the rule in politics and in social matters. With European life in this condition it was not remarkable that an assault should be made on the Roman Catholic Church, an institution which is the opposite of realistic; for the Roman Catholic Church does not take things as they are; it looks upon material things only as the symbol or expression of spiritual things which lie beyond.

The Roman Catholic Church had experienced and had survived the great assault of the Reformation. The new attack, the attack associated with the name of the Age of Reason, began really before the Age of Reason. It arose with the philosophy of Descartes.

René Descartes was not, like most philosophers, a somewhat solitary man who lived in his study, and followed a lonely line of thought, albeit for the good of mankind. He had the mobility of the Renaissance scholar, a mobility which lasted down to the end of the eighteenth century. Born in 1596, of a noble French family in Touraine, Descartes received the high education of the day at the Jesuit College of La Flèche in Aragon, where Prince Eugene of Savoy also was educated. On leaving school Descartes was entered for a military career, but as France was at peace and was reducing its forces after the death of Henry IV, he went into the Dutch service. Garrison life at Breda gave him plenty of leisure, and he spent it in thinking out mathematical problems. Later he transferred his services to Maximilian of Bavaria. In 1621 he left the army and travelled until 1629. At Florence he met Galileo. From 1629 to 1648 Descartes resided in Holland; then he went to Sweden where the highly cultured Queen Christina

welcomed him and gave him a pension. But the climate of Stockholm and the habit of early rising at the Swedish court (which had to be up by five o'clock in the morning) were too much for the philosopher's health. He died at Stockholm in 1650, but his body was brought to Paris and is buried in the ancient Church of Ste. Geneviève near the University.

Descartes's most influential work is the *Discourse on Method*, written in French and published in 1637. He had early resolved to say nothing that was not 'perfectly clear and distinct'. His system of philosophy is based upon the statement: *cogito, ergo sum*, 'I think, therefore I exist;' and from this basis he proceeds to examine and to test all that is called knowledge, and to show just how far the human mind can attain to certainty.

Descartes was a strong supporter of religion, but he began or at any rate strengthened a habit of mind which was bound to give the Church some trouble. This was the habit of accepting nothing which could not be understood perfectly clearly and of which the truth could not be absolutely demonstrated. But articles of faith, the ultimate truths of religion, cannot satisfy these tests; both in religion and in philosophy the starting-points must be accepted; their truth depends upon being felt, not in demonstration. 'That God exists' is, like '*cogito, ergo sum*', a *fundamental*.

Yet although religion and philosophy are both merely different aspects of the same thing, namely the search for truth, they have often been regarded as irreconcilable things by the less profound of the world's thinkers. This may explain why, in the eighteenth century, Reason, except in the greatest minds like that of Kant, produced scepticism and unbelief.

The Roman Catholic Church had to meet attack in the Age of Reason; and the attack naturally directed itself upon the most vulnerable part of the Church, the Society of Jesus.

The Society of Jesus, large, wealthy, highly organized, with its carefully trained, polished members, the schoolmasters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the confessors of princes, was a great strength yet a great weakness of the Church. Its very power made people turn against it, for the laity always

reacts against anything like clerical ascendancy. Also the casuistry of the Jesuits, the arguments by which they guided people's conduct and examined particular acts and duties, had degenerated into an easy system of morality which even the immoral men of the eighteenth century in their heart of hearts despised.

The Jesuits were assailed by three forces, by Morality, by Efficiency, by Indifference. Morality was represented by Pascal, Efficiency by the Marquis Pombal, Indifference by the whole mass of high society in the eighteenth century.

Pascal, who lived in the seventeenth century (he died in 1662 at the age of thirty-nine), is one of the most beautiful characters and rarest geniuses in the history of mankind. As a mathematician, a philosopher, and a stylist, he stands in the highest rank of that great Age. The casuistry of the Jesuits shocked both his intellect and his moral sense; and in the *Lettres Provinciales* he analysed it with an irony and at the same time a perfect truthfulness against which no sham could long stand.

At Port-Royal-des-Champs, eight miles from Versailles, Pascal and his friends lived with a religious community of laymen which was Catholic, yet critical of some accepted sides of Catholicism. Port-Royal did a fine work in conducting a school for which the members of the community wrote a Latin and Greek Grammar and a famous 'Logic'; but its Catholicism, which was 'Jansenist' (after Cornelius Jansen, a professor of Louvain, and Bishop of Ypres in 1636) and was something like Arminianism (see p. 478), brought it into disfavour. The Jansenists held, in a moderate form, the doctrine of Predestination, a doctrine to which the orthodox Catholicism is wholly opposed. Their view was that to be saved a man must be converted, and that the Grace of God must come upon him: but that the Grace of God only came upon those whom God had called to Him. In 1653 Pope Innocent X, acting on a report of the Sorbonne, condemned the chief Jansenist propositions. In 1660 the Community of Port-Royal was suppressed by royal order. Later, it was revived for a time. It was finally suppressed in 1707.

In the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV the Jesuits re-

gained all their influence at court, for the King, as he grew older and especially after his marriage with Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon,¹ in 1685, became more and more austere and devout. When Louis XIV died, a reaction took place like that which occurred in England under Charles II after the austere rule of the Puritan Commonwealth. The morality of high society, which had never been good in any part of Europe, declined. Vice was openly flaunted, and religion was laughed at in the grand houses of Paris, as it was also at the Carnival of Venice. Indifference to morality led to indifference to religion, and in many parts of Europe, especially in France and Italy, some of the higher clergy themselves became as worldly as at the time of the Renaissance. Fénelon, who died in 1715, is the last highly placed French clergyman who was recognized by the whole world as a man of saintly character, although it would not be true to say that the rest of the bishops in eighteenth-century France were not, as a whole, good men.

The indifference of high society towards religion gave opportunity to the sceptics and satirists like Voltaire to expose the weakness of the Church to a Europe that seemed only to want amusement. The sterner tradition of Pascal was also continued in a work of the great philosopher of social and constitutional history, Montesquieu. His *Lettres Persanes*, a satire on the libertinism and irreligion of the period of the Regent Orleans, were published in 1721.

But it was the men of efficiency that gave the deathblow to the Jesuits. The Age of Reason is sometimes called the Age of Common Sense. This realist habit of mind was as strong among the monarchs as amongst the nobility and educated *bourgeoisie*. Being kings with all the titles and rights of sovereigns, the monarchs assumed that their business was to rule. They became *consciously* despotic, and, responding to the universal cult of

¹ Maria Theresa, first wife of Louis XIV, died in 1683. Françoise d'Aubigné was daughter of a Huguenot, and was converted to Roman Catholicism. Her first husband was the poet Scarron. She became governess in Louis XIV's family in 1669, and was made Marquise de Maintenon by him in 1678.

reason and common sense, they became *enlightened* despots. They wished to govern their States like well-managed private property in which everybody should have good wages and be made to behave well. Anything that stood in the way of this efficient autocratic management of the State must be got rid of.

Among the great corporations, the trading guilds, the mercantile companies, the legal profession, the universities, all of which to some extent hampered the royal authority, the Society of Jesus had to be counted. For through its schools it influenced the young, through its popularity for supplying confessors it influenced the bulk of the people, especially the women, while its wealth and its communities in every State made it an international power. In the colonial possessions of Spain and Portugal the influence of the Society rivalled that of the State.

The first monarch to attack the Jesuits was King Joseph of Portugal. This kingdom had outlived its greatness. Its population could not bear the strain of supplying so many heroes for the Age of Discovery. Having made an empire in India and Brazil, the Portuguese people subsided into inactivity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first great blow to its prosperity had been when Philip II conquered Portugal in 1580. The country had regained its independence in 1640, and has since kept it, but except for rare intervals, like the war of 1808-13, without distinction.

One of those rare intervals was the ministry of the Marquis Pombal under King Joseph. Of Pombal it might have been said, as Frederick the Great said of the elder Pitt, 'at last the country has produced a *man*'.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, was forty-one years old when he became Minister in Portugal in 1750 after having held various posts in the Portuguese diplomatic service abroad. His amazing energy at once found plenty to do, in reducing the huge civil service that encumbered the Government offices, in seeing to the proper collecting and spending of the revenue, in encouraging the establishment of commercial companies to exploit the dormant wealth of the Portuguese Indies. On the 1st November 1755 a fearful earthquake laid Lisbon in

ruins. Pombal never wavered in his optimism and energy ; a new and finer Lisbon arose out of the ruin of the old. It is pleasant to remember that the British Government gave £100,000 towards helping its oldest and most faithful ally to repair the damage of the earthquake.

Pombal's attention was perhaps directed towards the Jesuits by their action in Paraguay. This colony, the possession of which Spain and Portugal both claimed, was really in the hands of communities of Jesuits who had converted the natives. The settled parts of Paraguay were divided into great estates called *reductions* which were managed by the Jesuits as large agricultural properties. The natives were well treated, and the estates became highly flourishing.

In 1748 the Spanish and Portuguese Governments agreed to settle their differences ; Portugal recognized the right of Spain to the greater part of Paraguay, receiving, in return, the portions of the colony adjoining to Brazil. The Jesuits opposed this settlement ; military force was required to carry it into effect. It must be admitted that the transference of Paraguay to Spanish rule was not beneficial to the natives who have to a large extent perished (along with the bulk of the white males) in subsequent civil wars.

The Jesuit opposition, whether in Paraguay or Portugal, was too much for Pombal to tolerate ; so in 1759 he induced King Joseph to expel them from his dominions. In France about the same time the Jesuits were falling into especial reproach owing to the large amount of trade carried on by their community in Martinique. This trade, although not conducted for private profit, but for the good of the Order, was scarcely proper in a purely religious body, and became a subject of scandal when the investments went wrong and the trading-community became bankrupt (1761). So the Jesuits were expelled from the French dominions in 1764. Three years later Charles III expelled them from Spain. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV was induced to declare the whole Order dissolved.

Thus that society which was by far the most powerful, wealthy, and capable of the Roman Orders was done away with after

one hundred and thirty years of devoted, if not always wise, service to the Papacy. The disbanded Jesuits lived on as best they could on small pensions granted by Governments from the former Jesuit property. Some became schoolmasters in Prussia which was then the most tolerant country in Europe ; and some were given work to do in Russia by Catherine II. A few lived to see the restoration of the Order after the Age of Reason was over, when ' Legitimacy ' came back into its own, in 1814.

Supplementary Dates.

XI

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| 1637 | Descartes's <i>Discourse on Method</i> . |
| 1650 | Death of Descartes at Stockholm. |
| 1755 | Earthquake at Lisbon. |

XII

SIGNS OF THE COMING STORM

REVOLUTION, or attempts at revolution have been a fairly common fact from the time when the feudal organization of society began to decay about the middle of the fourteenth century. Most of these were merely efforts to bring about a change of governors; they were not meant to effect any change in the social classes which comprised a State. But some of these early attempts at revolution, like the French Jacquerie of 1358 or the English Peasants' Revolt of 1381, were meant to be *social* revolutions, that is, to change the system under which property was held and under which social classes, such as nobility, *bourgeoisie*, and peasantry were marked off from each other.

In the eighteenth century there were many political revolutions, but there was no onslaught made upon the existing social system until 1789. Since then efforts at accomplishing a social revolution have become increasingly common, but have usually failed owing to the efficient military and police organizations of modern States. Still more recently, a tendency has arisen to accomplish social revolution without violence, by using the institutions of democracy to make fundamental social changes by Act of Parliament.

The country with the quietest domestic history in the eighteenth century was Russia. This was because the mass of the people were wholly uneducated, and were serfs, bound by ancient custom and law to the soil. The nobility was a landed class who lived upon their estates, for the country was too vast for much travelling, and, except Moscow and Petersburg, there were no large cities. A fine account of life in a paternal old squire's country house is given in the novel by Aksakov (1823-86), *A Russian Gentleman* (or *Family History*, as it is variously translated). The civil service was large, and, on the whole, competent, although the standard of honesty was low. The head of the

whole system, both religious and secular, was the Tsar, or Tsarina, for Russia had no 'Salic Law'.

Although Russia had, as a whole, a quiet domestic history, the Court was subject to a large number of convulsions owing to ambitious nobles conspiring against each other or even against their sovereign. Yet these 'palace revolutions' never caused even a ripple across the surface of the solid mass of the Russian people.

Peter the Great when he died in 1725 left a fine group of trained statesmen behind him, some native, some foreign. Their traditions lasted throughout the century: native Russians were trained and promoted, but able foreigners, German, Scottish, and Irish, were also welcomed and rose high in the Russian service. Under these intelligent administrators, and under the capable Tsarinas, Anna (1730-40), Elizabeth (1741-62) and Catherine II (1762-96), high Russian society developed a degree of culture which it had never known before. Grand opera, a feature of life in Western Europe, was brought to Petersburg; the Imperial theatre produced the now celebrated Russian *ballet*; the famous gallery of pictures, the 'Hermitage' at Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great, grew apace. All this was a superficial civilizing at the centre of a vast undeveloped country, but it was the beginning of a steady process of national education which only the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 interrupted and suspended.

Russia's great effort in the eighteenth century was against Turkey. In 1737 she engaged in a Turkish war in alliance with Austria but with little profit; even Austria had to restore Belgrade to the Turks. Under the Tsarina Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great, Russia was drawn away from Turkish affairs to participate in the Seven Years War. This was probably the time when Russian military power really became formidable to Western Europe. The armies of Elizabeth won the only real success of the allies against Frederick the Great, at Zorndorf (1758) and Kunersdorf (1759). The death of Elizabeth in January 1762, and the accession of her nephew Peter III, a German on his father's side, saved Frederick the Great, from inevitable defeat; for the new Tsar was a sincere admirer of

the King of Prussia and made an alliance with him. But Peter only reigned a few months. He was displaced and murdered by a palace revolution ; his wife Catherine II reigned in his stead.

This was the second (the reign of Peter I was the first) beginning of Russia's greatness. Catherine gathered round herself, like Peter I, a regular school of able administrators and generals, mostly native Russians like the Orloff family, Potemkin and Rumiantzov, but also foreigners like Admirals Greig and Elphinstone. Russia expanded enormously. The first partition of Poland, 1772, added one large western province ; a second in 1793 and a final partition in 1795 made Russia a neighbour of Austria and Prussia, and wiped the Kingdom of Poland off the map of Europe.

In 1768 Catherine had a Turkish war, which ended, by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji, with the annexation of Azov and the Kuban district in 1774. In 1783 the Crimea, a Tartar region nominally independent of Russian and Turk alike, was annexed ; and in 1792, after another war with Turkey, Oczakov was taken (treaty of Jassy), and Odessa was founded. Thus by the end of Catherine's reign, Russia extended to the river Dniester. The frontier of Turkey was steadily receding.

The domestic history of Russia under Catherine shows continuous progress. She improved the working of the bureaucracy, and she divided the whole country into governorships in order to introduce some decentralization into administration. The towns were organized as self-governing municipalities, and a number of new schools were established.

The court of Catherine II was brilliant. Petersburg displaced Stockholm as the centre of art and letters for the North. French was the language of polite society. Catherine herself corresponded in French with Voltaire, Diderot, the Baron Melchior Grimm, and others. All Europe admired the energy and culture of the Tsarina, although visitors were a little shocked at the extravagance of her court, which was a heavy burden on the country's finances. It is probably true to say that, with the exception of the reign of Alexander I (1801-25), Russia was never more in touch with Western Europe than in the reign of

Catherine II. Had French become the language, not merely of the Court, but of all the schools and colleges, Russia would have rapidly become a normal European State, instead of remaining shut off, as she has done, by a language that can never be a general medium of thought and learning.

Catherine was an insignificant German princess of the House of Anhalt-Zerbst when she came to Russia in 1745 to marry the Tsarevitch Peter. When she died in 1796 she was the greatest figure in Europe. The last six years of her reign had coincided with the rise of French ' Jacobinism ', the motives and probable results of which she saw more clearly than any other European monarch.

Russia's northern neighbour, Sweden, had neither a glorious nor a prosperous history in the eighteenth century. When Charles XII died in 1718 the country fell under the control of a few powerful noble families. The Crown became absolutely powerless, and the only signs of political activity lay in the party-struggles of the Caps and the Hats. The Caps, headed by Count Horn, Chancellor of the Kingdom for thirty-three years (1705-38) had a policy of keeping Sweden out of the troubles and wars of Europe; the Hats, on the other hand, were all for continuing the old French alliance—an alliance which would again make Sweden engage in European wars. The country did engage in two wars, one with Russia in 1741, and again in 1756 (this was part of the Seven Years War), and on both occasions with unfortunate results.

In 1771 Gustavus III succeeded to the throne, determined to put an end to the rule of the oligarchy of nobles, and to make the authority of the Crown a reality. In 1772 he had all the most prominent Caps arrested or intimidated, and was able to restore the old Constitution which gave the King large powers. He then embarked on the regular course of an enlightened despot, reforming the currency, the taxes, the law courts, the army and navy. He was labouring to organize the monarchs of Europe in an effort to repress the French Revolution, when he was shot by an assassin in the Stockholm Opera House on the 16th March 1792.

In every monarchical country the same feature is noticed in

the last half of the eighteenth century, the vigorous prolonged effort of the monarch to strip off the ancient trammels, the remnants of obsolete feudalism, and to bring his government into conformity with the views of the best minds. The writings of the great Frenchmen, Descartes, Pascal, Montesquieu, and Voltaire, had become the common property of Europe. Germany had awakened; the word *Aufklärung*—enlightenment—was on everybody's lips. The time was ripe for great improvements in human society, and the real question which the fates had to decide was this: would the improvement come in violence, catastrophe, war, or would it come 'through an orderly, normal, and peaceful development? The enlightened monarchs were working for orderly development; but the type of mind which was later called Jacobin was working for change by catastrophe.

Joseph II was, after Frederick the Great, the typical enlightened monarch of the eighteenth century. Born in 1741, he was in 1765 associated with his mother, the Empress Maria Theresa, as co-Emperor. He thus learned statecraft in a serious-minded school, the school of the Empress Maria Theresa (1740–80) and the Chancellor Kaunitz (1711–94). He was trained in law, especially international law, history, economics, strategy. When he became sole Emperor in 1780 he put his plans more and more into operation, working feverishly, incessantly, determinedly at the reform of finance, law, and the ecclesiastical system. When not working at his writing-table, or in the Council-chamber, he was travelling up and down his dominions, putting up at the country inns, maintaining little state, acting always as the hard-worked servant of his people. Yet when he died on the 10th February 1790 his Belgian dominions were in revolt and his brother-in-law the King of France and his sister the Queen were being bullied by the Paris mob. He composed an epitaph on himself: 'Here lies a sovereign who, with the best intentions, never carried a single project into execution.' Just before his death he sent a kind message to his troops, saying, 'to be a soldier was ever my warmest desire.'¹ He was in the forty-ninth year of his age.

¹ Coxé, *House of Austria*, Chap. 130.

The old order, it is true, was not exactly passing away, but was being frightfully shaken and attacked by forces of the new Age. This old order had many faults, but few people now will assert that men were less happy under it than they are now, or that the highest qualities of men's mind and soul were not then given the chance of growing. The worst characteristics of the eighteenth century were the wasteful extravagance of the upper classes, the cruelty of the criminal codes, and the existence of slavery in the colonies.

The first fault, as it seems, nothing can cure ; wealth may be taken from the nobility, but it only passes to a new and perpetually shifting class of ' profiteers ' whose extravagance is greater and infinitely more heartless.

The cruelty of the criminal codes were already being attacked in the eighteenth century, by men like General Oglethorpe (1698-1785) and John Howard (1726-90) in England, and by the Marchese Beccaria (1735-94) in Italy. It is possible, however, to go too far in leniency towards criminals, for there is a volcano of lust and disorder below the apparently fine crust of human society ; and although the horrible *wheel* was rightly abolished early in the nineteenth century (it was suppressed in France by the Revolution) there is truth in Joseph de Maistre's defence of the executioner :

Scarcely has Authority indicated his dwelling, scarcely has he taken possession of it, than the other habitations are withdrawn until they no longer see his. It is in the midst of this solitude and of this sort of emptiness formed around him that he lives alone with his wife and children. . . . A mournful signal is given : an abject servant of the Lord comes knocking at his door, warning him that he is needed. He goes ; he arrives at a public square, filled with a dense and palpitating crowd. A poisoner, a parricide, or a sacrilegious criminal is cast to him. He seizes the criminal, extends him, binds him on a horizontal cross. He raises his arm to strike : then there is a horrible silence, and one hears only the crashing of the bones which break under the bar and the howls of the victim. He detaches the victim ; places him upon the wheel ; the broken limbs are laced on to the spokes, the head hangs, the hair erect, and from the mouth, open like a furnace, there issue at intervals only blood and a few words, calling for death.

It is finished. The executioner's heart beats, but it is with joy ;

he applauds himself and says in his heart, ' Nobody can wheel better than me ' (*Nul ne roue mieux que moi*). He descends, he holds out his bloodstained hand, and the magistrate throws into it from afar some pieces of gold which he carries away between a double hedge of people, drawn back with horror. He sits down at table, and he eats, next, to bed, and he sleeps. On the morrow, awaking, he thinks of something quite different from what he has done the day before. Is he a man? Yes, God receives him in his temples and permits him to pray. . . .

All grandeur, all power, all subordination depend upon the executioner: he is the horror and the bond of human association. Take away from the world this incomprehensible agent; in an instant even, order gives place to chaos, thrones collapse and society disappears. (*Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg, premier entretien* (1822).)

It is not true to say that there was no career open to talent until the French Revolution cleared the way. The numerous courts of Italy and Germany attracted talent from every class, high or low. A good singer or player was always welcome in the famous band of Charles Theodore, the Elector Palatine, at Heidelberg (1742-99). Mozart (1756-91) was the son of a violinist in the choir of the Archbishop of Salzburg. Haydn (1732-1809) was the son of a cartmaker who, though extremely poor, yet worked for himself and made his own carts and played the harp in his spare hours. In the reign of Joseph II both Mozart and Haydn were employed by Prince Esterhazy, a great Austro-Hungarian nobleman, and given leisure to compose their works. Beethoven (1770-1827) grew to fame at Bonn in the Archbishopric of Cologne, encouraged by the Archbishop, in whose choir the elder Beethoven had been a singer. The Archbishop was a brother of Joseph II of Austria; his greatest friend was Count Waldstein, who was a constant supporter of Beethoven, and after whom the Waldstein Sonata is named.

The influence of little courts on eighteenth-century civilization was enormous. Carlyle's essay on Heyne describes the rise of a learned man, a professor at Göttingen from 1763 to 1812. Göttingen University was founded in 1737 under the patronage of George II, Elector of Hanover. The lives of Schiller and Goethe were intimately associated with the Court of the Grand-Duke of Weimar.

Indeed the generous attitude of eighteenth-century monarchs towards 'new men' made, in some ways, the rise of talent too easy. A clever adventurer could gain a position and abuse the confidence of liberal noblemen and monarchs. Quacks abounded, like Cagliostro the Neapolitan (1743-95) who imposed on the Court of Versailles in 1785, although he was unable to fob off his 'elixir of immortal youth' on Catherine II of Russia and her Scottish physician. Others of these adventurers were merely handsome gamblers and profligates, like Casanova, the Venetian, (1725-98) who passed from city to city in alternate phases of wealth and destitution. These were the scum of a period which was otherwise full of sound elements. A real cosmopolitanism prevailed. A sound economist, a Scotsman, like John Law (1671-1729), could rise to be financial head of the French Government, and is remembered as a worthy statesman although his famous Bank and Mississippi scheme came to grief. Erneste Vattel of Neufchatel held a diplomatic post from the Elector of Saxony (during the period of the Seven Years War) while he composed his great treatise on the Law of Nations (1758). Nationalism in the eighteenth century was reconciled with internationalism; a people could be conscious of its own unity and independence, and yet be ready to admit the men, the books, and the language of other States. It was the French Revolution that began the era of intense national passions and separatism.

It is a curious fact that in some ways Europe was more of a unity in the eighteenth century than it has been since. Even in England, perhaps the most nationalist of all the European States, there was a 'Continental' atmosphere. Addison in the *Spectator* tells how, in the coffee-houses, all the talk was about affairs on the Continent. The English kings themselves were foreigners. George I and George II were both born in Hanover. They could scarcely speak English. Their competitors, the exiled Stewarts, were just as foreign; they served in the French army; their attempts at restoration, the 'Jacobite' invasions of 1715 and 1745, were made with ludicrously inadequate resources; and yet the gallicized Stewarts might easily have ascended the English throne again if they had not been Roman Catholics.

George III (1760-1820), who 'gloried in the name of Briton', was the only one of the four Georges who never visited his electorate of Hanover. It was a thousand pities that Hanover became separated from Great Britain later : it might have helped to bring about a United States of Europe.

Supplementary Dates.

XII

- 1757 Russian Theatre erected at St. Petersburg.
- 1759 Death of Handel.
- 1762 Parini's *Il Giorno*.
- 1767 Lessing's *Hamburg Dramaturgy*.
Lavater's Swiss Songs.
- 1768 Death of Winckelmann.
- 1781 Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*.
- 1782 Death of Lessing.
Schiller's *Robbers*.
- 1786 Mozart's *Figaro*.
- 1787 Goethe's *Iphigenie*.
- 1791 Death of Mozart.

XIII

THE REVOLUTION

THE condition of affairs which produced the French Revolution has long been meditated on by great historians like Carlyle, Taine, and Sorel, and by political philosophers like Alexis de Tocqueville. The Revolution has formed the theme of romances, such as *A Tale of Two Cities* by Dickens (who lived near enough to the period to feel its intensity), and Victor Hugo's powerful novel, called *1793*, with its descriptions of the leading actors, a veritable picture gallery.

The verdict of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-59) was that the Revolution came about largely for two reasons. Firstly because the administrative machinery of the *Ancien Régime* was so cumbrous and complicated that Louis XVI and his Ministers, with the best will in the world, could not make it work properly and could not reform it. It required the 'clean sweep' of the Revolution before the administrative system could be got into proper order. The second reason was that in France the different classes—aristocracy, *bourgeoisie*, peasantry—were almost completely cut off from each other; each class lived in a world of its own, as if it were a separate and exclusive corporation: and this in spite of the fact that in no country of continental Europe did the classes so closely resemble each other in point of education and wealth. Even the peasants, although suffering many hardships, were better off than those of Austria, Prussia, or Italy. But each class was cut off from the others by social and legal barriers, so that the whole State lacked solidarity. The King and Court too were cut off from the rest of the people and were almost unknown to them, for Louis XIV had withdrawn the Court from Paris, which was the most populous city of France, to Versailles, which was an artificial city outside the whole current of national life.

In Germany and in Great Britain kings and princes lived, in a very real sense, among their people. Nearly everybody in London and Windsor knew George III by sight, and in the little German capitals the princes walked about the streets and attended concerts, fully in the public eye. But the French King, Louis XV, lived, hedged around by his Swiss Guards and his vast retinue of noble servitors, in the huge Château of Versailles, taking his walks remote from the public eye in the alleys and avenues of the great park of the Château. When he went outside, in the neighbourhood of Versailles, or to Paris, he was driven hurriedly along in a closed carriage, guards in front, behind, and on every side, so that the people could catch just the most fleeting glimpse of a man who was only known to them by the fame of his vices. Louis XV died in 1774, his only son, the Dauphin Louis, having predeceased him in 1765.

Louis XVI was far better than Louis XV. He had no vices. But his heartless, self-indulgent grandfather, vicious beyond the vices of any of his line, had ruined the reputation of the French monarchy. Thoughtful people could not see any divinity, perhaps not even any utility, in such an institution. And people were beginning to think a great deal. The half-truths of Rousseau's *Contrat social* had sunk deeply into the mind of the reading public. 'The aristocrats', says Carlyle, 'laughed at the *Contrat social*, but their skins went to bind the second edition.'

Louis XVI was certainly not a bad man, but he was weak in will, and the whole French Government was weak. Nobody is strong when he cannot pay his debts. The French Government was bankrupt. It had obtained revenge against England for the Seven Years War by helping the Americans in 1777, in their War of Independence. But it was a dearly bought revenge, for if it took from England her North American Colonies (except Canada) it also made practically inevitable the insolvency of the French Government. It added to the already overwhelming Public Debt, and the Government had to go on borrowing, on increasingly unfavourable terms, to pay the interest. The nobles—a very numerous class—paid no direct taxes: and yet the only way to restore national solvency was to make everybody



Jan 3. 1788. The Coiner

' In Germany and in Great Britain kings and princes lived, in a very
real sense, among their people '

Caricature of George, Prince of Wales, drawn in 1788 by James Sayers

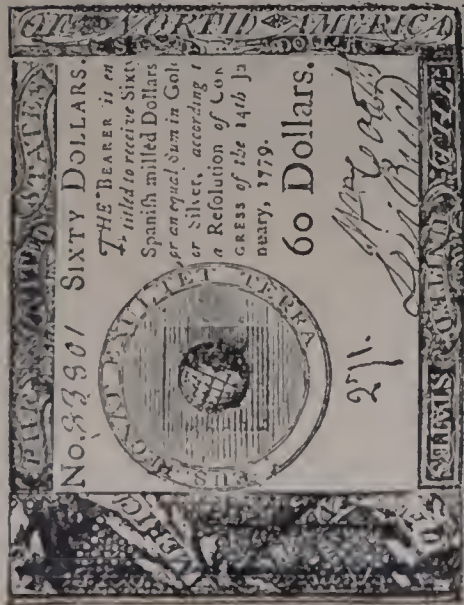
pay a fair share. At last the able Genevese and Parisian banker, Jacques Necker (of the firm of Thelusson and Necker), whom Louis XVI had made chief Minister, induced the King to summon the Estates-General, which had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years. It met at Versailles on the 5th May 1789. On the 4th August, in a memorable session, the Noble Estate renounced all its privileges, and an equitable scheme of taxation for the whole of France was in process of being arranged. But by this time the Revolution had begun and the opportunity of peaceful reform was passing away.

The Government remained weak to the end. Louis XVI tried to do his duty, as he had always done. In the years before the Revolution he had employed Turgot and Necker to try and straighten the administrative tangle. He had begun to show himself about the country. There is an interesting painting in the Château of Versailles showing Louis on a visit to the dockyard at Brest.

The weakness of Louis's attitude was dramatically shown on the 10th August 1792, when the Paris mob stormed the Tuileries, where Louis was at the time residing. Louis, who could have organized a proper defence, left his faithful Swiss Guards to be slaughtered. The Swiss soldiers are commemorated in the magnificent Lion of Lucerne which the genius of Thorwaldsen (1770-1844) caused to be hewn out of the living rock. 'If Napoleon I', says an American writer, 'had stood in the shoes of Louis XVI that day, instead of being merely a casual and unknown looker-on, there would be no Lion of Lucerne now, but there would be a well-stocked Communist graveyard in Paris, which would answer just as well to remember the 10th August by.' ¹

The Revolution is said to have actually started not at Paris but with a union of local Estates or Deputies at Vizille, a château in Dauphiné, which was subsequently acquired by the Casimir-Périer family. Paris, however, soon became the centre of the

¹ *A Tramp Abroad*, by Mark Twain, Chap. XXVI. Mark Twain wrote the above-quoted remark in spite of the fact that he was a great believer in the good of the French Revolution.



Early paper money and coins of the American Revolution



Early paper money, coin, and medal of the French Revolution

Revolutionary movement. Although at times anarchy, owing to the breaking out of savage, lawless elements in mobs of people, frequently threatened to destroy the State, yet the middle class—the *bourgeoisie*, as the French call them—soon got control of the movement and directed it into orderly channels. Under this direction the Revolution gave (not at first, but in time) two things to the French people which no other European country had, namely equality before the law and manhood suffrage. The bad period of the Revolution—the Reign of Terror—was a miserable, unfortunate phase, due to the panic caused by the attacks of neighbouring Powers on the Revolutionary Settlement. The indefensible executions of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette were due to extremists who chose this way to make it impossible for people to go back upon their tracks and to undo the work of the Revolution.

The Estates-General, which, for the first time for one hundred and seventy-five years, met on the 5th May 1789 at Versailles, was an unwieldy body of 1,200 members—300 in the Clerical Estate, 300 in the Nobles, and 600 in the *Tiers État*; but in a short time the Third Estate gained all the power and, under the name of the Constituent Assembly, including some clergymen and nobles who came over from their own Estate, proceeded to draft a Constitution for France. The most statesmanlike member of the Assembly was Count Mirabeau, a nobleman, but not a member of the Estate of the Nobles: he was one of the deputies elected to the *Tiers État* from Provence.

On the 14th July 1789 the Bastille, the prison chiefly for political prisoners, at Paris, was stormed and destroyed by the mob. There were only a few prisoners in it at the time. In that summer disturbance in the provinces grew apace, and many of the nobles began to emigrate in a continually increasing stream, to Coblenz, to Holland, and to England. Such of their representatives as were left in the Constituent Assembly gave up all their privileges, on behalf of the whole nobility, on the 4th August. All classes would henceforth be taxed, and all have the same legal rights and duties. On the 27th August the Assembly put forth the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, a moderately worded

‘ Charter ’ for the French nation ; a copy of it may be seen hanging in almost any French public office at the present day.

Article 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can only be founded on public utility.



Contemporary French medal struck to commemorate the storming of the Bastille

Article 2. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of men. These rights are Liberty, property, and resistance to oppression.

Article 3. The principle of all sovereignty resides in the Nation. No body of men, no individual, can exercise any authority which does not expressly emanate from the nation.

Article 4. Liberty consists in being able to do anything which does not injure others. . . .

Article 5. Law has only the right to forbid actions which are injurious to society. . . .

Article 6. Law is the expression of the general will . . . It ought to be the same for all, whether to protect or to punish.

Article 7. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained, except in the cases determined by the Law.

The final Article, No. 17, is :

Property being an inviolable and sacred right, nobody can be deprived of it, except when the public necessity, legally determined, clearly requires it, and on condition of a just and previous compensation.

On the 5th October 1789 a Paris mob went out to Versailles and forced King Louis XVI and his family to come and stay in Paris. The Constituent Assembly also transferred itself thither. A Constitution was at last made for France, called ' The Constitution of 1791 '. The monarchy was to be Constitutional, with only a suspensory veto over legislation ; and legislation was to be in the hands of a single-chamber Parliament. The twelve Provinces of France, which had kept alive local, almost separatist, feeling, were abolished ; instead, France was divided into 83 Departments. These Departments, being new administrative areas, could not be mutually separatist in feeling. The feeling of national unity and centralization was further strengthened by the Jacobin Club, a political association in which Robespierre was the chief member. The centre of the Jacobin Club was in Paris : it had subordinate or affiliated societies in every city and town in France. By the republican propaganda which it carried on throughout the country, and by its control of local societies and their members, the Jacobin Club prepared the way for that system of centralization, which the new Constitution partially established and which Napoleon completed. Thus France, which according to the events of 1789 might have become a Federation of sovereign or semi-sovereign Provinces, like Switzerland or the United States, took its modern form of a perfectly Unitary State.

In April 1791 Mirabeau, who had become the King's chief adviser, died. In June the King, now (and not without reason) thoroughly alarmed at his position, attempted to emigrate with his family, as so many of the nobility had done. His carriage got



Danton



Mirabeau

nearly to Verdun, when it was stopped at Varennes, and the Royal Family was brought back to Paris.

From this moment the King was a prisoner in his capital. The Government was, in all but name, a Republic. A new legislative Assembly (soon to be known as the Convention) was elected, in which the chief party or group were the members for the Gironde region. The Girondins looked upon themselves as Romans of the antique kind: they aimed at making a solid, republican State, but they might have kept a titular monarchy, shorn of all power, had they not felt France to be in danger from counter-revolutionary attacks from without. It was this that made the Girondins declare war upon Austria in April 1792. It was the suspicion that the King was in league with the enemy which aroused the mob to storm the King's lodging in the Tuileries on the 10th August, when his Swiss Guard was massacred. The King and Queen were confined in prison, which they only left to meet their death at the guillotine. Louis XVI was executed on the 21st January 1793, Marie-Antoinette on the 16th October of the same year.

'By the beginning of the year 1793 France ought to have consumed herself', says Sorel, 'in anarchy.'¹ All the normal signs had manifested themselves there: no government, no finances, no army, civil war, factions in alliance with the enemy outside.' The armies of Austria and Prussia were penetrating French territory, while the country was torn by civil war.

From these calamities France was saved by the Committee of Public Safety, appointed in April 1793. This was a body which consisted at first of nine men, but was gradually increased to sixteen. It was elected out of and by the Convention. The chief members were Boissy d'Anglas, Merlin of Douai, Lazare Carnot, Danton, and Robespierre. This Committee, under authority of the Convention, conducted all the domestic and foreign affairs of France: collected the taxes, raised the troops, made war, conducted negotiations. The Convention continued to hold important debates, to discuss policy, to enact laws: but the Committee of Public Safety was the Executive Government,

¹ Sorel. *L'Europe et la Révolution française* (1903), vol. iv, p. 1.

“ The Republic is one and indivisible. The French People are distributed, for the exercise of their sovereignty, into Primary Assemblies: they are distributed, for administration and justice, into Departments, Districts, and Municipalities. Every man born in France, of 21 years of age; every foreigner who has attained the age of 21 years, and who has lived in France upon his own labour for a year; every foreigner who has resided in France for a year, who has acquired property, or who marries a French woman, or who adopts a child, or who supports an aged man; is admitted to exercise the privileges of a French citizen. The Primary Assemblies cannot be composed of less than four hundred voters, nor of more than six hundred; all Citizens brought up in a district, or who may have resided in it for three months, shall have the right of suffrage in the Primary Assemblies; no one in arms can assist at them: the suffrages upon laws shall be given by Yes or No. Deputies shall be sent to the Legislative Body in the proportion of one Deputy to 50,000 souls. The Electoral Assemblies shall name the candidates, among whom the Legislative Body shall choose 24 citizens, who shall compose the Executive Council. Half of this Council shall be replaced every year:—it can only act in virtue of laws and decrees; it shall name agents; and shall negotiate treaties, which must be ratified by the Legislative Body. A Grand Jury shall be formed to protect citizens, who may be oppressed by either the Legislative Body, or the Executive Council. This Jury cannot apply the law, but must send to the Tribunals for that purpose. The National Conventions must sit within 20 leagues of the Legislative Body. The French People declare themselves the friends of Free Nations; they will not interfere in the Government of other countries, and will not suffer other nations to meddle with theirs. They declare, that they will grant an asylum to Foreigners oppressed for their attachment to Liberty, but they refuse such protection to Tyrants.”

This plan, which ROBESPIERRE said was the most superb monument of human reason, was ordered to be printed, and ten copies to be given to each Member. It is also to be sent to the Departments and to the armies.

An English résumé of the Constitution of the French Republic

A newspaper cutting of the time

a compact, efficient, powerful Cabinet. Under its dynamic impulse France experienced a veritable national revival. Carnot organized national conscription, the *levée en masse*, with tremendous energy and consummate ability, and the young armies of the Republic carried victory on the point of their bayonets. 'It was the time', says Soult, 'when I worked hardest, and when the leaders were most exacting. . . . It was the period of the war when there was most virtue in the troops.'¹

In the Pantheon, the grand temple of fame which the Republic dedicated to its great men, there is a magnificent sculptural group of those soldiers of the early Republic. A young general, his long hair beneath the cocked hat, coming down to his military tunic, is riding along, accompanied by half a dozen soldiers on foot. Every man is young, keen faced, ardent, with the look of an eagle scanning the world for miles in advance. There is an expression of indomitable energy and purposefulness in them, and the onlooker understands how these men, ragged, starving, but with songs in their hearts, cast the foreigner out of France, and hoisted the tricolour, their flag of freedom as they passionately believed it to be, beyond the Rhine and the Alps.

The war which began with Austria in 1792 soon came to involve the whole of Western Europe. The first Power to join with Austria was Prussia. The combined forces at first carried everything before them. The great fortresses of Longwy and Verdun fell before their arms, and the Allied Army penetrated deep into France. On the 20th September, however, General Dumouriez threw them back in 'the cannonade of Valmy', near Sainte-Ménéhould on the Marne (1792). After this, successes came like flashes of lightning upon an astonished world. Savoy and Nice, provinces of the Kingdom of Sardinia, were occupied by a French army. Belgium was invaded; the Austrian garrisons were expelled, Antwerp was seized, and the Scheldt was declared (contrary to the Treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht) open to commerce (November 1792). This act brought the British Government into the war; for both George III and Pitt, though desirous not to interfere in the domestic affairs of France,

¹ Soult, *Mémoires* (1834), i. 198-9.

were inflexibly determined to uphold the existing system of international relations. Other States joined in the Coalition—Holland, Spain, Naples, the Empire. But the French armies went on conquering; the great city of Mayence, the capital of the Ecclesiastical Electorate of Mayence, had been taken by General Custine in 1792. The conquest of Belgium was completed by the battle of Fleurus (25 June 1794).

Now the appetite of the French grew with feeding. The more ground they conquered the more they wanted. The whole nation demanded that at least the 'natural frontiers' should be secured—the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees. The line of the Pyrenees was already the boundary between France and Spain (Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659); but the Alps and Rhine had still to be conquered. The battle of Fleurus, laying the whole of Belgium at the feet of the French and opening the way into Holland, made the attainment of the Rhine frontier, for the moment at any rate, an easy task.

But would the States of Europe, in particular would England, tolerate a powerful, military, revolutionary France permanently commanding the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine? The history of the last two centuries answered, NO! And yet the French pressed forward to the Rhine. Thus the battle of Fleurus, while it saved France from invasion, also made the war almost perpetual; made it last for twenty-two years until the Allies had driven France from the Rhine and the Scheldt.

For a time, however, all went well. Carnot's *levée en masse* produced armies to a total of 600,000 men. The young generals went on winning victories, which the Committee of Public Safety were skilful enough to use in order to strengthen their diplomacy. They employed an old diplomatist, the Comte de Barthélemy, to break up the Coalition and to negotiate a favourable peace. Barthélemy had been trained under Vergennes (1717-87), the most eminent Foreign Minister of the *Ancien Régime*, and knew his business well. After long conferences he negotiated the Treaties of Bâle with Prussia and Spain (1795). Peace was made with these States, and the Prussian territories on the left bank of the Rhine passed to France.

With success abroad, political conditions were steadily becoming more stable at home. First the Constitution of 1791 (see p. 558) had given place to a 'war government' or Committee of Public Safety and National Convention. In 1795 a more normal form of Constitution was established, known as the Constitution of the Year III. This provided for a triple form of Assembly—a Legislative Body, a Council of Five Hundred, and a Council of Ancients—with a Cabinet of Five Directors chosen by the two Councils. Under this system, 'The Directory', as it was called, France functioned normally; many *émigrés* returned from abroad, and Paris again became the brilliant capital that it had once been. Miot de Melito, one of the observant memoir-writers of the time, says that people had put off the austere Republican style and were wearing dress-swords and carrying their three-cornered hats under their arm, like the old noblesse.

The Directory, however, could not achieve a European peace. They could not give up the grand conquest of the Revolution, the 'natural frontiers' or, as these were now called, the 'constitutional limits'. For by one of the last Acts of the Convention (1 October 1795) the Rhine frontier had entered into the laws of France. It was this frontier that Great Britain and Austria were determined to undo. So, in spite of the break-up of the Coalition by the treaties of Bâle, they fought on. But the Directors, in the less stirring domestic conditions of 1795 and 1796, became slack-spirited. They took to making money, keeping up big houses, dining and dancing. With social corruption came military inefficiency. Their armies began to lose battles. The most famous of the young generals was Lazare Hoche, a warrior without fear and without reproach, knight-errant of hope, who, by force of valour and magnanimity would have solved the enigma.¹

Hoche, however, died of consumption at the age of twenty-nine, with the peace still unachieved. By the middle of the year 1796 the French armies in Italy and on the Rhine were yielding ground. At home the Directors had lost grip: the administration was feeble, self-indulgent, corrupt. The people were beginning again

¹ Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, tome v, p. 225.

LIST OF PERSONS

CONSPICUOUS IN THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

And their Fate. to 1795

N. B. Those names with the initials M. C. were Members of the Convention, who voted for the death of Louis XVI.

Those with an X did not vote for the death of the King, yet became eminent in the Revolution.

G. General of their Republican Army.

A.

Achille Duchasselet	G	Died in prison.
Albert Roué	G	Guillotined.
Amiral	X	Ditto.
Anacharsis Cloots	M C	Ditto.
Antiboul	X	Ditto.

B.

Bailly, first Mayor of Paris	X.	Guillotined.
Barnave	X	Ditto.

H

Bar-

(29)

Z.

Zanne (Joseph)		Guillotined.
La Source	M C	Ditto.
La Borde	X	Ditto.
La Casq	X	Ditto.
La Croix	M C	Ditto.
Lamarliere	G	Ditto.
Lavalette	G	Ditto.
Launay (P. F. G.)	X	Ditto.
Laurent	X	Ditto.
Le Bas	M C	Killed himself.
Le Brun	X	Guillotined.
Lechelle	G	Poisoned himself.
Lezard	X	Guillotined.
L'Huillier	X	Killed himself with a razor.
Le Pelletier	M C	Killed by a Royalist.
Le Roy (pierre)	X	Guillotined.
Le Hardy	X	Ditto.
Leclandiere	G	Ditto.
Luckner	G	Ditto.
Lafude (Baron)	X	Ditto.
Louis (Claude Chatelet)	X	Ditto.
Louis (Jean)	X	Ditto.
Lochefer	X	Ditto.

M.

Mainville	X	Guillotined.
Marat	M C	Killed by Charlotte Cordé.
Manuel	X	Guillotined.
Marcé	G	Ditto.
Mazilly	G	Ditto.

M.

(36)

Chatelet (Duke of)	X	Ditto.
Chomette	X	Ditto.
Chambon	M C	Maffaced by the mob.
Champford	X	Killed himself with a razor.
Chanceel	G	Guillotined.
Chapui	G	Prisoner.
Claviere	X	Killed himself.
Collet d'Herbois	M C	Banished to Guyenne, South America.
Contard	X	Guillotined.
Couthon	M C	Ditto.
Cusline	G	Ditto.
Cusline (his son)	X	Ditto.
Cusly	X	Ditto.

D.

Dampiere	G	Died of his wounds.
Danton	M C	Guillotined.
Daoust	G	Ditto.
Dagobert	G	Died in his army.
Davernes	G	Guillotined.
Deffaign (Admiral)		Ditto.
DeLaunay	M C	Ditto.
Delatre	G	Ditto.
Deverges	G	Ditto.
Deffers	G	Ditto.
Dillon, Arthur	G	Ditto.
Delaporte	X	Ditto.
Dortouinan	G	Ditto.
Donadieu	G	Ditto.
Duc d'Orleans	M C	Ditto.
Drouet	M C	Prisoner of war.
Ducos	M C	Guillotined.

H a

Du

(50)

Milano's	X	Guillotined.
Mirabel	G	Killed before Belle-garde.
Momoro	X	Guillotined.
Moulin	G	Shot himself with a pistol.
Monaco, Prince	X	Guillotined.

N.

Nion	M C	Guillotined.
Noel	X	Ditto.

O.

Omoron	G	Guillotined.
Orleans (Duke of)	M C	Ditto.

P.

Philippeaux	M C	Guillotined.
Populus	X	Ditto.
Pommier	X	Ditto.
Payan, C. F.	X	Ditto.

Q.

Quetinau	G	Ditto.
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R.

Rabaut Pommier	M C	Guillotined.
Rabaut de St. Etienne	X	Ditto.
Rabaud the younger	X	Ditto.
Reberky	M C	Drowned himself.
Robarrierie	M C	Guillotined.
Robertpierre, Jun.	M C	Ditto.

The Horrors of Revolution

Pages taken from an alphabetical list compiled about 1795

to suffer from want, while hordes of 'profiteers'—army contractors and speculators in national loans and properties—battered on the distresses of the people. Some improvement, indeed, had taken place since 1793. France had been cleared of foreign foes ; and the awful Reign of Terror was a thing of the past. The Terror lasted from September 1793 to the fall and execution of Robespierre in July 1794. It was meet that Robespierre, the chief author of the judicial murders of the Terror, should himself fall by the same agency. But though France under the Directory (1795-9) settled down into comparative quietness, the administration was rotten and unsafe ; corruption was everywhere. It was at this conjuncture that Bonaparte strode forward to save the Revolution.

Supplementary Dates

XIII

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1789 | Sieyès's <i>Qu'est-ce que le tiers état ?</i> |
| 1793 | Condorcet's <i>Tableau du Progrès de l'Esprit humain</i> . |
| 1794 | André Chénier's <i>Poésies</i> . |
| | Madame Roland's <i>Mémoires</i> . |

XIV

NAPOLEON

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was appointed by the Directory to the command of the Army of Italy on the 27th February 1796, when he was twenty-six years old. Until then his career had not been distinguished. Other generals, younger than he, had risen higher. He had been withdrawn from active service in 1796, and for six months had hovered around the military bureaus in Paris, offering various plans which his fertile brain produced. At last his chance came when the Director, Paul Barras, whose attention he had attracted, procured him the appointment to the Army of Italy. Then Bonaparte's genius burst upon the world and was instantly recognized.

The war of the French Republic against Austria, at first a defensive struggle, was now offensive. France was attacking the Austrians in their Rhenish and Italian dominions. Bonaparte was fortunate to secure the easier theatre of war, Lombardy, where the Austrians were themselves strangers amid an unfriendly population. He made the most of his opportunity. In 1796 he defeated the Austrians at Lodi (May) and Arcola (November); in 1797, at Rivoli and Castiglione. He captured Milan (1796) and Mantua in 1797; he exposed his person freely in the hottest fray, and snatching victory from defeat became a figure of legendary fame, the 'Little Corporal'. From Lombardy, passing through Venetian territory, he followed the Austrian armies into Carinthia; and finally, acting as diplomatic plenipotentiary as well as General, he concluded the Peace of Campo Formio with the Austrian plenipotentiary, Cobenzl, at Campo Formio, on the 17th October 1797.

By the terms of the treaty, France received the Belgic provinces of Austria, thus securing (with the Prussian territory gained at the Treaty of Bâle) practically the whole of the left

bank of the Rhine. Only Holland held the mouths of the Rhine; but Holland had been conquered too (1795), and under the name of the Batavian Republic was now practically a French dependency.

In Italy, also, the French Republic secured a great accession of power. By the Treaty of Campo Formio, Austria recognized the existence of a 'Cisalpine Republic' formed out of Austria's former province of Lombardy. As compensation for this cession, the Treaty allowed the Austrians to annex Venice, which Bonaparte had occupied in the course of the campaign. Thus there disappeared that famous Republic which, with the exception of the Papal State, was the oldest in Europe.

The French Republic had started with very fine ideals, but none of these was to be seen in this celebrated Peace of Campo Formio. The treaty had all the marks of the worst side of eighteenth-century diplomacy. It transferred peoples and lands without any respect to feelings of justice or nationality. It represented a policy of conquest and imperialism which was to bring the French nation to the disasters of Moscow and Waterloo.

The Republic had become not merely imperialistic; it had become predatory and parasitical. Wherever the French armies went the inhabitants had to pay large sums in tribute. A financial officer of the Directory accompanied each commander-in-chief to collect the indemnities. Every treaty arranged with a minor State (such as Tuscany, the Papal States, or Naples) stipulated for the payment of a tribute and for the handing over of valuable pictures, statues, and works of art. The French Republic was making a trade of war: it was really a Pirate State.

In the intervals during fighting and diplomacy Bonaparte had been holding almost a Court at Mombello, a fine château near Milan. He was no longer the simple Republican General: he was 'Caesar in Gaul'. He surrounded himself with a staff of high officers and all the great men of the land came to seek his favour. When he returned to France, towards the end of the year 1797, he was already becoming too great for the vacillating and inefficient Directory. In 1798, however, they sent him off on an expedition, which he himself had suggested, to conquer Egypt from the

Turks, with the prospect of going on to conquer Constantinople, and thence to pass on to take India from the English.

This great Eastern Design failed, however; although Bonaparte conquered Egypt, Nelson destroyed his fleet at the Battle of the Nile on the 1st August 1798, and cut his communications with France. A bold advance on Constantinople by way of Syria was foiled by the Turkish defence of Acre, under the leadership of Captain Sidney Smith, R.N. (1799). 'That man made me miss my destiny' was the remark which Bonaparte made years afterwards. By 'destiny' Bonaparte must have meant the conquest of the British Empire and of the world. His lesser destiny, to become lord of all France and of Western Europe, he went home to accomplish.

Bonaparte left his army in Egypt—indeed there was nothing else to do unless he would stay to become a prisoner of the English—and took ship to France. Although his navies were never successful, Bonaparte himself was always lucky at sea. On this occasion he escaped the British cruisers, and came safely to Fréjus, on the 9th October 1799. When he got to Paris he found everything again falling into disorder, and the Republican armies being beaten in Germany and Italy. A *coup d'état* or *journée* (the 18th Brumaire, 9 November 1799) sufficed to displace the Directory. A new 'Constitution of the Year VIII' was made and General Bonaparte became First Consul with Cambacérès and Lebrun as colleagues. The new legislature was analogous to that of the Directory. It was tricameral: there was a Council of State of fifty; a tribunate of a hundred, and a legislative body of three hundred members. At first Consul for ten years, Bonaparte, after a plebiscite held in 1802, became Consul for life; and in 1804, by an easy amendment of the Constitution, he became Emperor.

From December 1799, when he became First Consul, to June 1815, when he set forth for the campaign of Waterloo, Bonaparte (or Napoleon as he called himself from 1804) devoted himself wholeheartedly to administering and improving the affairs of France and, to a great extent also, of Germany and Italy. He would undoubtedly have been pleased to have had peace. Indeed

peace was his perpetual aim as First Consul and Emperor ; and that is why diplomacy came more and more to occupy his time and energy. But the peace that he wanted (and the only peace which France at that time would accept) was one which would leave to France the whole of the Rhine frontier and Lombardy. These frontiers the other Powers of Europe would not permanently allow ; so to meet the assaults of Europe on the lines of the rivers Rhine and Po, Napoleon's armies had to go farther on, into Central Germany and into Southern Italy—to Vienna, Berlin, Rome. Even here stability was not reached. Renewed assaults by the few remaining free States of Europe necessitated the farther advance of Imperial France, to Warsaw and to Moscow, combined with a continual effort to advance to London and Bombay. But no Power can go on for ever conquering the world. The war which in 1793 had been a war for the Rhine frontier, by 1812 became, through a perfectly natural process of development, a war for the world. And it ended with the defeat of the world's aggressor at the hands of the once dormant national forces which he had aroused.

The war with Europe was not continuous. When the Constitution of the Year VIII—the Consulate—was made, Austria was again at war with France ; England had never made peace since entering into hostilities in 1793. The campaign and battle of Marengo in 1800 finished off the Austrian War ; and by the Treaty of Lunéville, February 1801, France obtained Austrian recognition of her frontier (with extensions) on the Rhine and Po. In 1801 even Great Britain entered into a preliminary peace which was confirmed in 1802 by the Treaty of Amiens. Thus, although the Peace of Amiens only provided a breathing-space, there were no hostilities at all for eighteen months (October 1801–May 1803) with England, and none with Austria for over four years (February 1801–August 1805). These years were the happiest for the French Empire and were the period of Napoleon's most fruitful constructive work.

In 1805, Great Britain being again at war with France, William Pitt managed to arrange a Coalition with Austria and Russia. Nelson's victory at Trafalgar (21 October 1805) put an end to



Napoleon helps himself to Europe, while Pitt holds the sea for England

Gillray's cartoon of 1805

Napoleon's sea-power, but on land Austria was again beaten to her knees at the battle of Austerlitz (2 December). 'Roll up the map of Europe,' said Pitt, 'it will not be wanted these ten years.' Peace was made between France and Austria by the Treaty of Pressburg (26 December 1805), France annexing Venice. The Tsar Alexander I of Russia remained in the war for another year and a half, but at last made peace by the Treaty of Tilsit, the 7th July 1807. Prussia, which late in time had joined in the war after Austerlitz and had been overwhelmed at Jena (14 October 1806), also made peace at Tilsit. Napoleon took the Prussian territory between the Rhine and the Elbe and made it into a Kingdom of Westphalia for his brother, Jerome.

Thus, by midsummer 1807, Europe was practically at peace, for England could not engage the French armies on land, and France could not engage the English fleets on the sea. Napoleon was organizing his territorial gains and protecting his frontiers by a system of dependent buffer States. As far back as the year 1801, by the Treaty of Lunéville, and again in 1803, by using his influence at the German Imperial Diet of Ratisbon, Napoleon had procured the suppression of all the Ecclesiastical States of Germany: their territories, being 'secularized', were distributed among the medium-sized lay Principalities. In 1806, as the result of Napoleon's conquests, a large number of tiny German States and the insignificant dominions of the 'Free Imperial Knights' were suppressed and likewise distributed. As a result of all this the political map of Germany was greatly simplified. Instead of some three hundred and fifty States and Statelets it now consisted of some fifty. Boundaries became more reasonably drawn; and instead of powerless little bodies, medium-sized States of quite respectable size became the rule in Western Germany. At the same time the Free Imperial Cities, those havens of liberty, commerce, and the arts in the Middle Ages, were, all but six, extinguished.

The modern-sized States, which had been increased in size, like Baden, Hesse, Saxony, or which had been newly created, like the Kingdom of Westphalia and the Grand Duchy of Berg, were made in 1806 into a Confederation of the Rhine, a League of



Nelson's quarry : A French ship of the line

From the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique Marine'

which Napoleon was Protector. The armies of the Confederate States were bound to serve for France. When the Duchy of Warsaw, which Napoleon had created out of the former Poland at the Tilsit Peace, joined the Confederation (1807), the French Imperial power reached to the Vistula.

In 1808 Napoleon sent troops under various pretexts into Spain, and induced King Charles IV and the degenerate Infante, Ferdinand, to come and see him at Bayonne (May 1808). There both King and Infante were induced to surrender their rights and to retire to a French château with pensions (to be paid by the Spanish Government). Napoleon's elder brother, Joseph, was then made King of Spain. But the Spaniards revolted against this imposition; and a French general, Dupont, was forced to surrender at Baylen (July 1808). It was more than a local affair. Dupont had only 18,000 men. It was the first real military disaster that Napoleon had suffered since he became Emperor, and although he made little of it, the report spread like suppressed fire through Europe and inflamed the peoples to rise and do the same. The capitulation of Baylen restarted the Continental War, and it enabled England to do what had hitherto been impossible, to make contact with the French armies on the mainland. In 1808 a British army under Wellesley was sent to the Peninsula, and a breach was made in the hitherto impregnable land-system of the French Empire. If Napoleon had stopped at the Pyrenees, this would not have happened.

In the year 1809, Austria, impelled by the noble Chancellor, Count Stadion, again took up arms. This time it was a real national war; men were trained locally in regiments, and the landowners were commissioned to officer the troops raised from their own district. The students of Vienna University and even the boys of the schools volunteered for service. It was no longer the old Austrian conscript army; it was the *levée en masse* which Carnot had used with such success in '93. It was not successful this time: after two fine actions at Aspern and Essling, the Austrian Commander, the Archduke Charles, was defeated by Napoleon at Wagram (July 1809). But the Austrian national

effort shook Napoleon's Empire. Germany was full of gazette-writers and pamphleteers—of whom the greatest was Gentz (1764–1832)—debating-clubs and secret societies, all educating public opinion against the tyranny of France. The Austrian War was the first time that any Continental Government had made use of this national feeling against France ; it lit a candle which could not be put out.¹

The Austrian War was terminated by the Treaty of Vienna (sometimes called Treaty of Schönbrunn), October 1809. The Habsburg Empire lost a great part of Galicia, which was given to the Duchy of Warsaw. Austria was now a purely Danubian Empire, cut off from the Adriatic and the Rhine. Her monarch in 1806 had abdicated the throne of the Holy Roman Empire (which ceased to exist), and had continued to reign as Francis I, Emperor of Austria. After the Treaty of Schönbrunn the Austrian Government, now guided by the subtle Metternich in place of Stadion, seemed to abandon all hope of withstanding French domination. The Emperor's daughter, Marie-Louise, was married to Napoleon, who had divorced his first wife Josephine, and was anxious, by a new marriage, to enter the charmed circle of the ancient European dynasties.

So at last the French Empire (except for the English War) was at peace. At the end of the year 1810 it extended along the north coast of Germany to the Oder, having annexed the Hanseatic cities. The Duchy of Warsaw (of which the King of Saxony was Duke) maintained an army for the service of France on the Vistula. In Italy the Papal States had been annexed in 1808 ; one of Napoleon's Marshals, Joachim Murat, was King of Naples ; the former Cisalpine Republic with Genoa and Tuscany was called the Kingdom of Italy, and Napoleon's son (born in 1811) was made king of it. Switzerland, reorganized as a Federal State by Napoleon's Act of Mediation in 1801, was bound by treaty to France and had to maintain four regiments for the French Service.

¹ ' The measures which Austria took in 1809 were the first and unique example of the advantage which a Government can draw from the spirit of its subjects ' (from the *Archives Nationales*, 7 Feb. 1811, A.F. (v. 1650))

Wherever Napoleon went splendour reigned. Paris was now assuming its modern aspect. In the stately Place Vendôme, spacious, airy, surrounded by magnificent houses of the classical period, Napoleon erected an enormous column of iron, made out of cannon which were captured at Austerlitz. In the Place du Carrousel, which has only three sides, formed by the three wings of the Louvre Palace, the Emperor built the beautiful arch, to commemorate the victories of 1805, and the Peace of Pressburg and Tilsit. On the height above the Champs-Élysées he began the splendid and enormous *Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile*. A citizen of Paris in the year 1812, taking his stand in the Place de la Concorde, with his back to the Tuileries Palace, could look between the trees, and up the Avenue des Champs-Élysées, straight to where, on the sky-line, stood the magnificent Arc de Triomphe, half-built, yet majestic, crowning the long ridge above the city of Paris.

Music, the theatre, and specially the art of sculpture flourished. Canova came from Rome to Paris, and added to the artistic treasures there. A new aristocracy was created to make the Imperial court brilliant. Princes, dukes, and counts were created out of famous marshals and skilled administrators. They were endowed with pensions from the conquered lands, and they bought or built fine mansions in Paris, and took estates in the surrounding country. Only the war in Spain and on the sea marred all this splendour and magnificence. The Spanish War could never be ended so long as Britain was free to feed it. So the last thing that remained for Napoleon to do was to force Britain to make peace. But how? Fighting had been tried and fighting could not do it. The last weapon was the blockade: to starve England or at least stop her export-commerce and make her bankrupt. So at last would Napoleon be at peace.

The Continental System which Napoleon devised for this purpose was not a blockade of England, for Napoleon had no sea-power with which to accomplish this. It was a blockade of the French Empire (and its allied States) by itself. Napoleon controlled most of Europe, and Europe was nearly self-sufficing in food-stuffs and raw materials. Therefore by decrees issued

at Berlin in 1806 and Milan in 1807, all States under the dominion of France or in alliance with her were debarred from trading with England. The result was expected to be painful for Europe, to raise prices and make life difficult. But if the same results were produced in England in an intensified degree, then the war would be won, for England would be starved out first.

Disappointment, however, was in store for Napoleon. The Continental System caused anxiety to the British Government, but gradually the Navy and the merchants got the situation 'in hand'. The System was calculated by Napoleon to be a blockade of Great Britain, but 'Bonaparte might equally well have pretended to blockade the moon' said the celebrated orator, Erskine, in the House of Lords in 1808. The Continental System impoverished all the communities that submitted to it. The famous commercial and banking cities of Frankfort, Hamburg, and Danzig were deserted by trade. Napoleon himself found it necessary to relax the System and to issue licences to individual traders or companies to buy their raw-material from English colonies. Smuggling by English ships became a regular, profitable, and comparatively safe business, being conducted through Heligoland, which the British Navy held, or through Holland, which continually evaded the system. Finally Alexander of Russia became wearied of the whole thing, abandoned the system and told Napoleon that he was going to trade as he chose.¹ This action, along with other causes of friction, put an end to the Tilsit alliance, and produced the Moscow Expedition.

The Russian War of 1812 was Napoleon's biggest effort and his biggest failure. The occupation of Moscow on the 14th September 1812 (after the terrible battle of Borodino on 7th September) was only a melancholy triumph. Alexander refused any sort of negotiation: there was nothing to do but to retreat. The Napoleonic domination of Europe fell with the snow-flakes which began softly to cover everything on 4th November. The rest of the retreat was a chaos of misery and pain, with some remnants of order saved by a few strong men like Ney. But when the men

¹ This was practically the result of the *Ukase* of 31 December 1810, by which Alexander placed a prohibitive tariff on imported French goods.

struggled back into Germany the Grand Army had completely disintegrated.

Then the resurgent forces of German patriotism, infused with the ideals of a philosopher like Fichte, of poets like Körner and Arndt, of statesmen like Stein, gathered from all sides. Prussia was the first Continental State to join with Alexander. English officers and diplomatists were at hand, ready to rebuild the old Coalition ; Wellington was pressing back Soult in the Peninsula to the Pyrenees. The battles round Dresden (26-7 August 1813) and Leipzig (16-19 October) brought no rest to Napoleon or to his newly-raised armies of raw conscripts. By November his armies were back at the Rhine, and Austria had joined in the war. In January 1814 the Russo-Prusso-Austrian armies pressed forward on French soil. On the 1st March 1814, Castlereagh's great work, the Treaty of Chaumont, was made : the Governments fighting against Napoleon formed a Grand Alliance. The French Emperor could still have had peace and preserved his Empire, reduced to the frontier of 1795 ; but he doggedly insisted on keeping Antwerp and refused to see that he was lost. On the 25th March the ban of the Allies went forth against him. He was to be dethroned. On the 31st March the Allied troops entered Paris, while Wellington's army, having forced the Pyrenees, was preparing to fight the last battle of the Peninsular War outside Toulouse.

When the Allies entered Paris, Napoleon was at Fontainebleau with Marshals Ney and Macdonald, and his chief civil advisers, Caulaincourt and Maret. He still had an army, reduced to about 30,000 men, but no Government ; for another *journée* had occurred in Paris and a Provincial Government, under the astute Talleyrand, ex-bishop, ex-Foreign Minister of Napoleon, had been established on the 2nd April. He still thought that he could fight on, but his Marshals forced him to make peace, and to sign an Act of Abdication. The Allies then made the Treaty of Fontainebleau with him, 11th April, giving him the formerly Neapolitan isle of Elba to reign in, and a pension secured on the *Grand Livre* of France. The Emperor departed and King Louis XVIII, brother of the martyred Louis XVI, returned to the throne of his fathers.



GENERAL FROST Shaving Little BONEY

The retreat from Moscow
A satirical cartoon of 1812

Peace with France took a little longer to arrange than the Treaty with Napoleon. The Peace, to be known as the First Treaty of Paris, was signed on the 30th May, by France on the one hand, and Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, on the other. France was reduced to the frontiers of 1793 with some highly important additions, such as Avignon, Saarbrück, and Chambéry. So, although the 'Grand Empire' as Napoleon's dominion was called, had disappeared, France remained strong and prosperous, and some of the territorial gains of the Revolution had been maintained. The restored Bourbons were friends and relatives of the reigning European families; and all the former enemies of France, now at peace with her, were allies among themselves. Thus everything promised an era of concord for a Europe suffering from twenty-two years of war.¹

¹ For the negotiations of the years 1813-14 see *The Diplomacy of Napoleon*, by R. B. Mowat (1924), Chaps. XXIX-XXX.

Supplementary Dates

XIV

- 1795 Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.
- 1796 Fichte's *Naturrecht*.
- 1797 Publication of the *Code Français*.
Haydn's *Creation*.
Chateaubriand's *Essai sur les révolutions*.
- 1799 Schiller's *Wallenstein*.
- 1803 Beethoven's *Fidelio*.
- 1805 Chateaubriand's *René* inaugurates Romanticism.
- 1808 Goethe's *Faust*, Part I.
Mme de Staël's *Corinne*.
- 1809 Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs*.
- 1810 Mme de Staël's *L'Allemagne*.
- 1811 Fouqué's *Undine*.
- 1812 Grimm's *Fairy Tales*.
Hegel's *Logic*.
- 1822 Liszt's début at Vienna.
- 1823 Schubert's *Rosamund* in music.

DEPARTURE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

His Most Christian Majesty, the Duchess of Angoulême, the Prince De Conde, and the Duke De Bourbon, left London on Saturday morning about eight o'clock. An immense concourse of people had assembled in Albemarle-street so early as six o'clock to witness the departure of his Majesty. Between seven and eight o'clock the Duchess of Angoulême arrived with her Lady of Honour from her house in South Audley-street, to pay her dutiful reverence to her Sovereign and Uncle before his departure, her Royal Highness going from her house in South Audley street. The Prince De Conde and the Duke De Bourbon set off from the Prince's house in Lower Berkeley-street. At a little after eight his Majesty descended from his apartments, and as soon as the populace saw him they saluted him with three hearty British cheers. His Majesty bowed and seemed much affected. He got into the first carriage, drawn by four horses, ornamented with white ribbons. The Duke De Duras accompanied him. As soon as his Majesty drove off he was again cheered, and the populace exclaimed, *God bless your Majesty—A happy return to your native country.* He bowed on each side several times. His Majesty proceeded down St. James's street, Pall-mall, and Parliament-street, over Westminster-bridge. Several other carriages and four, and post chaises, with his Majesty's suite, followed. All the streets through which his Majesty passed were lined with spectators with the white cockade. It seemed to be *Paris in London*, so general was it in every part of the metropolis.

The Prince Regent set off about eight o'clock for Dover.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Henry Paulet, and Admiral Hope, with Mr. Croker, are gone down to Dover to give greater eclat to his Majesty's embarkation. His Majesty will be escorted through Kent by the Marquis of Camden, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, who has ordered the yeomanry and civil power to be in attendance upon his Majesty to Dover.

DOVER, SATURDAY, 9 O'CLOCK EVENING.—The Prince Regent and the King of France arrived here about six o'clock: they immediately went on board the Jason frigate, where they were to dine. The frigate will sail to-morrow at 12 o'clock. It is quite exhilarating to witness the symptoms of cheerfulness which this town now exhibits: a pure unalloyed joy, unaccompanied with any noise or revelry, prevails throughout; and the illuminations, though consisting simply of common candles, express the kindest congratulations of the people more intelligibly than the finest decorations which are on such occasions so lavishly scattered through the proud metropolis. Every house, even the meanest, is full of lights from top to bottom, the obscurest corners do not shelter themselves under the possibility of being overlooked, but take care to shine as brightly as the largest streets. The inhabitants are parading the town with white cockades, and every Frenchman who passes is sure to receive a hearty salutation of welcome. The appearance of the road from London to Dover was, if possible, still gayer than Dover itself; it seemed an universal holiday. The day, in the early part, was remarkably fine, and every town, village, and even hamlet, pointed out all its inhabitants dressed in their choicest attire and their pleasant smiles. At Gravesend the Mayor and Corporation were ranged in the Market place, wearing the ensigns of the Bourbons, and attended with music. The entrance of the town, and also that of Dartford, was lined with dragoons and foot soldiers. But the most splendid military spectacle was at Chatham, where several hundreds of the Guards were standing at their arms; next to them were stationed large bodies of cavalry, partly of the line, and partly yeomanry and volunteers. At Canterbury seemed to be collected half the population of the county, who hailed with the warmest marks of friendship and brotherhood, the passing of the different parties of French, and were enthusiastic

The return of the Bourbons

Extract taken from 'The National Register'. 25 April 1814

XV

THE SETTLEMENT OF 1815

WHEN making the first Peace of Paris in 1814, the Allies had arranged (by article 32 of the Main Treaty) to meet at Vienna in order to settle the destiny of the territories—including about thirty million people—which had been liberated from France, in Central Europe and in Italy. These territories and their inhabitants could not simply be put back to the position of 1792. Much water had flowed under the bridges since then. The task of the Congress of Vienna naturally caused the keenest interest in Europe, and every European State sent an ambassador, minister, or some sort of agent to Vienna. But though Vienna in that happy, peaceful autumn of 1814 was full of the noble royal and official classes of Europe, the Congress which held Europe's destinies in its hands numbered only the representatives of eight States, namely those which had made the Peace of Paris (Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and France). It was because the Congress was so small that its work was, on the whole, so effectively accomplished. In the social side of the Congress everybody participated: the grand Viennese nobility, from the Emperor downwards, gave splendid balls, dinners, and receptions, so that the Prince de Ligne (1735-1814) made his famous remark: *le Congrès danse, mais il ne marche pas*. But all the time small committees of the Powers were at work with their industrious civil servants: the Statistical Committee, the Committee for Swiss Affairs, for German affairs, and others. In spite of disputes, which nearly provoked war between the Allies, the draft of the settlement was in a fair way to be completed when news arrived in Vienna that Napoleon had left Elba and had landed in France (1 March 1815).

The period which followed, the Hundred Days, is not one of the decisive epochs in the world's history; it is merely a heroic epilogue to the long war which began with revolutionary France

16 " all the above birds & 1 cat.
 17 " 100 lbs. 100 lbs. 100 lbs. or less
 18 " 100 lbs. 100 lbs. or less
 19 " 100 lbs. 100 lbs. or less
 20 " 100 lbs. 100 lbs. or less

Boxen-Dishes.



A SINGULAR DISH for the CITY of LONDON. HAST, June 28, 1814.

in 1792 and ended at the capitulation of Paris in 1814. The Hundred Days was a heroic period on the French side because they chivalrously rose to support their fallen Emperor and espoused an almost hopeless cause. On the other side it was heroic too, because the Allied Governments, fatigued and depressed with twenty-two years of war and deferred hope, and now at last taking quiet breath in a hardly won peace, had to take up arms again and lead their weary peoples to the war.

The Allies never hesitated. Fortunately they were all present in Vienna in the persons of their plenipotentiaries, when Napoleon made his dramatic landing. At once they declared him an outlaw of Europe, drew the bands of their alliance closer by a new treaty (25 March 1815) and recalled their troops to the Colours. It was with a comparatively raw army that Wellington took the field. In 1812 Great Britain and the United States had gone to war owing to a dispute concerning maritime law; and although peace had been made at Ghent on the 24th December 1814, the veteran Peninsular troops were still in America, where they had been sent after the First Peace of Paris. Yet although Wellington's army might have been defeated at Waterloo, the worst that could have ensued to the Allied cause would have been the recognition of Napoleon as Emperor of France with the limits of 1792. But Napoleon would not have been content for long with this, and would have gone on disturbing Europe to the end of his life. That is why the battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815) was worth fighting. Before it had taken place, the Allied plenipotentiaries had rapidly completed their work at Vienna and had signed the General Act on 9 June 1815.

The Congress of Vienna planned its settlement with the deliberate aim of making a balance of power among the large and medium-sized States of Europe. It tried to do this in conjunction with the principle of *legitimacy* or *restoration*. It did not, however, attempt to restore all the Governments which had suffered from the French Revolution or Napoleon. Austria, for instance, did not ask to be restored to the Belgic provinces. Nor was the old Constitution of the United Netherlands restored; instead, a new crown was created for the Prince of Orange, who

Waterloo
A photograph of the seventies



became King William I of the Netherlands. This new monarchy included the territories of the former Dutch republic and the Belgic provinces.

Nor were the former Republics of Genoa or Venice restored. Genoa was incorporated in the kingdom of Sardinia; Venice and the coast of Dalmatia were annexed to Austria, which also received back Lombardy. The Congress of Vienna, owing to the events of 1793, was not very favourable to republics.

Other states which were not restored were Poland, and most of the Free Imperial Cities of Germany. Poland had been diminished by the partition of 1772, carried out by Russia, Austria, and Prussia; it had been further cut down by another partition at the hands of Russia and Prussia in 1793; and had been extinguished altogether by a partition (done by Austria, Russia, and Prussia) in 1795. Napoleon in 1807, by the Treaty of Tilsit, had re-established a large part of Poland in the Duchy of Warsaw. But its Duke, the King of Saxony, as Napoleon's ally (he had received his title of King from the French Emperor) received no consideration from the Congress of Vienna; the Duchy of Warsaw was divided between Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The Kingdom of Saxony itself lost about one-third of its territory to Prussia.

On the other hand there was another state which had received very indifferent treatment in the eighteenth century and at the hands of Napoleon. This was the Papacy. Napoleon had suppressed the Papal State (or Papal States, as they were usually called), and had removed Pope Pius VII to Fontainebleau. The temporal power of the Pope was restored by the Congress of Vienna. The Bourbon King of Naples and Sicily was also restored, as well as the rulers of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. Thus the united Italy which Napoleon had, in a partial way, created, and for which poets like Manzoni blessed him, became a thing of the past—and of the future.

Napoleon's work in Switzerland—the creation of a strong federal constitution, with equal rights for all the cantons—was confirmed and developed. In addition, the Congress of Vienna enacted that Switzerland was to be a neutral state under the guarantee of all the signing Powers.

The joy produced amongst the prisoners of war at Norman Cross, by the change of affairs in France, is quite extravagant and indescribable. A large white flag is set up in each of the quadrangles of the depot, under which the thousands of poor fellows who have been for years in confinement through the cruel ambition of Buonaparte, dance, sing, laugh, and cry for joy, and produce a bedlam of delight.—Two hundred and fifty of the poor fellows were marched away on Monday for France, and the same number on Thursday: they are in exchange for those of our countrymen who were taken by the French at the late unfortunate attack on Bergen-op-Zoom.

Extract from 'The National Register', 25 April 1814

BUONAPARTE

AUGUST 11, 1815.—The Northumberland was still off Plymouth lying to on Wednesday. It is supposed she is waiting for the Havannah frigate, the Ceylon, Weazel, and some storeships.

As a great deal of misapprehension appears to exist on the subject of St Helena as a proper place for the confinement of Bonaparte, we cannot avoid observing that the sentiments of many of our correspondents are founded upon the supposition—First, that Bonaparte is to be at liberty on that island. Secondly, that neutral neutral vessels are to have access to it. Thirdly, the garrison is not to be trusted, and that the island does not belong to the Crown, but to the East India Company. With respect to the first objection, we can assure our readers that there is no intention of suffering Bonaparte to be at liberty in the island; he will be as regularly guarded and confined as he could be in England, and permitted only to take air and exercise when properly attended. In the second place all neutrals whatever will be excluded from the island as long as Bonaparte is to continue a prisoner there; so that no danger on this account can possibly exist. In the third place he will be placed under the custody of a General Officer in the King's service, and of a British Admiral; the former will have the government of the island under the present circumstances. The garrison of the East India Company will be reduced or wholly withdrawn, and the island will be garrisoned by a King's regiment. With these securities we should be glad to know what place in the world would be half so secure for a State Prisoner at St. Helena? In addition to all the ordinary securities of confinement, you have the advantage of a small island many hundred miles from any land, remote from Europe, with a scanty population, and a station from which alone it is practicable and easy to exclude all neutral trade, and indeed all communication whatever.

Extract from 'The National Register', 21 August 1815

Newspaper extracts of 1814-15

In Germany the Holy Roman Empire was not restored, nor were the Ecclesiastical States nor Free Imperial Cities, which Napoleon had suppressed between 1801 and 1806. A Confederation of thirty-eight States (thirty-four monarchies or principalities and four Free Imperial Cities) was instituted, with Austria as perpetual president, and with a Federal Diet representing each State.



The Congress of Vienna

Norway was detached from Denmark and joined to Sweden, which was ruled over by one of Napoleon's Marshals, Bernadotte. This soldier had been adopted with Napoleon's very grudging consent by the last Vasa King (Charles XIII) in 1810. Bernadotte identified himself thoroughly with his adopted country, became a Lutheran, and led the Swedes on the Allied side against Napoleon in 1814. Subsequently, as Charles XIV, he reigned over Sweden and Norway from 1818-44.

The victory of the Allies at Waterloo confirmed the work of the Congress of Vienna. There only remained now to settle terms with the French people, who could no longer, as they had

done in the Peace of Paris in 1814, throw all the responsibility of the war upon Napoleon. The Emperor himself was debarred from public affairs and imprisoned in St. Helena; and France (by the second Peace of Paris, 20th November 1815) was penalized for having welcomed Napoleon back from Elba and for fighting the Hundred Days War by losing Chambéry and Saarbrück and Landau. An indemnity of 700,000,000 francs was also imposed upon her. Louis XVIII was again restored to his ancestral throne. Napoleon (in a proclamation to the Old Guard on the 1st March 1815) had said that the Bourbons, restored after twenty-two years' exile to France, had 'learned nothing and forgotten nothing'. Time was to show.

The Treaty of Vienna was the Charter of the European States System. It was indeed, says Gentz (who was Secretary of the Congress of Vienna), 'very far from being what it could have been, and what it ought to have been. . . . It is filled with imperfections and *lacunae*. It has the look of a provisional arrangement rather than of a work destined to last for centuries.' Nevertheless, Gentz maintained that the efforts of the Congress had overcome many troublesome details, difficult questions, and thorny arrangements. 'Nothing now will impede the Cabinets from working on the grand scale. The Treaty has cleared the ground on which it will be possible to raise a better social edifice.'¹

¹ For the Congress of Vienna see *A History of European Diplomacy, 1815-1914* (1922), by R. B. Mowat, Chap. II; C. K. Webster, *Congress of Vienna* (1919) and *British Diplomacy, 1813-15* (1921).

Supplementary Dates.

XV

- 1815 Thorkelin discovers *Beowulf*.
 Béanger makes his first collection of songs.
 Schubert composes his first song, *Der Erlkönig*.

XVI

THE CONGRESS PERIOD

AFTER the making of a peace, the difficulty is to keep it. When the settlement is on such a large scale as that of 1815 and involves so many interests, there are certain to be many dissatisfied people, so that causes of war and friction will remain. Moreover, the *malaise* of the Revolutionary period was still in the air ; the ideas of the Rights of Man were at work in other places than France. But the Powers of Europe had not been fighting for twenty-two years merely to see new wars arise. So when they made the settlement of 1814-15 they resolved not to dissolve their alliances, but to remain united, and to meet from time to time to see that the settlement was carried into effect and was working properly.

This union or alliance of all the Powers of Europe after the great war lasted for seven years (1815-22) and was based upon two Acts : The Holy Alliance of the 26th September 1815 and the Quadruple Alliance Treaty of Paris, 20th November 1815.

The Holy Alliance was due to Alexander I of Russia, a noble and sentimental autocrat, still comparatively young, being only thirty-eight in 1815. It was originally signed by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The idea had been in their minds for years. The monarchs of Europe were to recognize each other as a brotherhood, existing for the good of their peoples, to lead them in the ways of peace and Christian charity. The text of the Alliance expressed this very beautifully :

Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance ; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect Religion, Peace and Justice (Article I).

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS the sentiments contained in the following pages are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favour; a long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defence of custom. But the tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

As a long and violent abuse of power is generally the means of calling the right of it in question, (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the sufferers been aggravated into the inquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his own right, to support the Parliament in what he calls theirs, and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the of either.

In the following sheets the author hath studiously avoided every thing which is personal among ourselves. Compliments as well as censure to individuals, make no part thereof. The wise, and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and those whose sentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will cease of themselves, unless too much pains are bestowed upon their conversion.

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances hath, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected, and in the event of which their affections are interested. The laying a country desolate with fire and sword, declaring war against the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating the defenders hereof from the face of the earth, is the concern of every man to whom nature hath given the power of feeling; of which class, regardless of party censure, is the

AUTHOR.

P. S. The publication of this new edition hath been delayed, with a view of taking notice (had it been necessary) of any attempt to refute the doctrine of independence. As no answer hath yet appeared, it is now presumed none will, the time needful for getting such a performance ready for the public being considerably past.

Philadelphia, Feb. 14, 1776.

‘THE RIGHTS OF MAN’

Facsimile of the Introduction to Paine's ‘Common Sense’, 1776

In consequence, the sole principle of force, whether between the said Governments or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable goodwill, the natural affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation; the three allied Princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of One family, namely Austria, Prussia and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian World, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other Sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone we find all the treasures of love, science and infinite wisdom, that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life.

All the Powers of Europe joined the Holy Alliance except the Pope, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Government of England.

At Paris on the 20th November 1815, the Allies, in making the Main Treaty of Peace with France, signed a number of other Acts, one of which was a Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, providing that those powers would meet from time to time to watch over the treaties of 1815 and to consider the state of Europe. This Four Power Treaty, which seems to have been due to Castlereagh, created the European Concert, that is to say the understanding between the Great Powers that they were responsible for the peace of Europe, and that when crises arose and threatened the peace they should meet together and try to find a solution.

The statesmen had much to think about in the years after the great war. Europe was a place of hope and of fear. The hope of a better time for mankind was due to the species of Renaissance, the enlightenment which had begun in the latter part of the eighteenth century and of which the ideals of the French Revolution were an expression. But there was also fear that this intellectual ferment might again produce revolution, and that revolution would destroy social order and bring back the years of war. The statesmen who held this view may have been mistaken, but they were honest in their belief, and they had been through some hard experiences. So their watchful attitude over Europe was inclined to be a repressive attitude. Whether as the



THE "EUROPEAN CONCERT."

TUNING UP FOR THE ENGLISH OVERTURE.

Punch's cartoon on the Greek frontier question, 1880

By permission of the Proprietors of 'Punch'

result of their efforts or not, the fact remains that Europe enjoyed comparative peace and stability until 1848.

It was not only in France that ideals were passionately held among the large class of educated people. Romanticism, a revolt from the strict conventions of literature, art, and politics of the eighteenth century, was the fashion all over Western Europe. In France most of the writers supported the restored Monarchy. Chateaubriand (1768-1848), author of the *Génie du Christianisme*, and one of the most eloquent of the Romanticists, was Foreign Minister under Louis XVIII. Benjamin Constant, author of the Romantic novel, *Adolphe* (1816), was a member of the Chamber of Deputies under the Restoration. The restored Bourbon Monarchy was very orthodox, and in this respect its opinions coincided with those of the great Romantic, Chateaubriand, whose ecclesiastical views were ultramontane. There was, indeed, a great Roman Catholic revival taking place in France, a revival which Napoleon himself had encouraged by re-establishing the Church in France through the Concordat of 1801. Of a more severe style than Chateaubriand, but more convincing in his reasoning, was Joseph de Maistre (1754-1821), author of *Du Pape* and the *Soirées de St.-Petersbourg*. His defence of a loyal and strict, yet enlightened, Roman Catholicism began the work which Chateaubriand popularized and which Montalembert (1810-70), the author of *Les Moines d'Occident*, continued in the middle of the nineteenth century (see below, pp. 629-30). Church and State being at one in France under the Bourbons, and the Romantic writers being orthodox Catholics, there was no danger of those writers threatening the existing political system. Things were otherwise, however, in Germany and Italy.

The German Romantic movement may be said to have begun with the Robinsonnades, the imitations of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) that in the first half of the eighteenth century were very popular. Between 1722 and 1755 more than forty *Robinsons* appeared in Germany and were very popular.¹ *The Swiss Family Robinson* (*Der Schweizerische Robinson*, 1812) by Johann Rudolf Wyss, Professor of Philosophy at Berne, still remains, and repre-

¹ *History of German Literature*, by Metcalfe (1858), p. 359.

English Miles
 0 100 200 300 400
 P = Piedmont



sents this school. Contemporary with the writers of Robinsonades was Lessing (1729-81), who wrote an illuminating essay, the *Laocoon*, on sculpture and painting, and an excellent drama, free from the stiff, conventional rules of the time, called *Minna von Barnhelm*. This still popular drama deals with the period and events of the Thirty Years War. A contemporary of Lessing, and like him filled with the Greek and Latin spirit, was Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68), a Saxon scholar who lived mostly in Rome. He wrote a fine *History of the Art of the Ancients* which greatly influenced Goethe. When on his way back to Germany, where he would have still more profoundly advanced the Enlightenment (the *Aufklärung*), he was murdered at Trieste. Goethe, at that time a student at Leipzig, was greatly moved by the news of the death 'of the teacher who had made his career possible but whom he had never seen'.¹

Goethe, whose long career covered the last half of the eighteenth century and thirty-two years of the nineteenth, was one of the most universal geniuses that ever lived. In his lifetime he was a sort of emperor or high priest of letters, wielding a European supremacy like that which Voltaire had held before him, and such as nobody, except perhaps Victor Hugo, has had since. Goethe is to Germany what Shakespeare is to England and Dante to Italy. His work was, and is, the embodiment of the national spirit. Inseparately linked with the name of Goethe is that of his friend Schiller.

From the year 1794 they lived in constant communication with each other, Schiller at Jena and Goethe at Weimar. In 1799 Schiller moved to Weimar too. In the early years of their friendship Goethe wrote *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and *Hermann und Dorothea*, while Schiller composed his great *Wallenstein* trilogy. Goethe's most celebrated work, although not his most influential, *Faust*, was not completed until 1831.

Another highly influential writer, though he is little read now even in Germany, was Jean Paul Richter (1763-1825). As Weimar was a centre of Romanticism for Central Germany, so was Baireuth in Bavaria for Southern Germany. Richter, after

¹ Pater, *The Renaissance*, essay on 'Winckelmann'.

Wilhelm Meisters

Lehrjahre.

Ein Roman.

Herausgegeben

von

Goethe.

Erster Band.

Berlin.

Bei Johann Friedrich Unger.

1795.

a long period of wandering, received a pension from the Bavarian Government, and fixed his residence at Baireuth, where Wagner (1813-83) was later to live and produce his operas. Richter's novel, *Quintus Fixlein*, is still worth reading, both as a story and as a document of the period of the great war.

Other great men were stirring the German mind during the Napoleonic period. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), professor of Philosophy at Königsberg University, produced the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and raised German metaphysics to a position of ascendancy, indeed of domination, over the intellectual life of Europe. Napoleon might conquer up to the Vistula or even to the Niemen, but Kant went on untroubled, deep in the realisms of abstract thought and 'dug his mine'.¹ Fichte's appeal was more direct and popular. His lectures at Berlin in the years 1806-13, lectures on philosophy, political economy, political science, were delivered really to all the educated classes of Germany; they stimulated the moral as well as the intellectual revival of Germany in the dark days after Jena. They led directly to the War of Liberation, in which Fichte, too old to fight, served in hospital. Before the war was over he caught the fever to which so many soldiers succumbed, and died on the 27th January 1814. Four years after Fichte's death his chair at Berlin University was occupied, until 1831, by Georg Hegel, whose idealism dominated European philosophy for most of the century. His influence on German politics was important, for he idealized the might and authority of the State.

These philosophers were 'publicists' as well as logicians. The war-period was favourable to the development of publicists, provided that they could avoid capture and death at the hands of a platoon of Napoleon's soldiers. The greatest of these exponents of policy was Gentz, the anti-Napoleonic propagandist *par excellence*. The British Government employed him to write, and for many years he was engaged as a high official in the Austrian Foreign Office composing manifestoes and pamphlets for Metternich. But when the wars were over Gentz, like Metternich, ceased to appeal to the German national spirit, for he feared

¹ Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, tome iv, pp. 20-1.



Schiller



Goethe

that it might lead to new revolutions and the reign of war and licence. Not so with another publicist, Görres (1776-1848), who after the wars employed his pen in the service of the new politics, encouraging a sane nationalism, and advocating the grant of liberal constitutions by the German monarchs.

The sentiment of nationality is closely connected with aspirations for democracy. A people which is conscious of its individuality and proud of its history inevitably begins to claim to govern itself. This explains why the monarchs of the Holy Alliance, Frederick William III of Prussia, Francis II of Austria, and Alexander I of Russia, found so much to disturb their spirits in the movements of thought going on in Germany at this time. They were troubled by the continual outpouring of pamphlets and by the intense interest which the middle-classes were taking in politics. They were also troubled by the frequent meetings of societies of students and professors (which their police duly reported) to discuss politics ; and by the persistent demand for the constitutions and parliaments, which recalled to mind the French Estates-General of 1789. So the monarchs held a conference at the little Bohemian watering-place, Carlsbad, in 1819, and declared all students' associations to be suppressed, and established a standing commission at Mayence to seek out and punish political offenders. The clock of political progress was stopped. It was arranged that no more constitutions would be granted. There were only two at this time in any German State, namely, in Bavaria and Baden.

The Carlsbad Decrees seem to have succeeded in their object. Political fermentation moderated itself. The more active-minded among the population found a vent for their energies either in the civil service of Prussia, the most enterprising of the German States ; or in philosophy, which Hegel (1770-1831) had immensely popularized after the death of Kant ; or in history, which under the inspiration of Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) began to devote itself more and more to the investigation of German national life and institutions. By the year 1830 Germany had recovered from the economic exhaustion caused by Napoleon's Continental System and wars. Her young men were



CABINET D'UN PEINTRE

German home life at the end of the eighteenth century

From an engraving by D. Chodowiecki

beginning again to travel. Lieutenant von Moltke in 1835 went to Turkey, took service under Mahmoud II, and made journeys in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. In 1827 Ranke was in Italy, making researches for his historical works.

In October 1818, the year before the Carlsbad meeting, a conference, held according to the Quadruple Alliance of 1815 rather than the Holy Alliance, met at Aix-la-Chapelle to 'wind up' the affairs of the Second Peace of Paris. This did not take long. France had been allowed five years in which to pay the war-indemnity of 700,000,000 francs. Within the first three years she had duly met all the claims, and now at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle she offered to pay off the whole remaining sum. The offer was accepted by the Allies, with the necessary consequence that the Allies' Army of Occupation was withdrawn from French territory. Some people feared that this withdrawal of a guarantee for French quiescence might result in France's making an assault upon the territorial conditions imposed on her in 1815. But no such thing happened. France, having been admitted to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, was recognized as a member of the European Concert; thus she resumed normal conditions with all the other Powers.

The following year, 1819, was marked by the Carlsbad Conference in which only Austria, Prussia, and Russia with the minor German States took part. In the autumn of the next year (1820) a European Congress was again convoked, and met at Troppau, a considerable town, the capital of that portion of Silesia which still remained to Austria after the wars of Frederick the Great.

The Congress of Troppau had to consider a situation of the same kind (but in a more exaggerated form) as that with which the Carlsbad Conference had just dealt. In Italy and in Spain intellectual and political fermentation had burst forth in rebellion and revolution.

The Italians had never forgotten that they had once been united (and that only a few years before) within the Napoleonic Empire. Under the Napoleonic régime, schools and learned societies had been founded. Literature and art flourished. A remarkable number of poets had arisen; their theme was

generally Ancient Rome, strong, united, filled only with the vestiges of *past* glory. Such a poet was Giacomo Leopardi, a rare genius, whose brief life ended in 1837 at the age of thirty-nine. Leopardi was a hunchback, frail and delicate, but with a great soul and steeped in the Greek and Latin classics. His ode *All' Italia* is full of the memories of ancient Italy, its mighty ruins, its herces. Leopardi's poetry is pessimistic. More helpful and stirring was the work of Count Alessandro Manzoni, whose fine historical novel of the seventeenth century, *I Promessi Sposi* (1827), has gained him the name of the 'Sir Walter Scott of Italy'.

In Sicily, during the great war, a British General, Lord William Bentinck (1774-1839)—afterwards a famous Governor-General of India—had practically administered the country on Whig principles. In Spain, fighting for freedom against Napoleon, a liberal Constitution had been adopted by the Cortes in 1812; but Ferdinand VII, when firmly established on the Spanish throne at the end of the war, had simply suspended this Constitution. Now, in 1819 and 1820 there had arisen a tremendous agitation, both in Spain and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, for the 'Constitution of 1812'. The feeble kings, both called Ferdinand, both Bourbons, were terrorized into making concessions: but something like a revolution was required to bring this about. The Powers of Europe were alert to all signs of revolution: this sort of fire must not be allowed to spread. The Congress of Troppau met and issued its now celebrated circular on the 8th December 1820.

The Powers have exercised an undeniable right in concerting together upon means of safety against those States in which the overthrow of a Government caused by revolution could only be considered as a dangerous example which could only result in a hostile attitude towards constitutional and legitimate Governments. The exercise of this right became still more urgent, when those who had placed themselves in that position sought to communicate to neighbouring States the misfortune into which they themselves had plunged, and to propagate revolution and confusion around them.

The British representative at the Congress did not sign this circular, as non-intervention in the domestic affairs was a part of the Government's policy. But the other Powers authorized

Austria to send an armed force into Sicily (and also into Piedmont, where similar disturbances were going on) ; this force soon quelled the revolution.

The Spanish Revolution offered a more difficult problem. Not much harm to international relations could come from Austria acting with the strong hand in Italy, because she was already (through the possession of Lombardy, and the control of the Austrian Grand Duke of Tuscany) mistress in that peninsula. But if either Russia or France were to send an army into the Iberian Peninsula to suppress the Spanish Revolution (and both Powers were ready to do so), the international affairs of Europe would be gravely imperilled. Great Britain would not look on with indifference if Spain became a dependency either of the Tsar or the King of France. In 1822 a congress met at Verona, the splendid old Roman city on the Adige. Alexander I, Metternich, Frederick William III of Prussia were present as plenipotentiaries, with the Duke of Wellington, not as a plenipotentiary, but only as an 'observer' for the British Government. France proposed to send an army into Spain, and, with the disapproval of Great Britain, did so. The Spanish Revolution was suppressed. Ferdinand VII was restored to Madrid. Then the French Government which was being continually pressed by the British Foreign Secretary, George Canning, withdrew its forces. Spain had peace for the next ten years ; but it had to pay very dearly in the future for losing its reasonably liberal Constitution in 1823.

When the Congress of Verona was sitting another rebellion was in progress, a rebellion to which the principles of the Congress could not be applied. The Greeks, like the Germans, had been having a renaissance of classical studies, stimulated by the studies of the patriot-scholar, Koraes. In 1821 they rose in rebellion against their Turkish sovereign. The Congress Powers as a rule objected to all assaults upon established government ; but with regard to the Greek Revolt the Russian Government was distinctly favourable, for religious reasons and owing to hostility towards Turkey. The British Government too, although neutral and non-interventionist, could not help sympathizing when the Hellenes, whom every British statesman's education

had taught him to admire, rose to throw off the Turkish yoke. Byron, who was living a passionate, unhappy life at the time of the Vienna Congress in Pisa and Genoa, found in the Greek Revolt a cause to throw his heart and soul into. He gave instructions to his banker in England to send all money that could possibly be obtained ; he hired and equipped a ship, and sent pay for Greek soldiers. On the 24th July 1823 he wrote from Leghorn to Goethe : ' I am returning to Greece to see if I can be of any little use there.' In Greece he wrote :

The dead have been awakened—shall I sleep ?
 The World 's at war with tyrants—shall I crouch ?
 The harvest 's ripe—and shall I pause to reap ?
 I slumber not ; the thorn is in my couch.
 Each day a trumpet soundeth in mine ear,
 Its echo in my heart.

Byron died of fever at Missolonghi on the 19th April 1824. He was only thirty-six years old.

The Greek War was a very long drawn-out affair, and it was the occasion of lamentable massacres and ill treatment of the inhabitants on both sides. Even the British Government found that it could not keep clear of the struggle. An attempt at armed mediation, in which the British, French, and Russian squadrons took part, only produced a naval battle and the destruction of the Turco-Egyptian Fleet at Navarino (October 1827). It required three campaigns by the Russian Army under Marshal Diebitsch in Bulgaria to induce Turkey to acknowledge the independence of the Greeks (Treaty of Adrianople, 1829). Meanwhile, since 1827, a Conference of Ambassadors of England, France, and Russia was in regular session in London ; and on the 7th May 1832 it concluded a treaty with Turkey, reaffirming the independence of Greece, extending its frontier, and seating Prince Otto of Bavaria upon the throne as King of the Hellenes. Austria and Prussia took no part in the work of the Conference of Ambassadors.

One new kingdom followed another. After Greece came Belgium. The union of Holland and Belgium by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 had not been a success. The Belgians and Dutch differed in race and religion ; and although William I,

an enlightened monarch, did a good deal for Belgium (for instance, he created the University of Ghent in 1816), yet there were many occasions of friction.

In July 1830 a bloodless revolution occurred in France. Charles X, who had succeeded his brother Louis XVIII in 1824, was put off the throne. The other Powers of Europe were much perturbed at first, but were soon reassured by seeing that the revolution was purely political. It resulted in no attacks on the structure of society, but was followed by the conservative *bourgeois* monarchy of Louis-Philippe.

There was, however, one very disconcerting, indirect result of the Paris Revolution of July. It reverberated in Belgium, and struck the chord of revolt there. The Belgians, like the Italians and Germans, had been creating, or recreating, a national literature. A journal called *L'Éclaireur du Limbourg* was begun in 1827 to express the sentiment of nationality. A young Belgian poet, Theodore Weustenraad, gained great fame locally for his patriotic verses, although few are remembered now.¹ Belgium was fortunate too to find a fine diplomatist among some of its young intellectuals, Silvain van de Weyer. Yet it required over eight years of effort on the part of the Concert Powers before Holland could be induced to acquiesce in the independence of Belgium. At last, on the 19th April 1839, the now celebrated Treaty of London was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, France, and Holland, for defining the boundaries of the new State, recognizing the kingship of the chosen monarch Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality.

After the settlement of the Belgian question, which occurred during Palmerston's almost uninterrupted tenure of the Foreign Office from 1831 to 1842, there was a crisis in the Levant. This crisis failed, just by a hairbreadth, to precipitate a European war. It concerned the career of Mehemet Ali and the decline of the Turkish Empire.

Mehemet Ali is, like Lord Cromer² (whose methods were very

¹ See *Theodore Weustenraad*, by F. Severin (Brussels, 1914).

² Cromer died in 1917. He was British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt from 1883 to 1907.

different) one of the makers of Modern Egypt. Neither statesman was a native of Egypt. Mehemet was an Albanian in the tobacco business at Kavalla towards the end of the eighteenth century. Joining the Turkish Army in the time of the French Revolutionary wars, he rose to be a colonel, and, later, to be Governor of Egypt. When hard-pressed in the Greek War of Independence, the Sultan Mahmoud II had called Mehemet Ali to his aid. Mehemet had sent his eldest son, Ibrahim, with the Egyptian Army and Navy. Ibrahim was a fine general. The Greeks were faring very badly at his hands until the Anglo-Russo-French fleet sank the Egyptian ships at Navarino (1827), and the French General Maison expelled the Egyptian Army from the Peloponnese.

When the Greek War was over, Mehemet Ali and the Sultan quarrelled. The Egyptian Army under Ibrahim advanced from Syria and defeated the Turkish Army at Konia in Asia Minor on the 21st December 1832. Ibrahim would have gone farther and taken Constantinople, if the Tsar Nicholas I of Russia had not sent a fleet and an army to the Bosphorus. The result of the Tsar's intervention was the signing of a Russo-Turkish agreement, known as the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 8th July 1833, guaranteeing that whenever Russia was at war the Turks would close the Straits of the Dardanelles to any other Power. On her side, Russia undertook to assist the Turks in any of their wars. In effect, Turkey became a protectorate of Russia, and the Dardanelles became a Russian fortress.

By this time Ibrahim and his army had gone back to Syria, which the Sultan had ceded to Egypt. Egypt, although nominally a 'pashalik' of Turkey, was really independent. In 1839 trouble arose again between the Pasha and the Sultan, and again the Egyptian and Turkish Armies met, this time on the north-western border of Mesopotamia, at Nisib (21 June 1839). Moltke was present at this battle on the Turkish side. Ibrahim gained a great victory, and would have advanced towards Constantinople, but once more intervention took place, this time by all five Powers together—Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. The Russian Government which, under the Treaty of

Unkiar-Skelessi, could have exercised the exclusive right of protecting Turkey, prudently waived its claim, and thus avoided war with England (1840).

England and Russia were thus in agreement; and Austria and Prussia, still inflamed by the traditions of the Holy Alliance of 1815-22, were ready to agree with Russia also. But France under Louis-Philippe had a policy of her own. She wished to prevent Mehemet Ali from taking Constantinople, but she also wished to protect Mehemet from loss of territory. Great Britain and Russia, on the other hand, thought that the declining power of Turkey should be restored, and that, consequently, Syria should be detached from Egypt and given back to the Turks. Over this difference, feeling ran extremely high, and the French Government seemed on the point of making war upon England and Prussia (although Russia, not Prussia, had been foremost in the dispute). Against this threat Prussian and indeed German national feeling arose clear and brilliant. A Bavarian, Max Schneckenburger, wrote the song, *Die Wacht am Rhein*. The recruiting offices became full. King Louis-Philippe, however, knew that a European war was a bad thing, and he risked his position in France rather than provoke it. Palmerston, too, behaved with unusual sympathy, and the British and French Foreign Offices managed to make a suitable agreement, which the other three Powers also signed. This was the 'Convention of the Straits', or Treaty of London, 13th July 1841. It enacted what was known as the 'ancient rule' that during times of peace no warships, other than Turkish, should use the Dardanelles or Bosphorus. This rule, 'the closure of the Straits', was a principle of International Law until 1922.

Supplementary Dates.

XVI

1812	Rudolf Wyss's <i>Swiss Family Robinson</i>	1821	Death of Joseph de Maistre
1815	The Holy Alliance	1825	Death of Jean Paul Richter
	The Quadruple Alliance	1827	Manzoni's <i>I Promessi Sposi</i>
1837	Benjamin Constant's <i>Adolphe</i>	1837	Death of Leopardi
1850	Weber's <i>Freihutz</i> .	1850	Montalembert's <i>Les Mémoires d'Occident</i> .

XVII

THE UNITED STATES

IN the Napoleonic Wars a new Power began an influence which has since been continuous in the affairs of Europe. This was the United States of America.

The United States came into existence in the rebellion of the Thirteen Colonies against England in 1775. Its independence was recognized by Treaty with France in 1778 and by Treaty with Great Britain in 1783 (Peace of Versailles). After the War of Independence was over the Union was a very feeble thing. Each of the Thirteen States retained full sovereignty within its own borders. Congress, the representative body of the Union, was only a voluntary body of delegates from the Thirteen States.

In 1787, on the proposal of the State of Virginia, Congress summoned a special convention of delegates at Philadelphia to consider how the commercial relations of the States should be adjusted. This convention was presided over by George Washington. Besides him its chief members were Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Edward Jennings Randolph, and Gouverneur Morris.

After about four months of discussion and thorough consideration the convention, going far beyond the idea of forming a commercial system, produced a draft for a complete constitution (17 September 1787). This draft was passed through Congress and was then accepted by a majority of nine States. It was subsequently accepted by the necessary five States.

The Constitution of the United States was modelled, with certain striking differences, upon the British Constitution. Its outstanding characteristic is that it is *written* and *rigid*; it is a precise document and can only be changed or amended by a special and lengthy process. In the first fifty years of its existence the Constitution was amended only twelve times. From 1805 to 1864 (inclusive) it was not amended at all. The total number of amendments made down to the present date are nineteen.

The Constitution of the United States has the merit of being a short document, of seven Articles, comprising twenty-four sections. They are easily understood, easily grasped as a whole. Article I, Section I, grants all legislative power to a Congress consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. Sections II to IX regulate the duties of these two Chambers ; the Senate represents the individual States, the House of Representatives represents the whole people. Section X forbids any State to make treaties or to coin money, to pass a law impairing any contract, to grant titles of nobility or to impose customs duties.

Article II, Sections I to IV, regulates the election (every four years) and the duties of President. Article III, Sections I to III, establishes the Supreme Court to decide ' all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under its authority '.

Article IV defines the rights of the individual States. Every State is guaranteed a republican form of government. The remaining Articles deal with amendments, debts, and the ratification of the Constitution.¹

Thus a raw political community of two million people was able in 1787 to produce a Constitution which has proved to be the most stable of modern polities. The Union was fortunate in its first President. George Washington, having led the Colonies through the dark days of the war, had retired to his estates in Virginia when he was sent to Philadelphia as a delegate in the Constituent Convention of 1787. When the Constitution was made he would again gladly have retired, but the choice of the whole people was clear. He was elected first President. An aristocrat in the best sense of the word, he was the unique man for leading a new democratic community. He was indeed sometimes criticized for being too aristocratic. He drove to Congress in a cream-coloured coach drawn by six white horses. At public receptions he would stand with his hands behind his

¹ For a text of the Constitution see *Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution, 1784-8, and the formation of the Federal Constitution*, by S. E. Morison (1923), pp. 292 ff.



A North-End View of the Great Town of Boston

Printed by S. Kneass, at the Sign of the Tree, in the Town of Boston, 1780. The Author is a Gentleman of the Name of S. Kneass, who has been many Years a Resident in this Town, and has had the Opportunity of observing the Situation of the Town from the North-End, and has been enabled to collect many curious and interesting Facts, which he has here published for the Use of the Public.

Boston in the eighteenth century

back, and merely bow to visitors. Yet nobody ever denied that he was a great and judiciously minded man. He served two terms as President, 1789-93 and 1793-7, and died in 1799 at Mount Vernon, at the age of sixty-seven. His home, Mount Vernon, on the Potomac in Virginia, is preserved as a national memorial, the house furnished, the gardens tended, just as he left them.

The second President of the United States, from 1797 to 1801, was John Adams, a New Englander, whose family has produced statesmen, all of the same dignified, sane, public-spirited type, throughout the nineteenth century. Under the guidance of President Adams the United States, amid many difficulties caused by the younger and more 'heady' politicians, remained neutral in the French Revolutionary Wars. His successor from 1801 to 1809 was Thomas Jefferson, one of the great Virginians. Jefferson had a stroke of luck in finding out that Napoleon was willing to sell Louisiana. The negotiations were very difficult, and were carried out for the Americans by Livingston and Monroe, for France by Talleyrand. The treaty of sale was concluded in Paris on the 30th April 1803, and Louisiana passed into American hands for between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 (sixty million francs). This was the end of Napoleon's scheme for a colonial empire. British sea-power had ruined the project.

The interest of the United States in the French War was prompted by more than sentimental attachment to the country which had helped the Americans in their own War of Independence. Although not a great naval Power (for a country of six million people never could be), the United States had a comparatively large sea-faring population along the New England coast, and its merchantmen sailed far and wide. The war between England and France greatly interfered with this maritime commerce. The restrictions of the French Directory on neutrals' trade were just as galling as the English. In 1798 Congress was on the point of declaring war, and a few engagements actually took place between American and French warships. President Adams, however, managed to preserve neutrality, and after Bonaparte gained complete control of

French policy relations with the United States for a few years improved.

In the later stages of the Napoleonic Wars Franco-American relations again became very strained. The decrees of Berlin (1806) and Milan (1807), Napoleon's Continental System, pressed very hardly upon American shipping; so, however, did the British Orders in Council with regard to neutrals' trading with the Continent of Europe. Napoleon had a sensible Minister at Washing-



ton, General Sérurier. Sérurier's very interesting dispatches are preserved in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Office at Paris. They plainly show how near France was to war with the United States in 1811 and 1812. As a matter of fact both the French and British Governments withdrew the obnoxious commercial decrees so far as they affected American trade. But the notification of the British withdrawal arrived, unfortunately, just after Congress had in June 1912, at last, declared war.

The Anglo-American War of 1812-14 is an episode of which neither nation is proud. The only people who came really well out of it were the Canadians who, practically single-handed, withstood the American invasion of Canada and drove the invaders out

of the country. The decisive fights in this part of the war were at Queenstown Heights on the Niagara River (October 1812), Chateaugnay and Crysler's Farm in the St. Lawrence valley (October, November 1813), and Lundy's Lane near the Niagara Falls (July 1814). At sea the American ships did well, although they were unable to stop British commerce or to prevent the British Navy from maintaining its strict blockade of Europe. On land, outside Canada, the British could do nothing until the Peninsular War was over, when a force of Wellington's veterans were shipped to the Patuxent, marched to Washington, and burned the Capitol (25 August 1814). Next the expeditionary force failed in a surprise attack on Baltimore, and the Commander, Major-General Ross, was killed. After this the force proceeded by sea to New Orleans under Major-General Pakenham, it made an assault on the old French city, but was foiled by the able Southern soldier, Andrew Jackson. The fights around New Orleans lasted for a fortnight. The last battle, which cost the life of the British General Pakenham and 2,000 of his men, was fought on the 8th January 1815, just after the Anglo-American Commissioners had signed the Peace of Ghent (24 December 1814), but before the news arrived in America. The futility of the war is proved by the fact that the Treaty of Peace merely restored the *status quo ante bellum*, and that although the causes of grievance remained they have been adjusted from time to time since then without fighting.

From 1817 to 1825 the President was James Monroe who had been one of the commission negotiating the Louisiana purchase at Paris in 1803 and 1804. He was conversant with the conditions of Europe, and with him the United States began very forcibly to influence events there.

Monroe's first success was in arranging for the purchase of Florida from the Spaniards (1819), thus giving to the United States control of the territory to the east of the Mississippi, just as the purchase of Louisiana had given it control of the west side. But there were vast areas west of Louisiana and Ohio, stretching away to the Pacific, which were still outside American control.

Moreover, the colonies of Spain in Central and South America

were in revolt, and if Spain could not conquer those some other great power might. There was a possibility that either Britain or France might take some of the unoccupied territory on the Pacific coast of North America, or that France, having restored Ferdinand VII to Spain in 1823, might help him to regain Spanish America. Alexander I of Russia seems also to have had some idea of sending a fleet to act as an arm of the Holy Alliance to restore peace in South America.

The British Government was very anxious to prevent any extension of the Holy Alliance to America; and Canning, in a conference with the French Ambassador in London, the Duc de Polignac, in October 1823, induced France to desist from interference. Canning would have liked to act in concert with the Government of the United States, but President Monroe chose the bold and successful course of stating American policy, not as a temporary measure of alliance with any other Power, but as permanent enunciation of the United States' determination. The message which Monroe sent to Congress on the 2nd December 1823 intimated that any extension of the dominion of a European State in America would be resisted by war on the part of the United States. Thus the Great West was saved for the United States and Central and South America for the Latin Americans; and the European States System, with its perpetual crises and alarms, was kept away from the whole American continent except where European colonies already existed.

The Monroe message said :

In the Wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. . . . With the movements in this Hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. . . . We owe it therefore to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt, on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing Colonies or Dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and we shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose Independence we have, on great consideration,

and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any manner, their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.

The United States had recognized the independence of the rebel Spanish Colonies in 1822, and the British Government did the same in 1825. The last battle fought by old Spain against the independence of Latin America was at Ayacucho in November 1824.

Practically the closing public work of President Monroe (the last of the great Virginians of early American history) was to sign the bill of Congress putting a moderate tariff on to goods imported into America in 1824. Until this time the United States had permitted practically Free Trade. Free Trade at least suited the Southern States which had no manufactures of their own and consequently imported large quantities of goods. The controversy concerning tariffs, along with other things, strengthened the difference of feeling between North and South, between the 'Industrial' and the 'Planter' States. In the 'thirties and 'forties the question of slavery also became prominent, the North being, on the whole, in favour of abolition, the South in favour of maintaining negro slavery. Throughout these first fifty years of the nineteenth century something like a party-system was growing up, owing to these differences of opinion; the Southern men organized themselves for voting purposes as the party of Democrats; the Northerners tended to a loose organization of so-called Whigs. Later the Whigs became known as the Republican Party. The two parties were long divided over the question of abolition. When, after the Civil War, this question was settled there remained the old differences concerning tariffs and state rights. The Democrats were in favour, if not of Free Trade, at any rate of moderate tariffs; the Republicans were strong Protectionists. The Democrats tended to emphasize the sovereignty which each State actually possesses under the Constitution; the Republicans were more ready to increase in certain respects the powers of the Central Government.

When J. K. Polk, a Southerner (from Carolina), became President in 1845, the great westward movement of the United States had become a strong and steady, though still not very full, current. In 1835 a large province of Mexico called Texas had broken away from that state. Sparsely inhabited, undeveloped, and mismanaged, Texas soon became bankrupt and was unable to defend itself. At length President Polk induced Congress to accept the frequently made application of Texas for admission to the United States in 1845. This act produced a war with Mexico, in the course of which the United States drove the Mexicans not merely out of Texas but out of California (1846). Next year General Scott landed at Vera Cruz with 12,000 men, and after defeating the Mexican dictator, Santa Anna, peace was made by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 21st February 1848.

The United States annexed California and New Mexico. The Mexican Government assented to the annexation of Texas: the Rio Grande became the boundary with Mexico. President Polk thus carried the application of the 'Monroe Doctrine' one step farther than its creator had done. Not merely was the interference of European States to be prevented; but, to make the Doctrine impregnable, the whole North American Continent from the Isthmus to the Canadian border was to have the stars and stripes for its flag. The 'gold rush' of 1849 soon made California and the whole Pacific coast begin to fill up with a very hardy type of North American settler.

Supplementary Dates.

XVII

- 1791 Death of Franklin.
- 1798 Brockden Brown's *Wieland*.
- 1809 Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker History of New York*.
- 1815 Publication of Bryant's *Thanatopsis*.
- 1820 Washington Irving's *Sketch Book*.
- 1821 Fennimore Cooper's novel, *The Spy*.
- 1834 Bancroft's *History of U.S.A.*
- 1836 Emerson's lecture on *Nature*.
- 1837 Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*.
- 1840 Longfellow's *Hyperion*.
- 1841 Longfellow's *Ballads*.

XVIII

LATIN AMERICA

LATIN AMERICA is the central and southern area of the continent which was colonized by the Spaniards and Portuguese, that is, by members of the Romance or Latin races. It consists now of independent states.

Compared with the orderly development of the United States, the South American States have had a very troubled history since they gained their independence from Spain. But as long as they were under Spanish rule their condition was quiet, if not particularly prosperous. Brazil was the only Portuguese colony; its development was different from that of the Spanish areas.

The discoveries of Columbus in the year 1492 only extended to the islands of the Antilles. These were the first colonies of Spain. The natives died out in the face of western civilization and western diseases, and in the seventeenth century all manual work was done by imported African slaves.

The New World which Columbus had made known was explored by his successors, among whom Amerigo Vespucci was fortunate in giving his name to the whole continent (1502). Cabral, the Portuguese, had already (1500) discovered Brazil and begun the Portuguese Empire there. Disputes between Spain and Portugal had been avoided by the arbitration of Pope Alexander VI in 1493. He had assigned to Spain all unoccupied lands to the west of a line running north and south one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde islands. Portugal was to have the territories to the east of the line. By mutual consent of Spain and Portugal the line was shifted to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.

The era of the great *Conquistadores* opened with Diego Velasquez and Fernando Cortes. Velasquez was the great governor of Cuba and the other islands colonized from Spain. Cortes was a Spanish noble who had gone to the West Indies at the age



of nineteen, and had spent fourteen years there. In 1518, when Velasquez chose him to lead an expedition to Mexico, Cortes was alcalde or magistrate of Santiago de Cuba. Within a little over one year, after extraordinary perils and adventures, Mexico was conquered by Cortes and his five hundred and fifty Spaniards.

In the next two years the conquest had to be made good by further fighting on a gigantic scale, but the power of Cortes remained unshaken. He remained in Mexico until 1540, retired to Spain and died, a poor man, at Seville, in 1547.

After the conquest of Mexico came that of Peru. In 1533 Francisco Pizarro overthrew the Inca, the chief ruler of the tribes of Peru, a much milder people than the Aztecs. From Peru, Chile was colonized. In 1535 the Banda Orientale, now known as Uruguay and the Argentine, began to be settled with Spanish colonists.

The whole of Spanish America was under the Viceroy of Peru, who was always one of Spain's great nobles. The intentions of the Spanish rule were good; the laws guaranteed humane treatment for the natives. Nevertheless much misery was caused by the system of forced labour (the only method by which the natives could be induced to work). The laws might be good, but the agents of the law, the local officials as well as the ordinary Spanish settler, were often men of low character. The happiest part of South America was probably that part of Paraguay which in 1608 was given over to the Jesuits. There a paternal system of government gave the natives the peace and physical well-being which was all that they wanted.

Two things may be put to the credit of the Spaniards. One is that they made the whole of South America (except Brazil for which the Portuguese did the same thing) into a Christian country. The second is that they have gradually, through inter-marriage, absorbed large masses of the population, and through education are making the rest into a Spanish type. The Latin-Americans are, except for a few families, a mixed race, of which the type is distinctly Spanish, and in which the native element has been, or is being, raised to the level of the European.

Free trade was not allowed between Spain and her colonies.



Remains of an early civilization at Mitla, Mexico

Photograph by Mr. L. H. Dudley-Buxton

but all imports and exports had to be made through Seville, by way of its ports, San Lucar de Barrameda or Cadiz. The great Seville company which controlled the commercial operations was called the *Mesta*. Twice a year, in March and September, the merchant ships and their escorts assembled at San Lucar or Cadiz and sailed to Vera Cruz, if they were for Mexico, or to Portobello, if they were for continental South America. From Portobello goods were transhipped over the isthmus and taken to Lima; any portion required for the eastern coast had to be carried back over the Andes from Peru or Chile. This very cumbrous system prevailed until 1778 when Buenos Ayres was made a legal port. The fleet which had delivered its goods at Vera Cruz or Portobello thus collected the gold and silver ore which was awaiting it, and sailed back to Spain. In time of war the British or Dutch Navies always tried (often with success) waylaying this 'plate-fleet'; in time of peace any stragglers from it were nearly sure to be cut off by buccaneers. Spain's extraordinarily restrictive commercial system gave endless opportunities for smugglers and buccaneers, some of whom, like Henry Morgan in the years 1670-80, made considerable fortunes. The amazing exploits of these men is related in an eighteenth-century work, Captain Charles Johnson's *General History of Notorious Pyrates*, from which Robert Louis Stevenson got his account of Captain Teach in *The Master of Ballantrae*.

The movement for independence in the Spanish Colonies came about by reaction from events in North America and in Europe. When the New England Colonies revolted against Great Britain, the French Government encouraged and supported them; in course of time Spain joined in the struggle too (1779). Although the Spanish Government mainly devoted its efforts to the siege of Gibraltar, and did not, like the French, send troops to North America, it could not prevent the pernicious example of revolt and republicanism (which it was encouraging) from influencing its own colonies. Towards the end of the eighteenth century this example was reinforced by the spectacle of the French Revolution. When the nineteenth century opened Spain was drawn into war with England, on the French side. At



'The amazing exploits of these men'

Blackbeard the Pirate. From an illustration in Johnson's 'History of the Pyrates'

the battle of Trafalgar, 21st October 1805, the Spanish fleet was destroyed, and thus a link with the colonies was broken.

Nevertheless it appears that there was no particular desire in the colonies to break away from Spain. When, in 1806, a small British force under General Beresford occupied Buenos Ayres it was attacked by the inhabitants and forced to surrender. Next year General Whitelocke occupied Montevideo; but when he crossed the River Plate and attempted to capture Buenos Ayres the British again received a defeat; and Montevideo had to be evacuated also. The colonies absolutely refused to accept freedom at the hands of the British Government.

What really brought about the breach between the Spanish Colonies and the Mother Country was the action of Napoleon in 1808, when he dethroned Charles IV and made his own brother, Joseph, King of Spain. The colonists, like the mass of the people in Spain, refused to accept Joseph. There were still representatives of the old Spanish régime in South America, the governors and officials appointed by Charles IV. But their power was naturally weakened by the events in Spain, so that the mass of the colonists had less respect for them, while opportunity was given to the native minority who wished for independence.

In 1809 and 1810 rebellions broke out in the Spanish colonies on both sides of the Cordilleras. These movements were not of any strength until Simon Bolivar established his personal ascendancy in Venezuela, and San Martin in Peru. Both these men were born Americanos, but San Martin had been for years in Spain and had distinguished himself in the Peninsular War, while Bolivar had studied law at Madrid and had visited Paris in the time of the French Revolution. In 1810 he paid a visit to London, in order to obtain assistance for the cause of independence from the British Government. Great Britain, however, remained neutral. When the Napoleonic Wars were over and Ferdinand VII was restored to Spain the royal government was able to send reinforcements to its representatives in South America.

Although the British Government gave no help, many volunteers came and formed a British Legion in Bolivar's army. It was with their help that his American army gained the terrible

fight known as the Bridge of Boyaca in 1819, and so won Colombia for the revolution. Bolivar had already made himself supreme in Venezuela.

Meanwhile San Martin had returned from Spain to his native place in Buenos Ayres. A disinterested, moderate, aristocratic man, he in many ways resembled George Washington. The restored Government of Ferdinand VII in Spain was absolutist, while San Martin was a firm believer in constitutional governments. To attain this, he led the revolutionary Argentines and established the independence of that colony by his victory against the royalists at Chacabuco (1817). From the Argentine he went to Chile and helped to free that province. But when offered the presidency of Chile, San Martin declined, and secured the election of Bernardo O'Higgins, the chief Chilian-born leader.

San Martin next went up to Peru where he co-operated with Admiral Cochrane, the retired British naval officer who had already helped to free Chile. From Peru he got into touch with Bolivar and put forward his scheme for the union of South America into a Constitutional Monarchy, to be ruled by a younger prince of the Royal Spanish House. The scheme, however, was not accepted. In 1822 San Martin resigned his offices and retired for the rest of his life to Europe. He died at Boulogne in 1850.

There were still remnants of the Royal Spanish garrisons in South America, and it required one more battle before the Spanish flag was hauled down throughout the whole continent. The last battle was fought by General Sucre, one of Bolivar's lieutenants, at Ayacucho, in Peru, in 1824. Fourteen Spanish generals are said to have surrendered. Sucre used his victory with moderation, so that the war ended without any of the deeds of treachery and murder which had marred its course.

The condition of affairs was everywhere in some disorder, except in Brazil where a branch of the Royal House of Braganza had been established since the occupation of Portugal by the French in 1807. The new South American republics, torn by evil dissensions as they were, naturally attracted the attention of the Holy Alliance in Europe, and might have had to meet a

punitive expedition from that quarter in 1823 or 1824; but the diplomacy of George Canning and the famous message of President Monroe (see p. 615) prevented such action. Although Spain did not formally recognize the independence of her former American colonies until 1840, the United States, Great Britain, and France had long since done so, and South American commerce was becoming an important element in Europe's economic life.

Supplementary Dates.

XVIII

- 1533 Francisco overthrows the Inca of Peru.
Beginning of colonization of the Banda Orientale.
- 1547 Death of Cortes.
- 1608 Paraguay given over to the Jesuits.
- 1808 Napoleon dethrones Charles IV of Spain and creates his brother
Joseph King of Spain.
- 1820 Brazilian Revolution. Liberal Constitution.
- 1840 Spain recognizes the Independence of the American Colonies.

XIX

EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

§ I. *The Intellectual Outlook*

THE period from 1830 to 1860 in Europe, although it cannot be called peaceful, was nevertheless a fine time in many respects. There were giants in those days : great novelists like Dickens and Thackeray in England, Victor Hugo, Balzac, and Dumas in France ; musicians like Verdi or Mendelssohn ; artists like Turner and Corot ; thinkers like J. S. Mill and Comte. It was a chivalrous age, the age of Mazzini, of Garibaldi, of Napoleon III (an idealist, who came to grief) ; and it was a religious age, when the Church of Rome in France rose to a new fervour under the inspiration of Montalembert, while the Church of England found revived ideals in the Oxford Movement. There were wars in Belgium, in Spain and Portugal, in Italy, in Austria, in Turkey, and in India. But all the wars were ' localized ' ; they had little effect outside the area in which they were fought. Even the revolutions of 1848 made no difference to the course of European life. People were full of hope ; to be liberally minded was the mark of an educated man, no matter to what party he belonged. Nationality was the prevailing sentiment, and it was still in the stage of a purely unselfish enthusiasm, and was directed by common sense. All patriots believed in preserving the social order. The passions that make for anarchy and universal war scarcely ever made their appearance in public life.

Balzac and Hugo were probably the most abounding geniuses of the nineteenth century, and they each have left great literary pictures of their age.

Honoré de Balzac was a native of Tours, which he calls the least intellectual of French provincial cities, and he spent most of the first twenty years of his life there. In 1819 he left Tours

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for Paris, to seek his livelihood as an author. For ten years he had no success play-writing, until he found his line as a novelist. Then followed thirty years of amazingly fertile work. Absolutely devoted to authorship, without money, indeed burdened with debt, Balzac never turned aside from his art, writing carefully, seriously, laboriously, constructing a picture of contemporary life and manner, on the grand scale. His novels, taken together, form what he called the *Comédie humaine*; they describe life in the provinces, in Paris, the life of the lawyer, the doctor, the soldier, the man of business, the priest, the farmer. In twenty years Balzac wrote eighty-five novels, and each was written carefully, fastidiously, with minute attention to style. The characters are all alive: the *Comédie humaine* is a world of breathing human beings, with their souls laid bare; the reader moves in the world of Restoration France, thrills with the political movements of the time, feels all the emotions and excitements of French society, hears the people speaking. The great books, *Eugénie Grandet*, *Père Goriot*, *Les Parents pauvres* are well known; a little work, *Le Curé de Tours*, gives French provincial life to perfection; another, *Le Peau de Chagrin*, displays, in a magnificent panorama, the many-sided society of Restoration Paris. Balzac was only fifty-one when he died in 1850.

The other most abounding genius of the century had a longer life. Victor Hugo was born in 1802, the son of one of Napoleon's generals. He was educated at Madrid during the French occupation (1812), and later at the great *École polytechnique* of Paris, which at that time trained many youths destined for eminence, including Dufour, the famous Swiss soldier and engineer. When fourteen years old Hugo wrote a tragedy. At the age of twenty-one he published *Han d'Islande*, and at once sprang into fame. *Bug-Jargal* followed next year (1824); then came plays—*Cromwell*, *Hernani*, *Marion Delorme*, *Lucrèce Borgia*, *Le Roi s'amuse*—and poetry, under the titles of *Chants du Crépuscule* and *Les Feuilles d'automne*. In 1852 he withdrew to Jersey, being out of sympathy with the *coup d'état* by which Louis-Napoleon made himself emperor. From Jersey he issued *Les*

Châtiments, poems of terrible satire against the third Napoleon (1853). In 1856 he wrote his simplest poems, *Les Contemplations*, and the gorgeously imaginative *Légende des Siècles* (1859). He had also continued, intermittently, producing novels: and in 1862 the great romance, *Les Misérables*, appeared, published simultaneously in ten languages.

Les Misérables is the 'panoramic romance' of life in the first half of the nineteenth century. In itself it is almost the Human Comedy (with much of tragedy) that Balzac aimed at. The grand figures are the bishop and the discharged convict, with multitudes of lesser but pretentious and vibrant characters that fill the episodes and animate the pages. It is long, full of digressions, historical descriptions, observations; it is a book to read gradually, not to take too seriously in every page (for Hugo had little sense of proportion or humour); but decidedly it is one of the grand books of the world and an epitome of humanity.

After the fall of the Second French Empire on the 4th September 1871, Hugo returned to France and spent the rest of his life in Paris, wielding a literary ascendancy there which nobody challenged. *L'Année terrible* describes the Franco-Prussian war-time, and the novel *Quatre-vingt-treize* goes back to the French Revolution and depicts it with all the wealth of imagination and knowledge which Hugo so overwhelmingly possessed. He died in 1885, the foremost man of letters in France and in the world at that time, and was given a public funeral, greater in its universal manifestations of interest, its thronged attendance, than is accorded to kings and emperors.

Another Frenchman through whom the nature of things was speaking in the mid-nineteenth century was Charles Forbes René, Comte de Montalembert. He was the son of a French *émigré* and an English mother, and was born in London in 1810. After the Bourbon Restoration his family returned to France, and the young Montalembert was put to school at the Collège Ste-Barbe in Paris. He never went to a university, but travelled for a time before he definitely settled in Paris, in 1830. After this he helped to write *L'Avenir*, the Catholic newspaper in which he collaborated with the Abbés Lamennais and Lacordaire. All

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three, the layman and the two priests, were earnest, devout Roman Catholics, loyal to the Pope, and to all constituted authority, but open to the new national and democratic movements, and zealous for freedom. Their ideas were too modern for Pope Gregory XVI, and *L'Avenir* was condemned by the Vatican.

The layman found it more easy than the priests to make his conscience submit to the dictates of the Holy See. Lamennais died in 1854, a disappointed man, unable to bring himself to make his peace with the Church. Lacordaire became first a popular preacher somewhat of the free-lance kind, but later a Dominican monk. Montalembert remained an eloquent exponent of orthodox but enlightened Roman Catholicism. His political books, letters, and speeches gave him fame as a statesman; and his great work, *The Monks of the West (Les Moines d'Occident)*, brought home to the general public as well as to scholars the medieval glories of the Catholic Church. He lived until 1870, the leader of the 'Ultramontanes' in France, and the most liberal and modern of them. Before he died he accepted the dogma of Papal Infallibility which was proclaimed at the Vatican Council next year. No historian of the nineteenth century can afford to disregard the profound influence of Montalembert and the French Catholic Revival.

§ 2. *The Iberian Peninsula*

The most sorely tried portion of Europe, outside Turkey in Europe, was probably the Iberian Peninsula. Here civil war went on for fifteen years, part of the time in Portugal, and for the last seven or eight years in Spain. Both civil wars had exactly the same sort of cause: they were both dynastic struggles and had nothing to do with republicanism.

From 1807 to 1821 the Portuguese Royal Family lived in Brazil. Portugal itself was under a Regency which employed a number of British officers. In 1820 these officers were compelled to leave by a small revolution, and a more liberal form of constitution was introduced. John VI was somewhat peremptorily invited to return to Portugal. This he did, leaving his

elder son, Pedro, as Regent of Brazil (1821). In 1822 the Brazilians besought Pedro to declare himself Emperor of Brazil, a step which after much searching of heart he consented to take (October 1822). With the help of Admiral Cochrane and other British officers recruited into the Brazilian service, the Portuguese garrisons were expelled. Pedro I was an enlightened ruler and under him and his successor, Pedro II, who reigned from 1822 to 1889, Brazil was well governed.

At home, in Portugal, John VI reigned, and died in 1826. Pedro of Brazil deciding to stand by his adopted country, renounced his rights to Portugal, and sent his daughter Maria to reign at Lisbon in his stead. As Maria was only a child, Dom Miguel, her uncle (Pedro's younger brother) became regent for her. But he soon changed from being regent to rival, and declared himself king. A war ensued in which real heroism and devotion to their cause was shown on both sides. The Powers of Europe stood aloof from the struggle, although volunteers were permitted to enlist. Among others Captain Charles Napier took service under Queen Maria, and gained the battle of Cape St. Vincent in 1833 against the Miguelite fleet. In 1834 Dom Miguel, by the Convention of Evora, consented to leave the country. He was given a pension by the Government of Queen Maria, but, refusing to take it, he retired to Italy. He died in 1866 at the Château of Bronnbach in Baden.

In 1836 Queen Maria married Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and founded a dynasty which reigned in Portugal until the revolution of 1910. Throughout this period the condition of the country was never prosperous. The Miguelite War had discovered a good deal of the ancient spirit of Portugal. Supporters of Queen Maria, like the Duke of Saldanha and the Duke of Terceira, showed ability, courage, and public spirit. But the war left the country thoroughly exhausted and the Government a prey to faction. Civil tumults broke out again in 1847, and this time a small British expedition actually intervened to keep the peace. The disease of faction continued to poison Portuguese political life. Public spirit decayed and the lack of morale of the people, once so heroic, made them of no account at all in the affairs of Europe.

Spain was in no better plight than Portugal, except that owing to its mountainous character and the rigour of the climate, the population never became so morally exhausted as the Portuguese : they stood the strain of prolonged civil wars and faction-fights better.

In 1833 Ferdinand VII died, having secured the legal recognition of his eldest daughter, Isabella, as his heir. This almost at once caused a civil war, for the late King's brother, Don Carlos, claimed the throne and found many supporters, especially in the Basque region. Louis-Philippe of France seemed ready to intervene, but Great Britain stood for non-intervention ; and as France and Great Britain were allies, they agreed to let the struggle in Spain be fought out by itself. However, the British Government suspended the Foreign Enlistment Act and allowed Isabella's Government to recruit an English Legion for service in Spain. The Legion, commanded by Colonel de Lacy Evans, fought well for about two years (1835-7). The war, however, dragged on until 1839 when it was ended by the Convention of Vergara. The reasons why it had taken so long were, firstly that Spain is divided by its mountains into regions, and that each region has strong local feeling : when once a region had taken a side in the struggle, to support that side became a permanent element in the local patriotism. The second reason was that Don Carlos was a conservative and ' clerical ' man, while Isabella's supporters were mostly liberals or *progresistas*. Therefore the priests nearly all supported Don Carlos, and a religious element was imported into the struggle. On the other hand the British Government, as was its habit in every continental dispute, favoured the side of Constitutional Government, that is, the side of Queen Isabella. In the end the British diplomacy, when Lord Clarendon was Minister at Madrid, greatly contributed to the ending of the civil war in 1839.

When Don Carlos left Spain, peace came upon the country. Isabella's best general, Espartero, having devoted his arms to end the war, now helped to administer the peace. In 1843, however, he was displaced by General Narvaez, and political factions began to disturb the current of affairs again.

In 1846 Queen Isabella married her cousin, Don Francisco de Cadiz, on the same day (8th October) as her sister, Donna Louisa married Louis-Philippe's son, the Duc de Montpensier. It was generally believed that Don Francisco and Queen Isabella could not have children, and that consequently the Duc de Montpensier and Donna Louisa would succeed to the throne. Louis-Philippe undoubtedly hoped and designed that this would happen. When the double marriages took place the British Government (Lord Palmerston being Foreign Secretary) protested that this was a violation of the Treaties of Utrecht, which stipulated that



Isabella II



Don Carlos

the Crowns of France and Spain should never be joined together. Louis-Philippe disregarded the protest, and the incident, which was the talk of all Europe at the time, passed away and was forgotten, because a son (Alfonso XII) was born to Queen Isabella in 1857. But the incident had the effect of breaking the *entente* between France and Great Britain, and also, for a time, of diminishing the interest of the British Government in Spanish affairs. For the rest of Isabella's reign, Spain had peace, but the prestige of the monarchy declined and a republican party began to make its presence felt in politics.

§ 3. *The Zollverein*

In the fifty years after the Congress of Vienna the political and economic condition of Germany greatly improved. The Zollverein was one of the chief means of bringing this about.

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The 'German Committee' of the Congress of Vienna had constructed a 'Germanic Confederation' in which Austria was President and in which a Diet of delegates from all the thirty-eight States formed a sort of legislative body. The Confederation was a very loose union, each State in it retaining full rights of sovereignty. It was, however, fairly satisfactory. Germany was sufficiently united to prevent any foreign Power from interfering with it. Internally, Austria, Prussia, and the medium-sized States formed a fair balance of power, so that none should fall under the domination of another. For commercial purposes the States could and did join together, so that they had all the economic advantages of a large empire. It is a great pity that the German States ever allowed themselves to be robbed of the old, free Federal Constitution of 1815, and to be brought, instead, under the iron-bound union of the Prussian-made empire of 1871.

The only serious disadvantage of the old Confederation was that it left every one of the thirty-eight States with their separate customs-tariffs which they rigidly enforced against each other. A way out of this difficulty, however, was gradually made by the formation of a Customs-Union or *Zollverein*. This Customs-Union was made by a number of separate treaties which the various States from time to time negotiated with each other, and which provided for Free Trade inside Germany.

The first step towards internal Free Trade was taken in 1816 by the Prussian Government when it abolished all tariffs between its various provinces. The next step was to induce other States which had pieces of territory enclosed (*enclaves*) within Prussian territory to come into line with the Prussian tariff-system. This the Prussian Government did by charging import dues on all goods passing by way of Prussian territory into another State's *enclave*. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, finding that the trade of its *enclaves* was suffering, made in 1819 a treaty for the division of these duties between the two States. But the great step in the formation of the *Zollverein* came in 1828 when Prussia Darmstadt, one of the medium-sized States, joined the Prussian Customs-Union. After this, gradually, nearly all the other

German States, except Austria (which was always refused admittance), joined the Zollverein, until in 1854 it was practically complete. It continued as long as the German Empire lasted.

By the terms of the various treaties which formed the Zollverein, the German States agreed to have free trade with each other. Thus for economic purposes they were a unit, practically as if they formed one State. The affairs of the Zollverein were, according to the treaties, managed by meetings of officials who were deputed by the component States. These meetings settled the policy of the Union; they arranged, for instance, for the building of through-roads, and apportioned the expense according to the population of each State. As the intervention of machinery, the growth of factories, canals, or railways (in short what is called the Industrial Revolution), was taking place in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century, the existence of free commercial intercourse between the different States of the Confederation was a thing of the highest importance.

The only objection advanced against the Zollverein was that it was too Prussian. It was the Prussian Government (being the most efficient in Germany) which had started the Zollverein, and which showed the greatest energy in developing it. Before it was complete, other States, fearing Prussian domination, tried starting a Zollverein of their own. In 1828 Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, Bremen, and Frankfort formed a Middle German Customs-Union. But the Prussian Union was the best managed, and built a through-road from Langensalza to Würzburg, thus giving direct communication with Bavaria. The bulk of trade gravitated inevitably to the efficient Prussian Zollverein, and so gradually the other States came in; for instance Bavaria and Wurtemberg joined it in 1833, and the States of the Middle German Union also, in time, followed suit. In 1851 even Austria demanded admission, but Prussia, which did not want a powerful rival, refused. Thus, through Prussia's egoism, the Zollverein was left imperfect, and the way was left open for the later establishing of a Prussian military empire.

§ 4. *The Frankfort Parliament and Olmütz*

In the middle of the nineteenth century the moderate and progressive elements in the German people tried to change the Confederation into a closer union. This union would have been a constitutional monarchy, created by general consent, not by force ; it would, therefore, have been free from the defects of the later empire which was formed by war in 1866 and 1871, the military empire that so disturbed all European statesmen for the rest of the century.

The mid-century effort at a constitutional empire came about as follows. There were in Germany a large number of enlightened men, professors in the universities, school teachers, writers, and (not so many) lawyers and civil servants. Those, who are usually known as the German Liberals, had much the same views on society and government as had the British Conservatives and Liberals, or the Italian Constitutional monarchists. German Liberalism was a great, inspiring force. The real tragedy of German history in the nineteenth century was the gradual surrender of the Liberals to the militarists (the *Junkers*) which took place between 1860 and 1871. In 1848, however, the German Liberals were very strong.

In February of that year a revolution occurred in Paris. King Louis-Philippe had not ruled badly ; he was a ' middle-class ' king, but the truth is, he had not trusted the middle-class sufficiently. When he was forced to abdicate, a Republic was established in Paris. It was as if a signal had been given to all the republicans in Europe, and it was astonishing to see how many there were. In Rome people rose, drove out the Pope, and formed a Roman Republic under Garibaldi and Mazzini. In Venice Daniele Manin raised the citizens, drove out the Austrian garrisons, and made a Venetian Republic. In Milan, the capital of Lombardy, the Austrian troops were expelled. Doubtless Milan would have become a republic too, had it not been thought wise to accept the support of Charles Albert of the neighbouring kingdom of Sardinia.

These events, however, only indirectly affected Germany. Here the revolutionary spirit was equally active. A revolution, chiefly in the hands of the students of the University, broke out in Vienna on the 13th March (1848), and the Emperor Ferdinand I had to flee to Innsbruck. At the same time the Magyars, who had a 'national' grievance, rose against Austrian domination in Hungary. The whole Habsburg Empire, in Austria, Hungary, Croatia, and Northern Italy, was smashed to pieces. With Austria in dissolution, the Germanic Confederation, of which Austria was head, went into dissolution also.

It was now that the German Liberals—National Liberals, that is, men of 'constitutional' views who wanted Germany to be a nation—took their steps towards turning the Confederation into a Constitutional Empire. The movement was led by Heinrich von Gagern, a member of a famous family of civil servants and publicists. A sort of general election, quite unofficial, was held throughout Germany, and members were elected to a National Parliament. This assembled in the *Paulskirche* at Frankfort, one of the four surviving Free Cities, and memorable as the home of Goethe, on the 31st March 1848.

The Frankfort Parliament represented all the best elements in Germany, the 'noble, patient, deep, pious, and solid Germany' which Carlyle loved and wrote about. The delegates soon got to work. They began to make a constitution and they looked around for a head. Austria had been the head of the Confederation, but Austria was now in pieces, torn by rebellions and revolutions. There was only one strong, central Power in Germany; this was Prussia. The Frankfort Parliament on the 12th March 1849 offered the new Imperial Crown to Frederick William IV. He refused.

This was the end of the grand experiment of the German Liberals at uniting the Empire under Constitutional Monarchy. It was a tragic failure, due in the first place to King Frederick William IV. The despicable hauteur of the Hohenzollerns ruined everything. Frederick William would not accept a crown on a constitutional basis. If he had assented to the Frankfort offer he would have been required also to accept a cabinet and a

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parliament of the English kind : but the Hohenzollerns believed in a divine right to govern absolutely.

The German Liberals were too easily beaten. They ought to have found another monarch to be their emperor. To do so would have meant splitting up Germany, for neither Prussia nor Austria would have come into the new empire. But a Constitutional Empire, with, say, the King of Hanover or Bavaria as head, lacking Prussia and Austria, would have made a very fine Power, liberal and cultivated, without either the militarism of the Hohenzollerns or the obscurantism of the Habsburgs. Munich would have made a splendid capital ; Weimar, Dresden, and Darmstadt would have kept their ancient glory and culture free from the centralizing influence of Berlin.

All this, however, was not to be. The King of Prussia had refused the Constitutional Crown. Nobody else had the spirit to dispose of it otherwise. Meanwhile the old Austria was coming back.

Obscurantist though the old Habsburg régime was, yet it had a grand spirit. When revolutions broke forth in nearly every corner of the Austrian dominions, and when Metternich, the pillar of Europe since the Congress of Vienna, had to flee to England for shelter, two things held fast. One was the Austrian Army, a solid force with a fine tradition of loyalty. Its sterling, if not brilliant, qualities are sympathetically described by an observer who had no love for the Austrian cause, George Meredith (1828-1909), in his novel *Vittoria*. The other thing which held fast was the bureaucracy. Easy-going and unimaginative, the Viennese bureaucracy, flitting with its offices from one harbour of refuge to another, kept a sort of administration together. And, when the Emperor brought Prince Schwarzenberg from the Legation at Naples to be Chancellor of Austria, the bureaucracy found that it had a *man*.

Schwarzenberg (1800-52) is the last great Austrian. Fine as well as supple, adroit and intelligent, he kept his head clear amid the tumult, and preserved his aim steadily, the restoration of Austrian power. His first act was to induce the Emperor Ferdinand I, who had failed in face of the revolution, to abdi-

cate (2nd December 1848). His nephew, Francis Joseph, became Emperor. With a new reign, Schwarzenberg could make a new start.

The army was doing its work well. Field-Marshal Windischgrätz had taken Prague (June 1848) and Vienna (October). In Italy, Field-Marshal Radetzky, who had been a general in the wars against Napoleon, stood firm behind the Quadrilateral (Mantua, Verona, Peschiera, and Legnago) against the Sardinian Army. The battle of Novara (23rd March 1849) brought victory to the Austrian eagles. The revolution in Lombardy was at an end.

Hungary was the most difficult place to deal with, for the Magyars were a strong, military race, with considerable organizing ability. They produced armies, arsenals, and, most difficult of all, generals. Görgei and Bem showed military capacity as high as any among the Austrians. But the Magyars were never popular, Schwarzenberg was able to send the local forces of Croatia, led by their Ban or Governor, Jellachich, against the Hungarian revolution. This danger the Magyars might have met. But the Tsar Nicholas I had to be reckoned with too. Reviving the ideal of the Holy Alliance, he sent his armies to the help of a youthful brother monarch, beset by revolution. On the 13th August 1849 General Görgei surrendered to the Russian general Paskievitch at Vilagos.

The old Habsburg Empire thus recovered its full strength. The old Germanic Confederation was to come back too. The Frankfort Parliament maintained an ambiguous existence after the refusal of Frederick William IV to be Emperor, but in the face of opposition from Austria and from Prussia, and of its own ineffectiveness, it had lost all authority. It disappeared on the 18th June 1849.

Then the Prussian Government saw its chance. Frederick William had refused the Constitutional Imperial Crown. He might now grasp an Imperial Crown more to his liking. In May 1849 he concluded a *Dreikönigsbündnis*, an alliance of Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover; and with their help assembled a parliament of German States at Erfurt (March 1850). But by this time Austria was resuming its grasp upon public affairs. When the

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Erfurt Parliament began its sessions, Schwarzenberg at once, according to the Federal Constitution as established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, summoned a meeting of the old Frankfort Diet. This was the law of the land. Even Prussia could not refuse to send delegates. The old Confederation was restored, with Austria as President.

There were some people who thought that Prussia might still challenge this settlement, and might fight for the leadership. A local revolution occurred in Hesse-Cassel. This was a breach of public order in Germany: Federal troops could suppress it. But Prussia claimed to do so by itself. In November 1850 Prussian and Federal troops (contingents of Austria and Bavaria) faced each other near Fulda in Hesse-Cassel. Would they fight? At Berlin the King of Prussia with his councillors debated this point: would they take up the Austrian challenge and contend for the leadership of Germany? Peaceful councils prevailed, and instead of war, an agreement was signed with Austria at Olmütz, 29th November 1850. Austria was still head of the Confederation.

The year 1848, and the period immediately preceding and following it, were troublesome for the statesmen who were responsible for Europe's peace. Only two countries, Great Britain and Belgium, were free from revolutionary disturbances in 1847-8. Even the usually tranquil state of Switzerland, solidly grounded in its system of neutrality, guaranteed by international treaties, experienced a civil war. In 1846-7, seven of the twenty-two cantons which compose Switzerland formed a league by themselves (*Sonderbund*), and withdrew from the Confederation. Their quarrel with the other cantons was chiefly religious. They objected to the expulsion of Jesuits and to the policy of secularizing monasteries. The *Sonderbund*, however, was defeated in 1847 by the Swiss Federal troops who were led by General Dufour of Geneva. Had Dufour (1787-1875) belonged to a Great Power he would have been one of the grand marshals of the nineteenth century. As it was, he was content with the smaller theatre of Swiss affairs. He quelled the *Sonderbund* and showed tact in victory, in dealing with the rebellious

citizens. When all was over a new Constitution was made, giving the Federal Government greater authority than before ; since then Switzerland has not been threatened by internal strife, and has been able to devote her surplus energy to works of peace, to international law, and the labours of the Red Cross. It was in 1863 that Henri Dunant founded at Geneva the International Red Cross Society ; the recent Austro-Franco-Italian War (1859) had impressed him with the need for some such organization, to assist wounded soldiers and prisoners.

Supplementary Dates.

XIX

- 1830 First Poems of Gautier.
Auber's *Fra Diavolo*.
- 1831 Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame*.
- 1832 Goethe's *Faust*, Part II.
Silvio Pellico's *My Imprisonment*.
- 1833 Death of Ferdinand VII of Spain. Outbreak of Carlist Wars.
- 1834 Convention of Vergara ends Carlist Wars.
- 1835 Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*.
- 1836 Meyerbeer's *Gli Ugonotti*.
De Musset's *Confession d'un enfant du siècle*.
- 1840 Dom Miguel consents to leave Portugal at Convention of Evora.
- 1843 Mill's *Logic*.
- 1844 Dumas's *Monte-Cristo*.
- 1849 Sainte-Beuve begins the *Causeries du lundi*.
- 1851 Verdi's *Rigoletto*.
- 1855 Giesebrecht's *History of the Mediaeval Empire*.
- 1856 De Tocqueville's *Ancien Régime*.
- 1860 Tolstoi's *War and Peace*.

NAPOLEON III AND THE UNION OF ITALY

THE great Napoleon died at St. Helena on the 5th May 1821. The second Napoleon, known as the Duke of Reichstadt, was brought up as an Austrian prince. He was a precocious youth, fond of military affairs, and devoted to physical exercise. A weakness of the chest brought on a decline and he died on the 22nd July 1832 at the age of twenty-one.

The third Napoleon was the son of Louis-Napoleon (younger brother of Napoleon I) and Hortense Beauharnais. He was born on the 20th April 1808 at Paris. In later years the mother and father lived apart. Hortense with her two sons lived at the Castle of Arenenberg, on the Lake of Constance in Switzerland. The family was fairly wealthy: the young Bonapartes were brought up as young noblemen who had a splendid fortune but who, from the circumstances of their history, did not belong to any of the European aristocracies. The young Louis-Napoleon was sent to school at Augsburg. He grew up studious, well informed, and, being bound to no country, he formed an international point of view on all subjects. After leaving school and visiting Italy (where he 'dreamed' on the banks of the Rubicon), he entered the Swiss artillery as a lieutenant, and employed some of his leisure in writing a military handbook. In 1831 he went to Italy with his brother and took part in a rebellion for the freeing of the Romagna from the Pope. In this expedition the elder brother died, and Louis thus became the head of the family of Bonaparte.¹ He continued to lead a studious life in Switzerland, and later in London, writing books on social and political affairs; the most important was the *Idées Napoléoniennes* (1838), an interesting book written to prove that the great Napoleon was a whole-hearted lover of humanity who fought simply to make people free, independent, and democratic. All this time Louis-Napoleon was also mingling in society and observing men and

¹ The name of the elder brother was Louis. The name of the younger (Napoleon III) was really Charles-Louis.

things. He made two attempts (1836 and 1840) to raise a revolution in his favour in France, but both failed. On the last occasion he was captured and spent five years in prison at Ham before he escaped. The Revolution of 1848, however, enabled him to take up his residence in Paris as a private citizen.

The revolution which broke out on the 22nd February 1848, resulting in the abdication and flight of King Louis-Philippe, was at first directed by Lamartine, the famous poet (1790–1869), who was also a politician. Soon, however, the revolution took on a Socialist aspect. Under the impulsion of Louis Blanc and Émile Thomas the Provisional Government established National Workshops in which every unemployed workman was given the right to work at standard rates of pay. But the productiveness of the National Workshops was so low, the cost so ruinous, that they had to be given up. An outbreak of the mob was only quelled by the firmness of Lamartine and General Cavaignac. It is said that in the street-fighting 10,000 workmen were either killed or wounded.

On the 23rd October a new Republican Constitution for France passed the Assembly. Louis-Napoleon, who stood for the Presidency against Cavaignac, was elected by five million votes against one and a half million (10 December 1848). His power, as President, was strictly limited by the Constitution. So, with his half-brother, the Duc de Morny, Louis-Napoleon prepared a conspiracy. General St. Arnaud (an energetic adventurer who had shown his ruthlessness in the Algerian wars) directed the troops, and Morny, as Chief Minister, directed the civil servants. On the night of the 1st–2nd December 1851 notices were posted up in Paris proclaiming the suppression of the Constitution. When the Parisians woke up and read these, they found the streets and public buildings occupied by St. Arnaud's troops. Cavaignac, Thiers, and many other republican politicians were quietly put in prison.

This was the famous *Coup d'état* of 1851. A month later (January 1852) the President issued a new Constitution, with a Senate and Legislative body, all very much under his own control. And finally, on the 22nd November, after a plebiscite

of the whole male population, the hereditary empire was restored in the person of the President, who took the title of Napoleon III.

His triumph was due partly to an unscrupulous use of the French administrative machinery, partly to the popularity of the great Napoleon's name. '*La France s'ennuie*'—'France is bored', Lamartine had said, and the people turned with something of interest and excitement from the prudent middle-class rule of Louis-Philippe to the 'Napoleonic Legend'. They were also ready to give their fortunes into the safe hands of a dictator in order to keep away the spectre of anarchy, and the ruinous wastefulness of the National Workshops. Nevertheless the genuine republicans, like Victor Hugo, never forgave Louis-Napoleon for the *coup d'état*, for having conspired against the Constitution, which, as President, he had sworn to defend.

This at least can be said of Napoleon III: if the methods by which he gained the throne were dubious, he tried honestly, when he was actually on the throne, to reign for the good of France and of Europe. He had admirable ideas. 'The Empire is peace', he said in a speech at Bordeaux in 1852. He believed in two things which, though very difficult to reconcile, are both for the good of the world: nationalism and internationalism. He believed that if a people, for instance, the Italians, were conscious of its individuality and wanted to be independent, it should be allowed to become so. At the same time he firmly held that all nations should be internationally minded, that they should trade freely with each other, that their members should meet in International Exhibitions, and that if they had any differences or disputes, these should be settled by arbitration and not by war.

In France Napoleon III worked hard to promote national prosperity. He encouraged the building of railways: the *Chemin de fer de l'Est* and the *Chemin de fer de l'Ouest* were largely constructed during the early years of his reign. A great steamship line, the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique*, was founded. The Emperor helped to establish, under Government support, popular banks—the *Crédit Mobilier* and the *Crédit Foncier*—to enable tradesmen to get capital for their business, and to enable farmers to buy their farms. He was the energetic patron of exhibitions,



LOUIS NAPOLEON, THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE.

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1848

and none was finer than the Paris Exhibition of 1867, three years before the fall of the French Empire. To this exhibition came, it almost seemed, the whole of European Society; and Paris welcomed them with all its brilliant charm. There are people still alive who remember that halcyon summer, the care-free crowds, the incessant coming and going of travellers, the displays of beautiful articles at the Exhibition itself, the unsurpassed Grand Opera, when Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* was produced. Napoleon III, and his energetic Prefect of the Seine, Baron Haussmann, have left their mark deeply upon Paris, in the grand boulevards which they constructed through the city.

Yet Napoleon III was muddle-headed. With the best will in the world for peace, he blundered into four European wars, and two wars overseas, in China and Mexico. And yet, in spite of all this fighting, the French army at the end of his reign was less efficient than it had been for two hundred years.

The first war occurred in 1849. Louis-Napoleon, as President of the Second French Republic, felt the need of conciliating the Roman Catholic voters in France. The Catholic or Ultramontane revival of the 'thirties and 'forties was still a force among the French people. Therefore when Garibaldi and Mazzini established a Republic at Rome, and Pope Pius IX fled to Gaeta, Louis-Napoleon sent a division of French soldiers by sea to Civita Vecchia under Marshal Oudinot. The Marshal broke the resistance of the Roman Republic and restored the Pope. For the next twenty years French soldiers garrisoned Rome, and were a sort of millstone round the neck of the French Emperor.

The next war was in the Crimea. In 1853 the Tsar Nicholas I had proposed to the British Ambassador at Petersburg a scheme of partition of the Turkish Empire, which the Tsar called 'The Sick Man of Europe'. The British Government, however, would not consent. At the same time the Russian and French Governments became involved in a dispute between Greek and Roman Catholic monks in Bethlehem, concerning the custody of the Holy Places. When the French gained what they claimed, the Tsar countered it by demanding from Turkey the position of Protector of all Turkish subjects who worshipped according to the rites



Garibaldi

From an engraving taken from a photograph by D. J. Pound

of the Greek Church. The Sultan refused. The Tsar at once sent his armies over the Pruth and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia (June 1853). This looked like the beginning of a partition of Turkey. To check it the British and French Fleets were sent to Constantinople, October 1853. Out of this action came the military participation of France and Britain in the Russo-Turkish War.

For the purposes of the war the French and British governments formed an alliance, and their armies together (helped later by the Sardinians) carried out the expedition into the Crimea (September 1854) and the siege and capture of Sebastopol. When Sebastopol was taken, on the 8th September 1855, Napoleon III, as he always tended to do, made a sudden resolve to stop fighting. He could never persist to the end. The British Government (always a slow starter) was really only just beginning to get into its full military strength, and would have liked to pursue the war to a definite conclusion. But as Napoleon meant to stop, Great Britain had to agree to make peace too. The result was the Treaty of Paris.

Although Russia had not been decisively beaten, she conceded nearly all that the Allies demanded. The peace was made at Paris, where a Congress of Great Britain, France, Russia, Sardinia, with the neutrals Austria and Prussia, assembled from the 25th February to the 18th April 1856. The main treaty was signed on the 30th March. It stipulated for three things: firstly, Turkey was admitted 'into the Public Law and Concert of Europe'. Secondly, the areas of Serbia and Montenegro were increased, and Moldavia and Wallachia were made practically independent of Turkey. Thirdly, the Black Sea was neutralized, Russia and Turkey alike being debarred from fortifying the coasts, or maintaining fleets there. With regard to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles the 'ancient rule' was reaffirmed, namely, that Turkey should admit no foreign warships to the Straits so long as she herself was at peace.

The Crimean War gave a new lease of life to the Ottoman State. It is still too early for a historian to be able to say whether this was worth doing or not, although everybody must recognize that the Turkey of to-day shows marked signs of progress.



Balaclava Harbour, with British Fleet and Transports

From a photograph taken at the time

Most people will agree that the next effort of Napoleon III was beneficent : he helped very decisively to make United Italy. French officers in the Crimea used to speak of the *Don-Quichottisme* of their service there : they might have applied the same word to their service in Lombardy.

When the revolt against Austria and the Temporal Power of the Pope occurred in Italy in 1848, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, had joined the national side with the proud proclamation : *Italia farà da sè*. But the result of this first War of Liberation proved that Italy could not 'do the work by herself'. When defeated at Novara in March 1849, Charles Albert abdicated the throne of Sardinia in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. He died in the same year at Oporto (29 July 1849).

The new king was a vigorous young man, with a natural ability for soldiering, like nearly all the members of the House of Savoy. His chief pleasure in life was to go with a few companions into the Alps of Savoy, hunting for days together, eating simple meals of bread and cheese, putting off all the trappings of royalty. But Victor Emmanuel was a statesman too : he saw that the future of Italy lay with constitutional monarchy. He honoured the pledges which his father had given for constitutional government. He ruled, after the British manner, through a Cabinet and Parliament. And having found a first-class Minister in Count Cavour, Victor Emmanuel stood by him for life.

When Cavour became chief Minister of Victor Emmanuel in 1852 he saw that two things were necessary if the Italian Movement was to attain success : one was the support of European opinion ; the other was a strong ally. The poets and politicians, men like Leopardi, Manzoni, and Mazzini, had created a strong Italian sentiment in Italy. A lead for the movement existed in the King of Sardinia. But unless public opinion in Europe approved of it the movement was unlikely to succeed. For it implied suppressing certain European treaties, and for this the consent of Europe, or the support of European opinion, was necessary. Even with this, however, the Italians could not force the powerful military State of Austria to consent to the

suppression of the treaties which gave to Austria Lombardy and Venice. This would probably require a war, and to defeat Austria in the field the Italians needed a powerful ally.

The skill of Cavour is seen particularly in this: he gained the general support of European opinion for the Italian Movement, and he gained the military alliance of Napoleon III.

To attract the attention and support of European opinion (at least of Western European opinion) Cavour encouraged the numerous Italian exiles, in Paris, Geneva, London, and Brussels, to write in the newspapers. A large number of these exiles were journalists. They received good information from Turin and other Italian centres. They supplied journals like the *Indépendance Belge* or *The Times* and *Morning Post* with excellent 'copy', and gradually they created an international atmosphere favourable to the Italian Movement. This atmosphere was further promoted by the spirited action of the Sardinian Government in joining France and England in the Crimean War, and contributing 15,000 troops under General La Marmora.

To secure the military support of Napoleon III in a Sardinian war against Austria was not easy. France had no quarrel with Austria. The only inducement was the 'Napoleonic Legend' that France had once freed Italy, and so should do it again. The attempt of Felice Orsini to assassinate Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie as they left the Opera House on the 14th January 1858 is supposed to have directed the Emperor's mind more intently to the Italian Question. The final touch was made by Cavour himself, who met Napoleon at Plombières on the 21st July 1858. Plombières is a pleasant village or township, with mineral springs, in the Vosges, about two miles from Épinal. At that time it was one of the fashionable watering-places in Europe. It was the custom in those days, and until recently, for statesmen to go to some spa every summer or autumn for a holiday; and thus, if necessary, they could discuss politics informally with each other, without attracting much notice. Cavour, who always took a fortnight's holiday each year in or near Switzerland, made it convenient in the summer of '58 to spend two nights at Plombières. A walk and a drive among the

surrounding woods permitted him to suggest to Napoleon that France might acquire the Sardinian provinces of Savoy and Nice in return for military help in Italy.

Next year the fruits of the Plombières meeting became manifest. For months there had been tension between Sardinia and Austria. The British and French Governments proposed that Austria should peacefully hand over Lombardy to Sardinia in return for a pecuniary indemnity. Austria refused to sell her province. Apparently only war could settle the Austro-Sardinian Question. Fortunately for Sardinia, Austria declared war first, and so appeared as the aggressor. Napoleon III at once put his armies in motion on the Sardinian side. Troops were swiftly poured into Italy, the Emperor himself going with them. For the first time in a great war railways were used. Troops went by train to St. Jean-de-Maurienne, then marched over the Mont Cenis Pass, and entrained again at Susa (the Mont Cenis tunnel was not completed until 1870). The Franco-Sardinian army defeated the Austrians at Magenta on the 4th June and at Solferino on the 24th June. Milan and practically the whole of Lombardy were won. The Sardinians were expecting an advance to begin against the Quadrilateral, into Venetia, when suddenly Napoleon stopped and made the Franco-Austrian Treaty of Peace of Villafranca, 11th July 1859.

The Treaty of Villafranca staggered the Italians. Napoleon had promised to pursue the war until Italy should be free from the Alps 'to the Adriatic', that is, until Venetia as well as Lombardy should be acquired. Now, however, having gained Lombardy for the Italians, he suddenly, without consulting his Allies, made terms with the enemy; by these Sardinia was to get Lombardy, but no more. Whether he was right or wrong, nobody can tell. His army, although victorious, had suffered badly at Magenta and Solferino. Dysentery and typhoid had broken out among the soldiers. The Austrian army was still grimly standing ready to fight within the mighty defences of the Quadrilateral. So Napoleon may have judged rightly in making a 'compromise' peace. Nevertheless this left another war certain to come later on—for Venetia.



A photograph of Rome and the Tiber taken in the 'seventies

When the Treaty of Villafranca had been made Cavour threw down his portfolio in rage and disgust ; but Victor Emmanuel made the best of the situation, acquiesced in the peace, and accepted Lombardy. Naturally Napoleon, by not pursuing the war to the agreed end, had forfeited his right to Nice and Savoy.

Before the year 1859 was finished Victor Emmanuel had received the whole of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Romagna, acquisitions which consoled him for not having gained Venice. While the campaign of Magenta and Solferino was in progress, the populations in the Central Italian States, the Duchies of Modena and Parma, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the Papal province of Romagna, made a revolution in the cause of United Italy and offered themselves to King Victor Emmanuel. The Sardinian Government, eager though it was, could scarcely accept this, just after it had agreed to the Peace of Villafranca ; however, by reopening the offer of Nice and Savoy to Napoleon III, Cavour (who had resumed his portfolio in January 1860) obtained the French Emperor's consent, and so the protests of Austria could be disregarded. In March (1860) the Sardinian Government, in the name of King Victor Emmanuel, took possession of the Central Italian Duchies and the Papal territory of Romagna. Austria loudly (and legitimately) protested. Napoleon III said nothing, but (in April 1860), after taking the votes of the populations of Savoy and Nice, annexed these Sardinian territories. The British Government of Lord Palmerston, openly sympathetic to the Italian Movement, put no obstacle in Victor Emmanuel's way, although it intensely disliked the French annexation of Savoy and Nice.

The work of Napoleon III in Italy was now done. He thought that the Italian Movement had gone far enough. He had to keep on good terms with the clerical party in France, so his troops still garrisoned Rome, and he was determined that the King of Italy should never have it. When Garibaldi got together a thousand Italian free-lances in May 1860 and made a descent upon Sicily (the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily), Napoleon III was openly resentful.

Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand was an astonishing



Cavour in 1834

From a miniature painted for the Countess Grimaldi

success. The Neapolitan army, infected by the Italian Movement, made almost no resistance to him ; the mass of the people welcomed him. After taking possession of Sicily, Garibaldi crossed the Straits and took a large part of the territory of Naples too. Cavour then threw off the mask, and sent Sardinian troops to the Kingdom of Naples. King Victor Emmanuel himself came down to Naples to regulate matters with the famous soldier whose position in international law was technically that of a private. Garibaldi, having won a kingdom, quietly gave it up. In November 1860 he handed over his power to Victor Emmanuel, who declared Naples and Sicily to be part of his dominions. The Bourbon king, Francis II, retired to peace and quiet in Austria. The hero of the Sicilian Expedition, Garibaldi, refused all rewards, and retired to his home on the island-rock of Caprera. Victor Emmanuel crowned the work of 1859-60 by assuming the title of King of Italy (March 1861). But the grand architect of Italian unity, Cavour, did not live to enjoy it. Worn out by his single-minded devotion to his work, Cavour died on the 6th June 1861 at the age of fifty-one.

When in 1866 a war broke out in Germany between Austria and Prussia, Napoleon was caught napping. He remained neutral throughout the brief struggle, while the Kingdom of Italy, making an alliance with Prussia, obtained at the end of the war the Austrian province of Venetia. When, four years later, France and Prussia came to blows, the only interest which Italy took in it was to seize the occasion and occupy Rome. The Temporal Power of the Pope came to an end (20 September 1870). United Italy was complete.

Rome became the capital of Italy, and King Victor Emmanuel dwelt in the Quirinal Palace ; but Pope Pius IX (and his successors) refused to come within the national system. The Italian Government, therefore, has permitted the Papacy to enjoy the privilege of 'extra-territoriality': the Vatican and its precincts are treated as an independent little State. The claim of the Papacy to Temporal Power has never been abandoned ; indeed, just before the Italian army entered Rome in the summer of 1870, a General Council of the Church assembled



Head-quarters of Garibaldi, at the Convent of San Silvestre in Rome

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1848

in the Vatican had proclaimed as a fundamental dogma the infallibility of the Pope. But after the death of Pius IX in 1878 the new Pope, Leo XIII (from 1878 to 1903), without sacrificing any of the Papal claims, improved the relations of the Holy See with the Italian Government as well as with other Powers. As a better understanding grew between the Vatican and the Quirinal the last obstacle to a perfect union of Italy passed almost out of memory.

During the middle period of the nineteenth century the British Empire was on good terms with all the Powers of Europe except Russia. Queen Victoria, after her marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg in 1840, had strong German sympathies, although this did not necessarily mean that she had strong sympathies with Prussia. In any case it did not prevent the Queen from cultivating the friendship of the French. In September 1843 she visited King Louis-Philippe at the Château d'Eu in Normandy—the first time that a reigning British sovereign had been to France since Henry VIII. After the fall of Louis-Philippe and the Revolution of 1848 the Queen gradually formed cordial relations with Napoleon III. The Franco-Russian Alliance for the prosecution of the Crimean War naturally strengthened the friendship. In August 1857 Napoleon visited Queen Victoria at Osborne. When, however, Napoleon blundered into the Franco-Prussian War the British Government could do nothing for France; only when Napoleon was released from the captivity of Wilhelmshöhe in 1871 he and his Empress were able to find a refuge in England at Chislehurst. Thereafter the relations of Great Britain and France were not particularly good until the reign of King Edward VII and the making of the Entente in 1904.

Supplementary Dates.

XX

- 1852 Cavour becomes Prime Minister in Piedmont.
- 1853 Unsuccessful insurrection of Mazzini in Milan.
- 1855 Cavour sends La Marmora to the Crimea with Sardinian troops.
- 1860 Annexation of the Papal States with the exception of the Patrimonium.
- 1865 V. Hugo's *Les Misérables*.

XXI

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

THE theory of Socialism implies that private property should not exist, but that the whole means and resources of production and distribution should belong to the community. 'What is property?' said Proudhon in 1840 (meaning *private* property); 'it is theft'—*Qu'est-ce que la propriété? C'est le vol.*¹ Proudhon was born at Besançon in 1809. He was a printer by trade, and took part in the Revolution at Paris in 1848. He was imprisoned by the Government of Louis Napoleon (1849) for three years. He died at Paris in 1865, and is held to be the 'Father of Philosophical Anarchism'. The Russian philosophical anarchist Bakhunin (1814-76) was a friend of Proudhon. Another influential Socialist was Louis Blanc (1811-82), one of the leaders of the French workmen in the Revolution of 1848.

Socialism as a theory was greatly developed and popularized in the latter half of the nineteenth century by Karl Marx. He was born of Jewish parents at Trèves in 1818. At the Universities of Bonn and Berlin he was a student of history and philosophy. In 1843 he settled in Paris. Expelled from there in 1845, he moved to Brussels. After the failure of the Revolutionary movement in Germany in 1848 he went to London. He died at Highgate in 1883.

In London Marx divided his time between political agitation and study in the library of the British Museum. In 1867 he produced his big work, *Das Kapital*, a mine of economic history and theory.

Marx attacked Capital through the theory of *Surplus Value*. According to this theory all wealth is the result of labour. The labour of, for instance, twenty men, each working separately, has a total product of a certain value. The labour of the same

¹ The title of Proudhon's book (1840) was *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?*

twenty men, all co-operating and working as one organization, is worth a great deal more. The difference between the value of the product of single men working in isolation and the same number of men when working together is surplus value. Thus surplus value, said Marx, produced under the system of co-operation and division of labour is exclusively the result of that labour, just as the output of a workman working in isolation is the result of his labour. Therefore, in Marx's view, workmen have the *right to the whole produce of labour*. Hence arose the Communistic or Proletarian Movement which aims at the suppression of all private capitalists, and at placing the ownership of capital, the direction of labour, and the profits of all industry in the hands of the workmen, of the proletariat.

Marx's theory ignores the fact that combination of workmen, if not assisted by both capital and expert management, would produce no surplus value, or rather no value at all. The product of labour is due to Labour, Capital, and Management; and the value of that product, obviously, should be divided between these three agents. This product of labour may be divided fairly or unfairly between these chosen agents, but that each should have a share seems only just. The Communist (or Proletarian) asserts a claim to the whole produce of labour.

In 1836 a number of cosmopolitan exiles living in Paris founded a 'League of the Just'. Three years later they attempted to make a rising in favour of Communism, but the movement was suppressed by the Paris police, and the exiles had to flee to London, which was at that time a sanctuary for all the rebels in Europe. In 1847, under the inspiration of Marx, they formed themselves into the Communist League. In 1847 Marx and his friend Frederick Engels composed for the league *The Communist Manifesto*, which stated that the Proletarian Movement should be achieved by wresting from the *bourgeoisie* the means of production, and by socializing both production and distribution.

The failure of the Revolutions of 1848 (in which there was a distinct communistic as well as political element) in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna was a blow to the Communist League. It

OWEN'S PLAN.

You see young men we all contribute something to the general stock, I make shoes, another clothes a third brews and a fourth bakes now what can you do that's usefull?



A MUTUAL LABOUR COMMITTEE sitting for the admission of members.

The poor may do without the rich, combine to supply each other with the necessaries of life, live in perfect equality & have leisure to improve their minds.

From 'The Looking Glass', 1831, No. 11

came to an end in 1852. When in 1862 an International Exhibition was held in London, a deputation of French workmen visited it, with the encouragement of the Emperor Napoleon. This visit restarted an international movement of working men. In 1864 a public meeting, attended by workmen of different countries, as well as by Marx, was held at the St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London. An English professor, Edward S. Beesly, Professor of History at University College, London, was in the chair. A result of the meeting was the appointing of a committee which drafted a constitution and statutes for an international association of working men (usually called simply the 'International'). The theory expressed in this constitution was the same as that of the Communist Manifesto, which had said:

The history of all society is the history of the class-war. . . . The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite!

It was just about this time that the British Labour Party was beginning, although there were no Labour Members in Parliament until 1874. The British Labour Party had no connexion or sympathy with the 'International' until about the year 1890, when Keir Hardie gained some influence in the party. The International was mainly a foreign affair. It was a league of workmen's societies. Any trade union or similar body could join it. It had a General Council which sat in London, and a General Secretary and Treasurer, each of whom had to be an Englishman; but any nation was represented on the General Council by a Secretary of its own. Foreigners, in spite of the 'English' constitution, dominated the International.

The first Congress of the International was held at Geneva in 1866. The chief policy which it advocated was the reduction of the working day to eight hours. The next meeting, held at Lausanne in 1867, passed a resolution that the means of transport and communication should be made the property of the State. The third meeting took place at Brussels in 1868, and resolved that land as well as the means of transport and communication should become public property, and should be given over for exploitation to associations of workers. The meeting also



Karl Marx

repudiated 'all appropriation by Capital of interest, rent or profit'. The fourth Congress took place at Bâle in 1869.

In this and the three following years certain events occurred which brought the International (subsequently known as the First International) to grief. The first blow came from the union of Bakhunin and his society of anarchists with it (1869). Many of the old members of the International objected to the doctrines of the anarchists.

Secondly, when Germany and France went to war in 1870, the French and German members of the International, cosmopolitan in spirit though they were supposed to be, found that their sympathies were bitterly opposed to each other on patriotic grounds.

Thirdly, after the Franco-German War of 1870-1, the terrible rising of the Commune took place in Paris; and when the Government of the Third French Republic steadily opposed and finally triumphed over the Commune the blow was felt by the International. For although the Commune and the International were not connected officially, there was close sympathy between them.

In 1872 the International resumed its meetings which the war had interrupted. But the Congress which met at The Hague in that year was split by disputes between the Anarchists and the Communists. The General Council was removed from England to New York, but the International by this time seems to have been practically dead. Its last Congress took place at Geneva in 1873.

The Socialist Movement of the nineteenth century had more influence in domestic than in international affairs: although in neither was it of primary importance in Europe before the Great War. It was in Germany that the Socialist Movement was most highly organized. After Marx (who lived very little in Germany) the chief founder of the Socialists was Ferdinand Lassalle.

This man, like Marx, of Jewish extraction, was born at Breslau in 1825. His father was a prosperous merchant, able to give his son the best education that Western Europe provided. The young Lassalle went to the University at Breslau and at Berlin.

He travelled a little, and at Paris made the acquaintance of Heine (1799-1856), one of the poets of revolution. Lassalle himself took part in the Revolution of 1848, which broke forth (unsuccessfully) in many parts of Germany as well as in France. It was in Düsseldorf that Lassalle joined in the Revolution against the Prussian Government; he paid for this with six months in prison.

The next ten or twelve years he spent mainly in literary work in Berlin. He watched the long-drawn-out effort of the Prussian Liberals to introduce Constitutionalism into the Prussian Government. He witnessed their gradual defeat, their conquest by the *Junkers*, the squirearchy of Prussia. By the year 1862 Bismarck, the new Minister-President of Prussia, had assured his ascendancy; Prussian Liberalism was now a spent force. It was at this point that Lassalle vigorously entered the field, and, in time, created a new political party, the Social Democrats. Hitherto the workmen of Germany had looked to the Liberals for leadership. Lassalle in an *Open Letter* to the workmen urged them to sever themselves from the Liberals, and he sketched a programme for a new party. The result was the foundation of the Universal German Workingmen's Association. Its immediate object was to agitate for universal suffrage in Germany. Before the movement could make much progress Lassalle was dead. He died after a duel fought on 29 August 1864, at Carouge, a suburb of Geneva. The Workingmen's Association later became the great Social Democratic Party. Its chief newspaper is the well-known journal *Vorwärts*. Its ablest leader, after Lassalle, was Georg Ebert, a saddler, who rose to be the first President of the German Republic in 1919.

The Social Democrats were not Communist. They advocated the cause of universal suffrage, parliamentary government, and the national ownership of 'public utilities', such as railways, electricity establishments, and coal-mines. Several of their plans were put into effect by Bismarck and the Prussian Conservatives, who nationalized the railways and established systems of old-age pensions and workmen's insurance. On the foreign policy of the Imperial German Government the Social Democrats had no effect at all.

The leader of the French Socialists towards the end of the nineteenth century was Jean Jaurès, who was born in 1859. He was educated at the famous Lycée Louis-le-Grand at Paris, and then went to the École Normale Supérieure, where the best French teachers are trained. In 1881 he became a school-teacher at Albi, and two years later was made Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Toulouse. He found time also to edit a newspaper, the *Petite République*, and was a member of the Chamber of Deputies. In 1904 he founded the journal *L'Humanité*, which became the leading organ of French Socialism.

The chief ability of Jaurès was in making the various groups of French Socialists work together almost as one party. He was one of the defenders of Dreyfus and he helped in the rise of the Socialist politician Alexandre Millerand, who later became President of the French Republic. Jaurès in the last years of his life was one of the leading figures in the movement for peace and disarmament. He was assassinated on 31 July 1914.

Supplementary Dates.

XXI

- 1845 Marx expelled from Paris.
- 1865 Death of Proudhon.
- 1866 Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*.
- 1867 *Das Kapital* of Karl Marx.
- 1874 First Labour Members in British Parliament.
- 1876 Death of Bakunin.

XXII

THE UNION OF GERMANY

'EUROPE remains the heart of the world, while we, who know that world, may safely prophesy that so it will always be.'¹ So wrote the eminent German professor and publicist, Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-96), in 1875. His remark was at any rate true with regard to the nineteenth century. Europe was the heart of the world. In the old continent occurred three things which have since vitally influenced the whole human race: first, the Industrial Revolution (with its resultant contests between Individualism and Socialism);² secondly, the union of Italy; thirdly, the union of Germany.

The Germanic Confederation which was established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 was in many respects merely a continuation of the Holy Roman Empire, or 'Empire of Germany', as it was called in the eighteenth century. This Federal Constitution left to the individual States practically complete independence; it allowed each to develop along its own characteristic and natural lines; at the same time, in the Federal Diet, it acknowledged the national unity of the German people. The only real defect was that the Federal Constitution was not sufficiently strong to curb the ambition of Prussia. In the fifteen years after the re-establishing of the Confederation in 1852 (see above, p. 640) Prussia ejected Austria, smashed the Federal Constitution, and put a new military Empire in its place under Prussian domination. The old Confederation was better.

Prussia in 1849 had been offered the headship of a Constitutional Empire (which was to replace the old Confederation) by the Frankfort Parliament. She had refused it. In 1850 she had tried to assert headship on her own account as against Austria,

¹ *Politik* (Trans. 1916), ii. 577. This work consists of lectures delivered between 1875 and 1895.

² For the Socialist Movement, see above, pp. 659-66. For Italy, see pp. 650-8

but had flinched before the wager of battle and so had retreated and abandoned her claim at Olmütz (29 November 1850). After this Prussia subsided for a few years, until (under Bismarck's guidance) she felt strong enough to challenge Austria again. This last time was fatal for the freedom of Germany.

The friction between Prussia and Austria came to a head over the Schleswig-Holstein affair, although the causes of the friction lay much deeper. The King of Denmark was Duke of Schleswig and of Holstein. Schleswig was not within the Germanic Confederation, but Holstein was, so that the Diet of the Confederation had some interest in the fate of the Duchies. Moreover, in Holstein and in Southern Schleswig the population was predominantly Danish.

The critical year 1848 found a nationalist Danish movement in full career in Denmark, just as there was a nationalist German movement in Germany, and in Holstein and Southern Schleswig. The Danish movement resulted in the issue by Frederick VII of Denmark of a proclamation, making one common constitution for the Duchies and his Kingdom. This proclamation was answered by war on the part of the nationalist Frankfort Parliament (1849). The Federal troops which invaded Holstein were chiefly Prussian. In 1850, however, the efforts of the British, Russian and Swedish Governments brought about peace with Prussia. Two years later, 8th May 1852, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden by treaty acknowledged the integrity of all the Danish dominions.

In 1855 the Danish Government put into force the common constitution for the Duchies and the Kingdom. In 1863 it separated Holstein off from Schleswig by giving Holstein a constitution of its own.

By these inconsistent acts the Danish Crown broke two undertakings which it had previously made : (1) not to incorporate the Duchies in the Kingdom, (2) not to separate one Duchy from the other. There is no doubt that the Danish Crown had placed itself in the wrong in the eyes of Europe. This fact may justify the intervention of the German Powers to redress the grievances of the Duchies ; but it cannot justify the annexation of the

Duchies by German Powers, contrary to their undertaking by the Treaty of 1852 to respect the integrity of the Danish Dominions.

On the 16th January 1864, after there had been tremendous agitations in Germany over the grievances of the Germanic Holsteiners and Schleswigers, the Prussian and Austrian Governments sent an ultimatum to Copenhagen. Christian IX (who had succeeded Frederick VII as King of Denmark in 1863) was



to withdraw the common constitution for his dominions within forty-eight hours. On the refusal of the Danish Government, Prussian and Austrian troops invaded Holstein. The energetic defence made by the small Danish army was doomed to failure. The war ended with the Treaty of Vienna, 1st August 1864. Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg (a Duchy on the Elbe which Denmark had acquired by exchange from Prussia in 1815) were annexed by Austria and Prussia jointly.

This act was a very serious assault on the European system. The British and French Governments strongly objected to it, but they were unable to agree on any plan for intervention. Their inaction was fatal. Having allowed a breach to be made in the

European system at the expense of Denmark, which was a small State, they had within the next two years to look on helplessly while the system, so far as Central Europe was concerned, was literally smashed to pieces.

Otto von Bismarck, a Brandenburg squire who had risen high in the Prussian civil service, had been chief Minister of Prussia since 1862. He conceived the plan of breaking up the Germanic Confederation and substituting in its place an Empire, with Prussia at its head. The plan was really more daring and fantastic than Cavour's scheme for uniting Italy by means of the little Kingdom of Sardinia. Bismarck, like Cavour, pursued his aim with consummate skill; but he could not have succeeded without great luck: for he took tremendous risks. At any moment a little firmness from England or France, or even a little opposition from the Liberal Party of Prussia, might have ruined his scheme. But the British foreign policy was feebly directed by Palmerston and Lord Russell in 1865 and 1866; while the French Government in these years had its best troops locked up in a futile expedition in Mexico. In Prussia the National Liberals were captivated by the glamour of the Prussian army since the successful war against Denmark in 1864.

In the Danish War of 1864 Prussia and Austria had acted as partners. Austria was still the nominal head of the Germanic Confederation. The next step in the rise of Prussia towards an Imperial position was to expel Austria from this Confederation. The first annexation of the Danish Duchies obviously would not last. In 1865, by the Convention of Gastein (14 August 1865), the Prussian and Austrian Governments, while preserving in theory their 'condominium', agreed to share out the administration. Austria was to administer Holstein, and Prussia Schleswig. Prussia also acquired the Austrian 'rights' over Lauenburg for 2,500,000 Danish rix-dollars. This agreement, said Bismarck, 'papered over the cracks', but not for long. In 1866 the friction between the two great Germanic Powers issued in open war. For years anybody could have foreseen that they would some day fight for the supremacy of Germany. But the speed with which the Prussians began and finished off the war

in one campaign took all Europe by surprise. Napoleon III had, it is true, some thoughts of intervention, but when the battle of Sadowa (or Königgrätz, 3 July 1866) occurred, and the war was practically ended, he had no plan ready. The battle, which was one of the Prussian Marshal von Moltke's masterpieces, took place in Bohemia less than three weeks after the campaign had opened.

Sadowa was a complete defeat for the Austrian army: and if the Prussians had pressed onward it would have enabled them to take Vienna. At this point Bismarck showed how he used war merely as an instrument of policy. While the generals were all for going on, he advised King William, and firmly stood by his advice, to offer peace. Bismarck's plan was to use the victory in order to expel Austria from the Confederation, but not to humiliate her farther: rather to treat Austria generously, so as not to provoke a war of revenge in the future. His plan, with the help of the amiable Crown Prince Frederick, prevailed. An armistice was arranged, and later, on the 23rd August (1866), the Treaty of Prague was concluded. The 'Seven Weeks War' was at an end. It had three results. Firstly, Austria ceded her rights over the Danish Duchies to Prussia, which therefore annexed Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg outright. Secondly, the Germanic Confederation was declared to be dissolved. Thirdly, Austria assented to the creation of a new Confederation, north of the river Main, under the headship of Prussia.

The War of 1866 practically gave to Prussia the Empire of Germany, although the word 'empire' was not used. There was a North German Confederation, of which the King of Prussia was President. Austria, Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg were outside the Confederation; but while Austria remained out of it, the other South German States almost at once connected themselves with it by treaties of alliance. Prussia was now dominant in Germany by being head of the Confederation, by being the organizer of the Zollverein, and also by the sheer weight of her territories; for through the war of 1866 Prussia annexed not merely the Danish Duchies but also the Kingdom of Hanover, which had fought on the Austrian side and had been overwhelmed

at the battle of Langensalza (27 June 1866). Thus Prussian territory now extended continuously from the Niemen to the frontier of Holland.

The dissolution of the old Germanic Confederation, the expulsion of Austria from Germany, the headship of Prussia in the North German Confederation, and the annexation of Hanover destroyed the balance of power in Central Europe. It gave Prussia a position of predominance, not merely in Germany, but even in Europe, and is largely accountable for the *malaise*, the crises, the agitation in international relations, which were features of European history in the next fifty years. The other European Powers ought to have insisted that the Germanic Confederation, which depended upon the European Treaty of Vienna (1815), should not have been amended or changed into anything else without their consent and co-operation.

The last step towards the union of Germany (all the States except Austria) in a Prussian Empire was taken at the close of the successful war against France. Without this war it is almost certain that the union would not have come about, for the German sovereigns, especially the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, were unwilling, without great inducement, to allow the King of Prussia to be made Emperor over them. Bismarck felt fairly sure that war would come, although he did not actually work to bring it about. 'I took it for assured', he wrote later in his memoirs, 'that war with France would necessarily have to be waged on the road to our further national development, for our development at home as well as the extension beyond the Main.'¹

The occasion over which the Franco-German War broke out was the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish throne. In 1868 Queen Isabella of Spain, who was always unpopular, had to flee from her country. For nearly two years the Government of Spain sought for another sovereign; at last, early in 1870, they invited Leopold, a son of Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, to become king. Sigmaringen was a small principality in South Germany, ruled by the elder though less celebrated

¹ Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chap. XXI, near the beginning.

Candidature for the Spanish throne 673

branch of the Hohenzollern family. Prince Anton accepted the offer of the Spanish throne for his son. As soon as this became known the French Government vigorously protested, saying that for a Hohenzollern prince to become King of Spain would be to revive the Empire of Charles V. Then the French Government instructed Count Benedetti, its ambassador to Prussia, to demand from the King of Prussia the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidature.

It was not exactly the affair of King William of Prussia; the decision lay with his relative, Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. But the French Government was right in thinking that if King William advised the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidature, Prince Anton would agree.

M. Benedetti had three interviews at Bad Ems with King William on this subject. At the first interview on the 9th July, King William agreed to consider the French Government's request. At the next interview (11 July) the King was still more compliant; he had actually on the previous day sent a message to Sigmaringen advising withdrawal. Next day it became known that Prince Anton had revoked the acceptance of the Spanish throne for his son.

Then the French Government took the fatal step. Instead of resting content with this satisfactory ending (which was a real diplomatic victory for France), the Duc de Gramont, Napoleon III's Minister for Foreign Affairs, demanded a promise from the King of Prussia that a Hohenzollern candidature for Spain *would never be renewed*. When Benedetti (who was acting under peremptory orders) made this quite unnecessary demand at an interview on the 13th July, King William somewhat sternly, but quite politely, refused. The French Government, in a Council held on the 15th July, decided to stand by the demand, knowing that to insist upon it meant war.

Thus war was almost certain when a telegram from King William telling about the negotiations with Benedetti at Ems reached Bismarck at Berlin. Bismarck was having dinner with Generals von Moltke and von Roon when the telegram came in. At first, when read aloud, the telegram seemed to show that the

King was showing so much consideration to the French demands that war would be avoided. The two soldiers 'turned away from food and drink'. But Bismarck saw a way to make the war inevitable.

He resolved to publish the King's message (this in itself was rather a provocative act), and to publish it in a shorter and curter form than that in which he had received it. The message as published was not only reduced in size, it was actually different in wording. It ended: 'His Majesty the King therefore decided not to receive the French Ambassador again, and sent to tell him through the aide-de-camp on duty that His Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the ambassador.' When Bismarck read it aloud to his two guests they said: 'Now it has a different ring: it sounded before like a parley; now it is like a flourish in answer to a challenge.'¹ French opinion, when the 'telegram' was published became, not unnaturally, violently incensed. On the 19th July, the French Government declared war.

The war lasted for six months. The States of the North German Confederation were joined by the States of Southern Germany—Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg. Austria decided to remain neutral. In the first three months the German armies were highly successful; in the last three months they sustained some severe shocks. But by the end of the year 1870 Paris was closely beleaguered; and its fall was only a matter of time. German armies controlled huge areas of France, and German sovereigns, lodging at Versailles, witnessed the triumph of the 'Fatherland'. German, as distinct from local State, patriotism was at its highest; national fervour thrilled peoples and governments alike. Nevertheless the local German sovereigns, although they had thrown in their fortunes with those of the North German Confederation, were a little averse from seeing the King of Prussia made into their Emperor; and King William, a level-headed old soldier, was not very anxious himself to take the title. Bismarck managed to persuade him and the Crown Prince Frederick. With difficulty the consent of King Lewis of Bavaria

¹ Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chap. XXII *ad fin.* See also Mowat, *A History of European Diplomacy*, p. 211.



AT THE GATES!

A 'Punch' cartoon of Bismarck, 1883

By permission of the Proprietors of 'Punch'

was obtained too. At last, on the 18th January 1871, King William was proclaimed German Emperor in the *Galerie des Glaces* in the château of Versailles, the most magnificent chamber in the most splendid palace of the greatest of French kings.

Yet the new Emperor William was not wholly pleased. 'On descending from the raised dais of the princes', says Bismarck, 'he ignored me as I stood alone upon the free space before it, and passed me by in order to shake hands with the generals standing behind me. He maintained that attitude for several days, until gradually our mutual relations returned to their old form.' ¹

¹ Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chap. XXIII *ad fin.*

Supplementary Dates.

XXII

- 1856 Death of Schumann.
- 1861 Dahn's *Kings of the Germans*.
- 1865 Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*
- 1870 Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*.

XXIII

THE FALL OF THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

EARLY in August 1870, the German and French armies were in touch along the French eastern frontier. Practically from the first, the Germans, whose arrangements for mobilization had worked smoothly and rapidly, took the initiative and so compelled each French army to conform its movements to theirs. Three armies, whose movements were scientifically co-ordinated by the Commander-in-chief von Moltke, moved against the French frontier in the direction of Metz. The northern wing was commanded by General Steinmetz, who had won the Iron Cross in the war of 1813-14 against Napoleon. The second was commanded by a nephew of the Emperor, the popular Frederick Charles, called the 'Red Prince' because of his red Hussar uniform. The third was commanded by Frederick, Crown Prince, the most liberal and lovable of the Hohenzollerns. An early dash by the French into the Saar country which was Prussian territory was, after one brief success at Saarbrücken, easily defeated. After that misfortunes came thick and fast upon the Second Empire. Marshal Bazaine, who had shown his obstinacy and egotism in the Mexican campaign, let himself be outmanœuvred and cooped up at Metz after fighting the losing battle of Gravelotte (18 August). The Emperor Napoleon with Marshal MacMahon, coming to the assistance of Bazaine, were surrounded as they lay resting among the Ardennes hills at Sedan on the Meuse (2 September). Napoleon himself and the Grand Army were taken off, prisoners, to Germany. The Emperor Napoleon remained at the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, three miles from Cassel, until the conclusion of peace.

Napoleon's wife, the Empress Eugénie, had been left in Paris to act as Regent. It is believed that her insistent messages had brought about some of the rash moves of the French forces, in particular the fatal advance of MacMahon's army from Châlons

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to Sedan. When the news of that crushing disaster reached Paris the people rose, and the Empress Eugénie (4 September 1870) fled. She was taken off from the French coast in a private yacht by an English gentleman and came to England. France had now neither Emperor nor Empress-Regent : of her two fine field-armies one was captive, the other was in process of being sealed up in Metz by converging German forces. Thus practically without an army, and wholly without a Government, France had to face the most powerful modern armies which had already penetrated deep into her territory. Yet men were found who did not despair of their country. Emmanuel Arago was 68, Adolphe Crémieux was 74, Glaize-Bizoin was 70, the Admiral Fornichon was 61, Jules Favre was 61. To these must be added the name of Léon Gambetta, a young member of the *Corps Législatif*, aged 32, and another, Jules Ferry, aged 38. Politicians of the Opposition, without experience of conducting Government, either in peace or war, they took hold of the reins. They declared a Provisional 'Government of National Defence' and they resolved to continue the war against the invader. Nevertheless German armies almost at once drew around them. Within three weeks after the fall of the Empire, Paris, the capital, was besieged. The Government of National Defence remained, all except Gambetta, who left Paris in a balloon and got to Tours where he organized a heroic war in the provinces.

This war in the provinces was desperate, but not wholly without prospect of some success. The German Governments eagerly desired a short war ; their financial situation would not justify a very prolonged strain ; the political atmosphere of Europe was not favourable to them. Bismarck was nervously apprehensive of intervention, diplomatic, if not military, by England, Austria, or Italy. So the prolongation of the war for five months after the battle of Sedan and the fall of the Empire did not suit him at all. Thus the French effort was worth making for political and military reasons. It was worth making too because it restored the French self-respect. Had France given in after Sedan, she would have shown herself to be cowed in spirit as well as beaten in the field. The heroic war in the provinces

PAR BALLON

MONTÉ

Décret du 26 septembre 1870



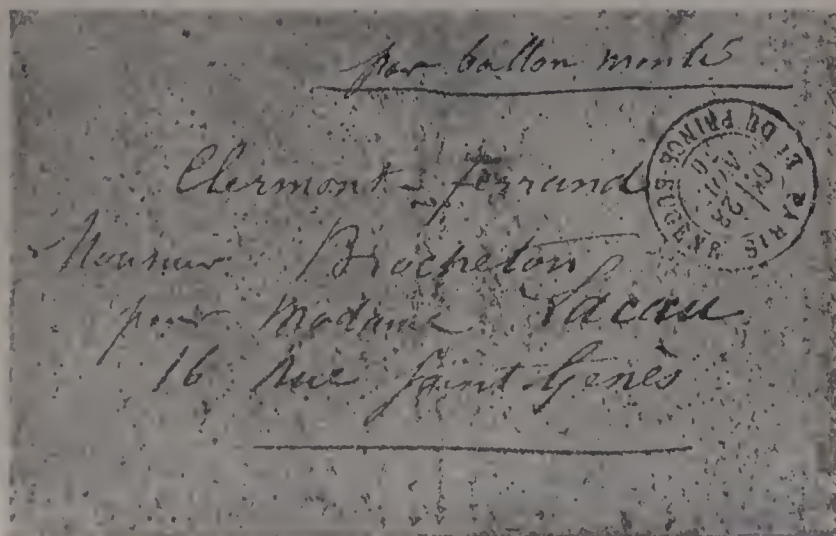
À l'attachement
OBLIGATOIRE

FRANCE-ALGÉRIE
20 CENTIMES

ÉTRANGER
Taxe ordinaire

M

ART. 2. Le poids des lettres expédiées par les aérostats ne devra pas dépasser 6 grammes.



The French air-mail from Paris during the siege

Above, the official letter-card. Below, a letter from a bag which fell into the North Sea and was rescued

By the courtesy of Mrs. A. FitzGerald





Paris and the Siege

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proved the mettle of the French nation. 'From her material losses', said the ardent General Ducrot, 'France will recover; from her moral losses she would recover never.'

The object of Gambetta, directing affairs from Tours, was to relieve Paris by cutting the German lines of communication. A new national army was created in about six weeks. Under General d'Aurelle de Paladines it defeated von der Tann at Coulmiers (9 November) and occupied Orleans. Had Bazaine played the man at Metz and broken through to assist d'Aurelles the siege of Paris would have had to be abandoned. But Bazaine had already surrendered on the 27th October. D'Aurelle alone could not save Paris, although the garrison there made a valiant sortie to help him.

The rest of the war consisted of a determined defensive campaign of General Chanzy in the neighbourhood of Le Mans; a fine effort made with inferior forces by General Faidherbe towards Amiens and St. Quentin; and a risky, brilliant campaign by General Bourbaki in the south-east, with the object of relieving Belfort. All these generals failed, but they had shown what France, even when almost prostrate, could do. On the 28th January 1871 Jules Favre signed an armistice at German Head-quarters at Versailles, ten days after the German Empire had been proclaimed in the château there. On the 27th February the Preliminary Peace of Versailles was signed.

While the siege of Paris was going on Thiers, an old member of the Parliamentary opposition to Napoleon III, had been touring some of the capitals of Europe—Vienna, Florence, London, Petersburg—trying to enlist the good offices of the Powers on the side of France. He gained nothing, however, except some expressions of sympathy. On the other hand, Thomas Carlyle, the 'Sage of Chelsea', having five years earlier, concluded his great panegyric, the *Life of Frederick the Great*, now intervened dramatically on the side of his dead hero. On the 11th November 1870 he wrote from Chelsea a long letter (eleven pages in his Collected Works) which *The Times* newspaper published, while the eyes of all Europe were fixed on the siege of Paris, and every one was wondering if it could be stopped.



Bivouac of Uhlans in the Champs Élysées, 1871

From 'The Illustrated London News'

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Carlyle's message came with all his grand strength of expression to listening Europe :

To the Editor of The Times.

Chelsea, 11 Nov. 1870.

SIR,—It is probably an amiable trait of human nature, this cheap pity and newspaper lamentation over fallen and afflicted France ; but it seems to me a very idle, dangerous and misguided feeling as applied to the cession of Alsace and Lorraine by France to her German conquerors ; and argues, on the part of England, a most profound ignorance as to the mutual history of France and Germany, and the conduct of France towards that Country for long centuries back. The question for the Germans, in this crisis, is not one of 'magnanimity', of 'heroic pity', and 'forgiveness to a fallen foe', but of solid prudence, and practical consideration what the fallen foe will, in all likelihood, do when once on his feet again.

For the present I must say, France looks more and more delirious, miserable, blamable, pitiable and even contemptible. She refuses to see the facts that are lying palpably before her face, and the penalties she has brought upon herself. A France scattered into anarchic ruin, without recognisable head ; *head*, or chief, indistinguishable from *feet*, or rabble ; ministers flying up in balloons ballasted with nothing but outrageous public lies, proclamations of victories that were creatures of the fancy ; a Government subsisting altogether on mendacity, willing that horrid bloodshed should continue and increase rather than that *they*, beautiful Republican creatures, should cease to have the guidance of it. I know not when or where there was seen a nation so covering itself with *dishonour*. If, among this multitude of sympathetic bystanders, France have any true friend, his advice to France would be, To abandon all that, and never to resume it more.

The 'Siege of Paris', which looks like the hugest and most hideous farce-tragedy ever played under this sun, Bismarck evidently hopes will never need to come to uttermost bombardment, to million-fold death by hunger or the kindling of Paris and its carpentries and asphalt streets by shells and red-hot balls into a sea of fire. Diligent, day by day, seem those Prussians, never resting nor too much hasting ; well knowing the proverb 'Slow fire makes sweet malt'. I believe Bismarck will get his Alsace and what he wants of Lorraine ; and likewise that it will do him, and us, and all the world, and even France itself, by and by, a great deal of good. . . . Bismarck, as I read him, is not a person of 'Napoleonic ideas', but of ideas quite superior to Napoleonic ; shows no invincible 'lust of



Thomas Carlyle

From 'The Graphic', 12 February 1881

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territory', nor is tormented with 'vulgar ambition' &c.; but has aims very far beyond that sphere; and, in fact, seems to be striving with strong faculty, by patient, grand and successful steps, towards an object beneficial to Germans and to all other men. That noble, patient, deep, pious and solid Germany should be at length welded into a Nation and become Queen of the Continent, instead of vapouring, vainglorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome and restless and oversensitive France, seems to me the hopefullest public fact that has occurred in my time.

T. CARLYLE.

After the Armistice of the 28th January 1871, but before the Preliminaries of Peace were signed, elections had been held throughout France (8 February) and, as a result, a National Assembly met at Bordeaux. This assembly had to approve of the Preliminary terms of peace which were therefore signed at Versailles on the 26th February. The final peace, which only modified the preliminary terms in minor points, was signed at Frankfort by Jules Favre and Bismarck on the 10th May. On the staircase of the Archives department of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Quai d'Orsay*) there are interesting pictures of the French and Prussian plenipotentiaries (five in number) holding their Peace Conference in a modest drawing-room of the Hotel zum Schwan. The terms of the Versailles and Frankfort treaties were that France should cede to Germany all Alsace except Belfort, and about one-half of Lorraine including Metz; and that she should pay an indemnity of £200,000,000 (five milliards of francs) within five years; until payment in full had been made a German army, fed and housed by the French Government, was to occupy the North-East of France.

Between the signing of the Preliminaries of Versailles and the Treaty of Frankfort, the Government of National Defence had to face a terrible rising among its own people. There is in Paris a large class of manual labourers, cheerful and contented as a rule, but opinionated, and occasionally, when aroused, ferocious. These, amid the depression and pessimism caused by the failure of the war, and exasperated by the long drawn-out sufferings of the siege of Paris, were stirred to revolt on the 18th March and proclaimed a 'Commune'. The Government of National Defence, which removed itself from Bordeaux to Versailles, had

to turn its army against its own Capital, and to fight its way, street by street, until it gained control of the city. In the troubles the Tuileries palace and the beautiful Hôtel de Ville were burned. The Commune was suppressed on the 22nd May, and the rebels were severely punished. Many, caught red-handed, were placed against walls and were shot.

The National Assembly, which contained a majority of Royalists, had by the ' Pact of Bordeaux ', on the 17th February, elected Thiers to be ' Chief of the Executive Power ', without prejudicing any final decision that might have to be taken regarding the Constitution. In August (1871) the title of Thiers' office was changed to President of the French Republic. He was now seventy-four years old. Before he resigned in 1873 he had raised a large loan (which was subscribed fourteen times over) and had paid up the whole indemnity to Germany. Thus France was liberated from the Army of Occupation. After Thiers, Marshal MacMahon was elected President for seven years, by the Law of the Septennate, 20th November 1873. Thiers died at St. Germain-en-Laye on the 3rd September 1877.

The President MacMahon and his Ministry (of which the Duc de Broglie was Premier) and the National Assembly were monarchist in sympathy. The head of the French Royalists was Henri, Comte de Chambord, a grandson of King Charles X. He had no son ; the heir to the royal title would be a distant cousin, Louis-Philippe, Comte de Paris, a grandson of King Louis-Philippe. Between the elder branch and the younger (Orleanist) branch there was deep enmity. In August 1873 a meeting was arranged between the Comte de Paris and the Comte de Chambord at Frohsdorf, Chambord's magnificent castle, thirty miles south of Vienna : the two princes were reconciled. The Comte de Paris was to be Dauphin. All that was now necessary for the restoration of the Monarchy was that the Comte de Chambord should declare in favour of a democratic constitution and the tricolour flag. But he dashed all the hopes of the Royalists by publishing a letter (22 October) in which he declared his adherence to the White Flag of the Bourbons. This declaration for the *Drapeau blanc* turned France into a Republic. On the 18th November,

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of the same year (1872), the Comte de Chambord paid a secret visit to Versailles, in the hopes that MacMahon would make a *coup d'état* and proclaim him King : but the President, monarchist though he was, was too loyal a soldier to betray his trust. At the end of the Comte de Chambord's visit the Law of the Septennate was passed by the National Assembly.

The Third Republic was now definitely in being. It has no formal, written Constitution, like that of the United States of America ; it depends on five Constitutional Acts voted by the National Assembly. The first is the law of the 25th February 1875, instituting a Legislature of Chamber of Deputies and Senate, reaffirming the Law of the Septennate for a Presidency of seven years ; and ordaining a Responsible Ministry. The other four Laws of the 24th February, 16th July, 2nd August, and the 30th November (1875) define the method of election and the rights of the President, Senate, Chamber of Deputies and their relations towards each other.¹

France, having paid off the war-indemnities, liberated her territory from the German Army of Occupation, and established the Constitution of the Third Republic, soon regained her eminent position among the Powers of Europe. When the Congress of Berlin met in 1878 to create a new political system for the Balkan territories, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, William Henry Waddington, was one of the leading statesmen present.

¹ Duguit et Monnier, *Les Constitutions et les principales Lois politiques de la France* (Paris, 1915), pp. 319-33.

Supplementary Dates.

XXIII

- 1871 Zola's *Rougon-Macquart* series.
- 1872 Daudet's *Tartarin de Tarascon*.
- 1873 Brahms's *Requiem*.
- 1875 Taine's *Origines de la France contemporaine*.
- 1877 Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*.
- 1878 Sully-Prudhomme's *La Justice*.

XXIV

THE BALKAN STATES

THE Balkan range of mountains extends roughly east and west, through Bulgaria and Northern Serbia, parallel with the river Danube. As a term of political geography 'the Balkans' generally means all the land between the Danube and the Aegean Sea ; and it is convenient also (although not technically correct) to include Rumania, north of the Danube, in the phrase 'Balkan States.'

A large part of this area had already come under Turkish sway before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Within about twenty-five years after that event the whole of the Balkans, excepting the 'Black Mountain' (Montenegro), but including Albania on the Adriatic coast and Bosnia and Herzegovina, were in the hands of the Turks. Only in Thrace, however (between the Balkan Mountains and the Sea of Marmora), did men of actual Turkish blood settle in any great number. Elsewhere in the Balkans the native Christian Greeks and Slavs remained on the soil, with just a sprinkling of Turkish overlords. In Albania, however, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina many of the native inhabitants became converts to Mahommedanism.

The process of freeing the Christian subjects of the Turks was accomplished only very gradually. Indeed for more than two centuries after the fall of Constantinople there appeared to be a danger of Western Europe suffering from the Turk. In 1683 the Sultan Mahommed IV's army besieged and almost captured Vienna ; and at that time of danger to Western Europe France was actually in alliance with the Porte. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Turkish armies began to suffer reverses. In 1699 (Peace of Carlowitz) the Austrians regained most of Hungary and the Venetians gained the Morea. But in 1718 (Peace of Passarowitz) the Morea was again conquered by the Sultan ; and in 1739 the Austrians had to retrocede Belgrade, which they had won twenty-one years previously.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the forces of Europe, represented by Russian armies, were beginning to stride forward in earnest.

In 1792 the Russians had extended their power westward, along the north coast of the Black Sea, to the Dniester. In 1812 the Treaty of Bucharest, ending a four years Russo-Turkish War, gave Bessarabia, between the Dniester and the Pruth, to the Tsar. The Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, ending the War in which the Tsar Nicholas I had intervened on the side of the Greeks, transferred the Danube mouths and deltas from Turkey to Russia; this treaty marks the point nearest to Constantinople that Russia has ever attained.

Meanwhile, some of the European races subject to Turkey had been making efforts to liberate themselves. In 1804 an unsuccessful rising had occurred in Serbia under a strong-willed swine-herd Kara George ('Black' George). In 1815 another peasant, Milosh Obrenovitch, succeeded by arms and diplomacy where Kara George had failed. The Sultan agreed that the Serbs should be self-governing, but tributary. Milosh Obrenovitch became the first autonomous Prince. Kara George was murdered in 1817, it is supposed at Milosh's orders.

Milosh abdicated in 1839. Serbia passed through some very troubled years; during some of this time a son of the murdered Kara George became Prince (1842-59). In 1859 the aged Milosh Obrenovitch returned as Prince. He was succeeded by his son Michael in 1860; and Serbia (which had obtained an increase of territory by the Treaty of Paris, 1856) entered upon a period of some prosperity. In 1867 Michael induced the Porte to withdraw the last Turkish garrisons from Serbia.

It was a war in Serbia, combined with a rising against the Turks in Herzegovina, which led to the now celebrated Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 and the Treaty of Berlin the 13th July 1878. By this treaty Serbia gained Nish and Pirot from Turkey, and was acknowledged to be completely independent. In 1882 Prince Milan became King Milan. The Obrenovitch dynasty continued to reign at Belgrade until 1903. On the 10th June of that year King Alexander and Queen Draga were

murdered by conspirators whose object was to set up the Kara-georgevitch family. Alexander was the last Obrenovitch. Under his successor, King Peter Karageorgevitch, Serbia greatly prospered, contrary to what was to be expected from the peculiar circumstances of his accession to the throne. Peter I lived through the trials of the Great War and died in August 1921, leaving a kingdom which stretched from the Danube to the Adriatic. The Conference of Paris, 1919, recognized the absorption by Serbia of Montenegro. The union was accomplished after a plebiscite held in Montenegro. Thus disappeared the only Balkan State which had preserved its freedom from the Turks in the dark centuries after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The political ferment which, during the period of the Napoleonic Wars, stirred the Serbs to seek their freedom had the same result in Greece. But it was not until 1821 that the Greeks began the War of Independence which was to last until 1829. The Bavarian King Otto, who was established on the throne by the Three Powers (Great Britain, Russia, and France) in 1832, was forced to abdicate after thirty years of conscientious administration (1862). His successor, George I, founder of the Glücksburg dynasty, was a son of the King of Denmark. Under George I, a cautious statesman, with the help of Charilaus Trikoupis (1832-96), who was equally cautious and able, the rather passionate politicians of Greece were kept within bounds, and the country made steady progress. Although Greece gained nothing at the Congress of Berlin, she was given Thessaly by Turkey (under pressure of the Three Powers) in 1881; the Balkan wars of 1813 added Crete and Southern Macedonia (including Salonica), and most of the islands off Asia Minor. When King George died, assassinated on the 18th March 1913, the Hellenic Kingdom was in a fair way to become Greater Greece, an empire of the Levant. The Glücksburg dynasty, however, was not popular. The last king, George II, was deposed in 1924, and Greece was proclaimed to be a Republic.

Rumania had always been the most fortunate of the Christian territories subject to the Turks. It consisted of two principalities or provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, each inhabited by the same

race, but each separate in administration from the other. Each principality was ruled by a governor, called a Hospodar, who was appointed by the Porte. The Hospodars were always Christian and were nearly always wealthy 'Phanariot' Greeks from the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. Russia took much interest in the Principalities, and after the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji in 1774 regarded itself as their protector. In 1856 the Treaty of Paris, ending the Crimean War, left Wallachia and Moldavia still subject to the sovereignty of the Sultan, but with their privileges guaranteed by the signing Powers. Russia was forced (article 20) to cede to Moldavia a portion of Bessarabia along the Lower Pruth and the northern mouth of the Danube.

There was now a vigorous national movement both in Wallachia and Moldavia. Not being recognized by the Powers as a united State the two Principalities found an ingenious way to become practically one. In 1858 a constitution arranged for them by the Powers permitted the Assembly of each Principality to elect its own Hospodar. In 1859 they elected the same man, Colonel Couza, a Moldavian.

Couza reigned as a beneficent despot until 1866 when a *coup d'état*, which was directed as much against his bad private life as against his despotism, drove him into exile. A prince of royal blood was invited to ascend the throne of the united principalities, by this time known as Rumania. This was Charles, younger son of Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. He came secretly to Bucharest, and the Rumanian revolution, which was not popular with the Western Powers, became a *fait accompli*.

Prince Charles's successful rule as Prince of Rumania gradually won the approval of all the Governments of Europe. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 his soldiers fought on the Russian side; and Prince Charles himself was made Commander-in-Chief of the Russo-Rumanian forces which besieged and captured Plevna. The Treaty of Berlin, however, gave him no satisfaction; for although he gained the Dobrudja (south of the Danube Mouths) from Turkey, he had to retrocede to his ally, Russia, the portion of Bessarabia which had been added to Moldavia in 1856. This 'Rift of Bessarabia', as the Rumanians magniloquently called it,

was a sore grievance for many years. But some consolation came from the clause of the Berlin Treaty (art. 20) which declared Rumania to be independent of Turkey. In 1881 Prince Charles assumed the dignity of king.

It is impossible to write or think about the Balkan States without bringing in the Treaty of Berlin, just as it is impossible to discuss the international system of Central and Western Europe without alluding to the Treaty of Vienna. The difference between the times of enactment of these two political instruments, the Vienna Treaty of 1815, the Berlin Treaty of 1878, marks the difference in degree of political progress between Central and Western Europe on the one hand and the Balkans on the other. It was in 1878 that the whole Balkan peoples took a definite place in the international system of Europe ; and the Treaty of Berlin, torn, patched, amended though it be, remains the great charter of the non-Turkish peoples of the south-east.

The Berlin Treaty came at the end of one of the many wars of Russia against Turkey. This war itself occurred as the result of friction, tension, and rebellion within the Balkan area. The peasants of Turkey-in-Europe, living from hand to mouth on their poorly cultivated land, had a special plague in the tax-gatherers, whose methods of collecting revenue were really methods of extortion. Early in 1875, after a bad harvest in the previous autumn, Herzegovinian cultivators had to see their sheaves of corn rotting on the ground, because the tax-gatherers had not yet come round to measure the grain. The usual, frequent, sporadic sort of rebellion ensued ; gradually the fire of insurrection spread. Montenegrin bands gave help ; the Austrian Government seemed not unfavourable. Further east, and south of the Danube where the long-forgotten name of Bulgaria was being revived, peasant bands joined in the revolt. The massacre of some 1,203 Bulgarians at Batak, after they had surrendered on conditions to the Bashli-Bazouk soldiery, directed the attention of all Europe to the insurrectionists' grievances, May 1876. Gladstone wrote his pamphlet, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, and expressed the thoughts of many people when he lashed the Turks : ' Their Zaptiehs, and their Mudirs, their

Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned.'

Except in Russia, where the opinion of the Government favoured a policy of armed intervention, most European statesmen worked for a peaceful solution. In Great Britain the Prime Minister, Disraeli, did not share Gladstone's feelings against the Turks; in Austria the Chancellor, Andrassy, had his own scheme for reforming peacefully the Turkish administrative methods. In Germany Bismarck held the opinion which he expressed two years later when he said: 'The Eastern Question is not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier.' France and Italy were not unfriendly to Turkey.

Alexander II of Russia, however, felt deeply the wrongs of his co-religionists in Bulgaria. He recognized, too, a historic mission on the part of Russia against Turkey. The time seemed ripe now for reversing the verdict of the Crimean War. For years after the Treaty of Paris of 1856 the Tsar's Government had maintained a policy of quiet, internal development at home: 'Russia is not sulking; she is recuperating,' her Chancellor, Prince Gortchakoff, had said (*La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille*). In 1863 she had met and suppressed a dangerous insurrection in Poland, and had found the Prussian Government (which had refractory Polish subjects) very sympathetic. In 1870 with the Prussian Government's approval (which was not given for nothing) had repudiated that clause in the Treaty of Paris which prevented her from keeping a fleet in the Black Sea or fortifications on its coasts. The Bosphorus and Dardanelles were still closed to Russian (and to all non-Turkish) warships; but with a Russian fleet in the Black Sea, Russian armies in Bessarabia, a strong friend of Russia in Rumania, and an insurrection blazing in Turkey, the next step—to take Constantinople itself—seemed likely to be easy. In April 1877 the Tsar made war upon the Porte.

The war was not at first successful for the Russians. Rumania gave the Tsar's armies a safe way by land; the Turkish warships commanded the Black Sea. The Danube was successfully

crossed at Nikopol. General Gourko seized the Shipka Pass and opened the way through the Balkans ; but the town Plevna, an important road-centre (or rather track-centre) between the Danube and the Balkan mountains, kept a Russo-Rumanian army stationary before it for four and a half months (20 July-10 December 1897). At last, however, the sheer weight of the Russian armies and their scientific resources bore down the opposition of the Turks ; and on the 31st January 1878 an armistice was dictated by the Grand Duke Nicholas at Adrianople. Co-operation by the forces of Serbia, which had also joined in the war, greatly contributed to this result. The Treaty of Peace was made at San Stefano, near Constantinople, on the 3rd March.

The Treaty of San Stefano created a new State, Bulgaria, ' an autonomous Principality with a Christian Government and a national militia '. This State was to comprise not merely the territory between the Danube and the Balkan mountains, but also the large area south of the Balkans, known later as Eastern Rumelia, including Philippopolis but not Adrianople. On the east its frontier was to be the Black Sea, on the south the Aegean (but not including Salonica), on the west the Albanian mountains and the river Black Drin. Montenegro and Serbia were to be made entirely independent of the Porte and were to have their frontiers very greatly extended. Russia was to receive from Turkey a war-indemnity and also accessions of territory in Europe and Asia Minor. Turkey in Europe would be left with practically only Thrace, Thessaly, and Albania.

When the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded the Great Powers stood regarding the Eastern Question, as they had done in 1853, at a parting of the ways. The decision which they had to face on both occasions was this : Should they acquiesce in a Russo-Turkish arrangement which would ultimately ensure that the Turkish State should leave Europe, and leave it only to make way for the Russians at Constantinople ? For the Treaty of San Stefano, with its ' Big Bulgaria ', a State of wholly inexperienced peasants, created and protected by Russia, would have placed the Balkan region for the time being under the control of the Tsar, and by tremendously reducing the power of the Turkish

State could have made its final overthrow at the hands of the Russians practically inevitable.

The British Cabinet, under the premiership of Disraeli, and strongly supported by Queen Victoria, decided that the Treaty of San Stefano must be greatly modified. To support this demand the Army was partly mobilized, the Fleet sent to Besika Bay. If the Russian Government insisted upon carrying into effect the Treaty of San Stefano war with Great Britain (with probably Austria and certainly Turkey on the British side) was absolutely sure to follow. So, rather than risk a European war, the Russian Government agreed to make a compromise. By a Convention signed with the British Government on the 30th May Russia agreed to abandon the extreme San Stefano clauses. In particular, the new State of Bulgaria was to extend only from the Danube to the Balkan mountains. War between the Great Powers having been thus averted, it was arranged that a European Congress should meet at Berlin to amend the Treaty of San Stefano and to make whatever political arrangements were necessary in the Balkan region as a result of the Russo-Turkish War. The Congress of Berlin, in which the chief men were Disraeli (made Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876), Lord Salisbury, Bismarck, Andrassy, Gortchakoff, and Waddington (for France), was in session from the 13th June to the 13th July. The result of its deliberations was the Treaty of Berlin, signed on the 13th July.

This treaty, based upon but widely differing from the Treaty of San Stefano, became, as it were, the written constitution of the political system of the Balkans. Article 1 stated that Bulgaria was an autonomous State under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Its southern boundary was to be the Balkan mountains: the debated country beyond, which the Treaty of San Stefano had assigned to it, was to be a separate, autonomous province with a Christian Governor appointed by and dependant on the Porte (art. 13). Montenegro and Serbia were recognized as completely independent, and their territories were increased at the expense of Turkey, although not to the same extent as the Treaty of San Stefano had guaranteed. Rumania also became independent in international law, but it profited nothing in territory, for if it



The Macedonian Plains

gained the sandy Dobrudja from Turkey (with a fairly good port, Constanza), it lost its strip of Bessarabia to Russia.

The Treaty of Berlin regulated social and political affairs by stipulating with regard to all the Balkan States (except Greece, which did not figure in the treaty), and to Turkey (art. 62) that nobody should suffer diminution of rights or states on account of his race or religion. Administrative reforms, according to a plan called the Organic Law of 1868, were promised by the Porte on behalf of Crete, and (the Treaty continued) 'similar laws shall be introduced into the other parts of Turkey in Europe (art. 23). The effort to obtain the execution of this stipulation taxed all the patience of the Powers from 1878 to 1912 and eventually produced the Balkan War of that year.

By article 25 of the Berlin Treaty Austria obtained the right to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, subject to the maintenance of the sovereignty of the Sultan in those provinces. Russia obtained from Turkey a war-indemnity, and Batoum, Ardahan, and Kars in Asia Minor, as well as the Bessarabian strip from Rumania. Great Britain had already, by a previous Convention (4 June 1878), obtained from Turkey the right to occupy and administer Cyprus. Bismarck had at the Congress suggested to Beaconsfield that Great Britain should take Egypt too, but the idea was not followed up. The only Balkan State that received nothing was Greece, which had only abstained from joining with the other Balkan States in the war against Turkey on the advice of the British Government and other interested Powers. But Greece's moderation was rewarded three years later when the British Government induced the Turks to hand over Thessaly to King George I (24 May 1881).

After the Berlin Settlement the Balkan States (although not Macedonia) entered upon a period of thirty years of stability and comparative prosperity.

Supplementary Dates.

XXIV

1803 Korais's *Present Condition of Civilisation in Greece*.

1812 Leake's *Researches in Greece*.

XXV

THE NEW WORLD AND THE OLD

§ 1. *The Society of the Civilized World*

As the nineteenth century grew older the different political sections of the world came more and more into touch. In previous ages the world, regarded as a society or system of States, had not made continuous progress. When the ancient Roman Empire was at its height in the century after Augustus, the greater part of western, central, and south-eastern Europe, as well as Asia Minor and North Africa, had all been under one dominion. Even Central Asia had City-States of the Greek type, with some European culture. In the early Middle Ages, however, the society of States shrank terribly. In the time of Charlemagne Europe was, intellectually and politically, completely cut off from Asia and Africa. Obscure tribal movements from Central Asia reverberated upon Europe, but the Hun, the Mongol, the Tartar, and even the great Mahommedan movement from Arabia scarcely brought Europe and Asia into real touch. The Crusades did something to extend the society of States to both sides of the Mediterranean, but the torrential advance first of the Seljuk, later of the Ottoman Turks, threw back the European peoples upon themselves. When modern history opens with the Renaissance at the end of the fifteenth century there was no society of States outside Western and Central Europe.

At this very time, however, when the Turks were completing their conquest of south-eastern Europe, and were stopping the land-routes into Asia, a new way to the East was being found over the ocean, and a new world itself was being discovered over the Western Seas.

When the Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, in 1498 anchored his ships in the roads of Calicut he brought Europe and the East together again. In 1526, by the battle of Panipat, the Mogul, Baber, established his empire over Afghan and Hindu ; and thus

there was created an organized Power in India to which the European States could send ambassadors, and which European travellers and traders could visit. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries certain of the States of Europe contended with each other and with Indian rulers for dominion in India. In the end supremacy fell to the British in India, but to the Dutch in the East India Islands.

While European States were contending for the Indies, in the New World called America settlers from Europe were creating new nations. In North America French and English struggled against each other. The wars of the eighteenth century decided that the civilization of the north should be English. In Central and South America, with the exception of Brazil, Spanish culture prevailed. Gradually over the American Continent independent States were created. In the far north Canada was a member of the British Empire, but the greater part of the fertile area of North America was the independent Federation of the United States, as organized by the Constitution of 1787. In Central and South America the old Spanish and Portuguese colonies became States: Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica in 1821, the South American States about the same date or a little earlier (see p. 408).

The creation of independent States on the American Continent was, from one point of view, a step backwards: that is to say, it severed the political ties between Europe and the New World, and only increased the already existing international anarchy. This tendency for the political world to split up into water-tight compartments seemed to be confirmed when the 'Monroe Doctrine' of 1823 was announced, and when the Doctrine became, through use and wont, almost a part of the Law of Nations. Nevertheless, although the immediate result of the creation of independent States in the two Americas seemed to be to cut off the Old World and the New more effectively than ever from each other, yet the ultimate result was to bring them closer together. For the enormous and rapid development of European culture in the independent States of the Americas, the enormous inflow of European settlers, and the back-surge of Americans (diplo-



Immigration to-day. Ellis Island, outside New York, where immigrants undergo examination and quarantine

matists, traders, students, travellers) upon Europe has linked old Europe with the New World again, far more potently than ever under the old colonial dominions.

§ 2. *The United States of America*

The question of fixing the frontier between Canada and the United States troubled Anglo-American relations intermittently for more than half a century after the recognition of the independence of the United States in 1783. The frontier of 1783 passed through the Lakes Huron, Ontario, and Superior from east to west. In 1818 the Convention of London extended this line westwards along the 49th parallel of latitude to the Rocky Mountains. Further than that the frontier was not drawn, because there were no white settlers to the west of the Rockies. Gradually, however, the westward movement of the people of the United States set in, and soon the Government put forward a claim to all the land between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. This claim, if admitted, would have given the territory now called British Columbia in addition to the land now known as the States Oregon, Washington, and Idaho to the United States. The British Government on the other hand claimed Oregon chiefly on account of the discoveries of Captain Cook in 1775. Actually from 1818 until 1846 Oregon, by agreement, was jointly occupied by the representatives of the British and United States Governments. On the 15th July 1846 the Treaty of Washington between the two Governments put an end to the joint administration, and instead continued the 1818 frontier over the Rocky Mountains along the 49th parallel to the middle of the channel which divides the continent from Vancouver Island: here the frontier bent south to include Vancouver on the British side. This Treaty, which averted an otherwise certain war between Great Britain and the United States, was a fair settlement, in which the British Government acted generously and gave its competitor the 'benefit of the doubt'.

The next trouble which confronted the United States was a purely domestic affair, but it was so acute that for a time it

split the Union into two. Negro slavery was a recognized institution in North America, coming down from early colonial days. Since 1808 no more slaves had been imported. In the cold or temperate Northern States there was never much slavery, but in the Southern cotton-growing and rice-growing States it was the basis of their economy. The geographical division between the Free and the Slave-holding States was represented, roughly, by 'Mason and Dixon's Line', an old frontier starting on the Atlantic coast at a point between Maryland and Delaware, and thence running westwards. Mason and Dixon were two British engineers who surveyed their line at the orders of the British Government between 1764 and 1767.

From the early years of the nineteenth century there was in the Northern States agitation against the existence of slavery in the Union. In 1854 the controversy became more acute than ever before. Two definite political parties took shape, dividing the whole people of the United States. Those who were against slavery took the name of President Jefferson's old party, the Republicans; while those who supported slavery called themselves Democrats. The Republicans, being chiefly men of the manufacturing States of the North, were in favour of Protection in addition to their opposition to slavery; while the Democrats of the cotton-exporting States, having no manufactures to protect, and wishing to encourage other countries to buy their cotton, were in favour of Free Trade as well as slavery. The division of the people of the United States into these two parties still continues. They are no longer divided from each other on the question of slavery, but the Democrats still retain their strength in the South and the Republicans in the North; and the Democrats are, if not now Free Traders, at any rate only *moderate* Protectionists, while the Republicans stand for a tariff of the highest kind.

The division of the people over the question of slavery became yet more marked when Chief Justice Tandy gave the opinion in the Dred Scott Case (1857) that a slave or the descendant of a slave could never be a citizen of the United States. This opinion decided the anti-slavery people (the 'Abolitionists') to work

for an amendment to the Constitution, to the effect that slavery should be prohibited by the law of the land. The Republican party, however, could not secure enough votes to ensure that the President should be a Republican and an Abolitionist. In 1860, however, the Democratic party was temporarily split into two sections, one being more extreme in its views on slavery than the other; each section nominated a candidate of its own for the Presidency. This split among the Democrats enabled the Republicans to secure a majority of votes for their candidate, Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer of Springfield, Ohio (November 1860). The leading politicians who were in favour of slavery therefore made ready for a secession of their States. In February 1861 South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America under a President of their own choosing, Jefferson Davis, a former Union Secretary of State for War. A Confederate army was organized. Abraham Lincoln had declared the Union to be indissoluble and consequently the Confederate Secession to be unlawful. Over this question the Civil War of 1861-5 was fought. It began with an attack upon Fort Sumter, which was held by Northern troops, in Charleston harbour, on the 12th April 1861. The fort capitulated on the 14th.

The issue between the North and the South in the Civil War was not simply whether slavery should or should not exist, although that question was also being decided. The paramount question was whether there should be one Union of States or two. Then the Civil War decided that there should be one Power, the United States of America, and that there was no 'right of secession'. Had the judgement by battle gone the other way modern history would have run a very different course from that which has happened.

The Southern Confederate States had a population of about eight and a half million; the Northern States had about twenty-three million. Nevertheless, in spite of this disparity the South made a splendid fight, and produced some very able generals, the best of whom were Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, both of them 'West Pointers', that is, formerly regular officers



Monitors and Ironclads in action, Charleston, 1863

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1863

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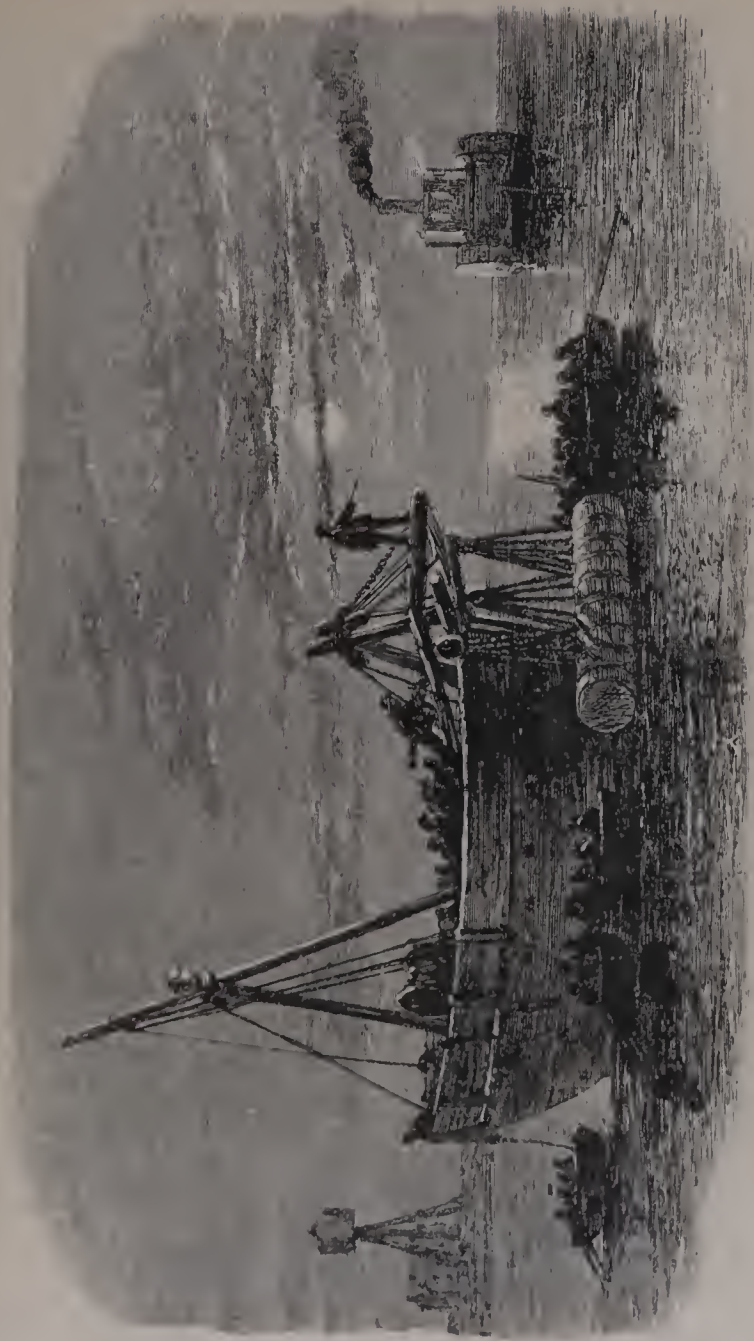
of the old Union army, trained at West Point military academy on the Hudson.

The war was long, the military problem of the North, in spite of the disparity of numbers between the contending parties, so difficult that the faith and vision and will-power of Abraham Lincoln were taxed to the utmost to persevere to the end. The decisive stages in the war were the siege and capture of New Orleans, the great port of the Mississippi, by Admiral Farragut of the Northern navy in 1862; the siege and capture of Vicksburg, which, standing on a high 'bluff', commands the middle course of the Mississippi, by General Ulysses S. Grant in July 1863; and the defeat by General Meade of Lee's great invasion of Pennsylvania, at the battle of Gettysburg, which also took place in July 1863.

The rest of the war was a long-sustained effort on the part of the North, requiring enormous forces, to circumscribe and sweep together the Confederate forces, which were operating over a huge country, impossible completely to occupy. The chief Northern armies were General Meade's army of the Potomac (in the north of Virginia) and General Sherman's army in Tennessee. The general control of all the forces was in the hands of Grant.

By the autumn of 1864 Sherman (who 'never acknowledged an error and never repeated one')¹ had fought his way into Georgia from the west and occupied Atlanta. He then made his famous march from Atlanta—300 miles in 24 days—to the sea. Grant and Meade came down through Virginia in May, steadily forcing back Lee by the terrible fights of Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and North Anna. Grant's plan was systematically to extend the line of his forces south and west; and thus gradually to 'contain' the Confederate forces which Sherman meanwhile was vigorously engaging from the South. At last Lee gave up the struggle and signed articles of surrender with Grant at Appomattox Court House on the 9th April 1865. The Civil War was at an end.

¹ This was said by Whitelaw Reid who served on the Union side in the Civil War. Reid was Ambassador of the United States in London from 1905 to 1913.



Confederates sinking torpedoes by moonlight in the harbour channel, Charleston, 1863

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1863

The secession States were taken back into the Union, and the Constitution was amended by articles XIII, XIV, and XV—the first amendment so made since the year 1804. By these articles slavery was made unlawful, all persons born in the United States were declared to be citizens of it, and the right of citizens to vote was not to be denied by any State on account of race and colour.

The States of the South gradually adjusted themselves to the new conditions. Free labour proved to be more profitable than slave labour. Representation in Congress was proportional to the total number of citizens; accordingly, with the negro population counted as citizens, the South has a high representation, which is absolutely in the hands of the whites.

The defeated people and their leaders were well treated. The Southern ex-President, Jefferson Davis, after two years of imprisonment, was allowed to retire to his estates in the State of Mississippi. General Lee, a man of simple, unselfish character, had his estates confiscated but was left free. He became President of Washington College, now known as Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, Virginia, where he became beloved of all the students. He died in 1870. His great opponent in the war, Grant, was elected President of the United States in 1868 and again in 1872. Abraham Lincoln just saw the actual end of the war. Five days later he was shot on the 14th April 1865 in Ford's Theatre, Washington, where he was enjoying what was probably the first moment of relaxation he had had since the five anguished years of the war.¹

O CAPTAIN ! MY CAPTAIN !

O Captain ! my Captain ! Our fearful trip is done,
 The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,
 The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
 While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring :
 But O heart ! heart ! heart !
 O the bleeding drops of red !
 Where on the deck my Captain lies,
 Fallen cold and dead.

¹ Lincoln died on the following morning, 15 April, at twenty-two minutes past seven.

O Captain ! my Captain ! rise up and hear the bells ;
 Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills,
 For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowd-
 ing,
 For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning ;
 Here Captain ! dear father !
 This arm beneath your head !
 It is some dream that on the deck
 You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
 My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will ;
 The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done ;
 From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won ;
 Exult, O shores ! and ring, O bells !
 But I, with mournful tread,
 Walk the deck my Captain lies,
 Fallen cold and dead.

WALT WHITMAN.

The Abolitionist agitation which had preceded the Civil War and the War itself produced numerous writings and some real literature. John Brown, a Northerner who had taken a farm near Harper's Ferry on the Potomac, had tried to raise an insurrection among Abolitionists and negroes in 1859. He was captured and shot after a trial for treason. The verses composed on his death and set to the music of an old negro tune became one of the favourite marching songs of the Northern regiments. Better verses were those of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's *Battle Hymn of the Republic* (1861): ' Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.' The ' Battle Hymn ', sung to the tune of ' John Brown's body ', was written in order to supersede, if possible, these doggerel verses.

A novel which evoked warm sympathy with the slaves was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, written by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1852. Lord Palmerston, who was not naturally sentimental, read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* three times. Walt Whitman, who was forty-two when the Civil War broke out, served as a medical orderly, writing from his experiences of the war *Drum Taps*, and

other poems and prose-pieces, many of which are collected in his *Specimen Days in America*.

I have said somewhere that the three Presidentiads preceding 1861 show'd how the weakness and wickedness of rulers are just as eligible here in America under republican, as in Europe under dynastic influences. But what can I say of that prompt and splendid wreathing with secession slavery, the arch-enemy personified, the instant he unmistakably show'd his face? The volcanic upheaval of the nation after that firing on the flag at Charleston, proved for certain something which had been previously in great doubt, and at once substantially settled the question of disunion. In my judgment it will remain as the grandest and most encouraging spectacle yet vouchsafed in any age, old or new, to political progress and democracy. It was not for what came to the surface merely—though that was important—but what it indicated below, which was of eternal importance. Down in the abysms of New World humanity there had formed and hardened a primal hard-pan of national Union will, determined and in the majority, refusing to be tampered with or argued against, confronting all emergencies, capable at any time of bursting all surface bonds and breaking out like an earthquake. It is, indeed, the best lesson of the century or of America, and it is a mighty privilege to have been part of it. (Two great spectacles, immortal proofs of democracy, unequalled in all the history of the past, are furnished by the secession wars, one at the beginning, the other at its close. Those are the general, voluntary armed upheaval, and the peaceful and harmonious disbanding of the armies in the summer of 1865.) (*National Uprising and Volunteering.*)

The Civil War, while it was going on, had powerful reverberations upon the Old World. One was that it enabled the Emperor Napoleon III of France to push forward a curious adventure, an attempt to conquer Mexico with French troops and to make it into a monarchy (see p. 722). Another result was to cut off the chief supply of cotton for the Lancashire mills. A 'Cotton Famine' ensued (1862) with terrible unemployment for a time in Lancashire. In spite of this the working-classes in England retained their sympathy with the North, although it was Northern cruisers which prevented the Southern cotton from reaching England. The British upper-classes, however, tended to sympathize with the Southern States who were fighting for independence. Great Britain and the Northern States nearly came to

blows over the ' *Trent* affair ' (1861). A Northern cruiser stopped a British mail steamer and removed from it two Southern diplomatists who were going on a mission to Europe. The British Government actually sent the Guards to Canada, to be ready to cross the American frontier. War was averted by the conciliatory diplomacy of the Prince Consort of Great Britain, Lord Lyons, British Ambassador at Washington, and Charles Francis Adams, United States (Northern) Ambassador at London. The affair of the *Alabama*, a Confederate (Southern) cruiser built in 1862 at the works of Cammel and Laird, Liverpool, took longer to settle. The Northern States claimed from Great Britain compensation for all the damage done to their sea-borne commerce by the *Alabama*, and even for the whole cost of the war after the battle of Gettysburg (July 1863). The claim was submitted to an arbitration tribunal which met in Geneva in 1871 when Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister of Great Britain and when General Grant was President of the United States. The compensation awarded to the United States was three and a quarter million pounds sterling.

When Abraham Lincoln was assassinated the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, in accordance with the Constitution, became President. He was on bad terms with the Senate all through the term of his administration, and was actually impeached, on a charge of contravening a ' Tenure of Office Act ', in 1867, but was acquitted. He was succeeded as President by General Grant, who was also re-elected at the end of his first term of office, in 1872. This fine old soldier died in 1885, just after finishing writing his autobiography. The South was now recovering its place in the national life, and even succeeded in getting a Democratic candidate elected as President in 1884. This was Grover Cleveland, a Northerner, although a member of the Democratic party. Under his administration the United States began to assert its dignity and its position in international affairs. When Cleveland, after an interval (during which General Harrison was President), was elected to a second term as President in 1892 this became more apparent.

Grover Cleveland's second term of the presidential office ran

from 1893 to 1897. During this period and in the following years the foreign policy of the United States became more vigorous than it had been since the time of President Monroe. In Cleveland's time, as in Monroe's time, the international relations of the United States were vitally connected with the relations which existed between Europe and Latin America. In particular, the United States Government challenged the superior position held by Great Britain in the lands bordering on the Caribbean Sea ; and the British Government, after a period of cautious negotiation, allowed the claim of the United States to predominance in the Caribbean.

Between 1887 and 1895 Great Britain and Venezuela had a dispute about the frontier of British Guiana. In 1895 the Government of the United States claimed that, by virtue of the Monroe Doctrine, she had a predominant position in the American Continent, and that it had therefore the right to intervene in the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Dispute. For a time public opinion both in Great Britain and the United States was rather acutely aroused, and President Cleveland appeared to be on the point of asking Congress to declare war. This, however, was averted. When the war-crisis was over the British Government, in which Lord Salisbury was both Premier and Foreign Secretary, agreed with Venezuela (in a treaty signed at Washington) to submit the boundary-dispute to arbitration. Thus the claim of the United States Government to intervene and mediate in matters between a European Power and Latin America was practically recognized by Great Britain. The decision of the Arbitration Court, which held its sittings in Paris, concerning the British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary, was distinctly in favour of Great Britain.

Over the Central American Canal question the British Government showed itself, after a long series of negotiations, equally favourable to the United States' point of view. That the Isthmus of Central America should be pierced by a ship-canal and that this plan, if carried into effect, would be an advantage to the whole world was obvious to all observers. The Central American States, however, had neither the capital nor

the technical ability to carry out this scheme. The two Powers which had special interests in America and which were rich enough and capable enough to make the canal were Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain, owing to her possession of Jamaica and other islands in the Caribbean Sea, and owing to her continental possession of British Honduras (not to mention Canada in the north) and to her world-wide maritime position, had certainly a good claim to special interest in the canal-project.

In 1850 the Governments of the United States and Great Britain concluded an agreement, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, to the effect that neither party would obtain or maintain any exclusive control over the ship-canal. Actually, however, it was a French Company (the chief mover being Vicomte Ferdinand de Lesseps) which obtained from Colombia the concession to construct the canal. Lesseps had succeeded in making the great international waterway, the Suez Canal. He was, however, to fail in his second effort, for the French Panama Canal Company became bankrupt in 1888. During Grover Cleveland's second Presidency the United States Government itself took up the project of building a canal, but it was to be a purely American canal; Great Britain was to have nothing to do with it. This was an essential condition of the revived interest of the United States in the Monroe Doctrine.

The British Government had a secure position, and could claim, both on account of the geographical proximity of its colonies to the projected canal-zone and also on account of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, that the canal should not be exclusively in the hands of the United States Government. But, in face of the persistent claim of the United States to full control, the British Government, after making quite clear in its dispatches that its rights under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty were unimpeachable, abandoned its special position. At this time the United States Secretary of State was John Hay, and the British Ambassador at Washington was Sir Julian Pauncefote, two far-seeing, conciliatory statesmen. By the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of the 18th November 1901 the British Government agreed that the Government of the United States should construct, own, and

maintain military police along a canal across the Isthmus, on condition that all nations should be allowed to use the canal freely, subject only to payment of the ordinary tolls, and keeping of the necessary rules.

The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these Rules, on terms of entire equality so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions of traffic or otherwise. (Art. III.)

Probably everybody now admits that the British Government had been conciliatory and generous with regard to the desires of the United States respecting the canal. If this is so the United States Government cannot be acquitted of ingratitude when, as soon as the Canal was built and opened, it proceeded to exempt the ships of its coast-wise trade from paying tolls. This happened under President Taft's Administration (1909-13). The argument used was that the stipulation in the Hay-Pauncefote Convention for the equal treatment of all nations meant that the United States could not give preferential treatment to one foreign State over another; but that the Treaty did not prevent the United States Government, which owned the Canal, benefiting its own nationals. The British Government, however, would not in this case recede from its claim that 'entire equality' meant equal treatment for all, including the United States. Woodrow Wilson, when he became President, maintained that the United States Government still conceived itself to be within its rights; but with the chivalry that always distinguished his policy he stated that the special exemption to American ships would be withdrawn, so that no foreign Government could have a shadow of grievance to allege.

The position of the United States in the Canal zone and the Caribbean Sea was further strengthened as a result of the Spanish-American War. Cuba and Porto Rico were the last possessions left to Spain out of her magnificent Empire in the New World. In 1895 insurrection broke out (or rather was renewed) in Cuba. The public of the United States became greatly interested. The rebellion dragged on, the Spanish army, in spite of its use

of the most ruthless methods of scientific warfare, being unable to subdue it. On the 15th February 1898 the United States cruiser *Maine*, lying at anchor in Havana Bay, suddenly blew up; 258 officers and men were killed. The explosion was attributed to Spanish agency, but the truth has never come out. Feeling in the United States now rose to white-heat, and in April Congress declared war. In the ensuing hostilities Spain lost not merely Cuba and Porto Rico but also the Far Eastern Philippine Islands. By the Treaty of Paris, 10th December 1898, Spain ceded Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands to the United States. Cuba became an independent Republic. The war, which was conducted by the Administration of President McKinley (1897-1901), brought into great prominence Theodore Roosevelt, formerly Governor of New York, who raised and led a regiment of 'Rough Riders' and greatly distinguished himself at the capture of Santiago de Cuba. When McKinley was assassinated at Buffalo, in September 1901, Roosevelt (who was then Vice-President), in accordance with the Constitution, became President. The influence of the United States became more world-wide than ever.

In domestic affairs Roosevelt engaged in a great contest to secure legal control of the great Trusts or Industrial and Financial 'Combines' which largely dominated the commerce of the United States. He also did much to preserve the forests and other natural resources of the country which were being wastefully exploited. In foreign affairs his greatest achievement was his successful offer of friendly offices to Russia and Japan when these two Powers seemed to have fought each other to a stalemate. The peace conference of the Russians and Japanese met at Portsmouth, Maine, and the Treaty of Peace was signed in that city on the 29th August 1905. Roosevelt was subsequently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. After ceasing to be President in 1909 he went first on a long sporting expedition in Africa, and later visited Egypt, the capitals of Europe and England, of which latter country he became a firm friend.

During the following Presidency, that of James Taft (1909-13), the Republican Party was temporarily split. Roosevelt led one

section, Taft another. It was this that enabled the Democratic Party to secure the election of Woodrow Wilson, a Southerner, formerly President of Princeton College and since then Governor of New Jersey. Wilson, a man of the highest ideals, of the strongest power of will, soon made a profound impression in both home and foreign politics ; but, owing to a certain coldness and reserve in his nature and manner, his influence just stopped short of being the greatest.

When the European War broke out Theodore Roosevelt was outspoken in his denunciation of the German invasion of Belgium, but President Wilson reserved his judgement and said nothing. When Roosevelt urged that the United States should intervene Wilson remained absolutely passive. He was equally unmoved by the impassioned letters of the American Ambassador in London, Walter Hines Page, a profound believer in the justice of England's cause. It is, indeed, almost certain that the people of the United States were far too divided in sympathy, and far too detached from the actual issues at stake in Europe, to have entered the War in 1914. Wilson's attitude, which he himself described as one of 'watchful waiting', was probably the best suited to the time. He tried to be absolutely impartial while he was being pressed from all sides, urged by many people to intervene against Germany, by others to threaten England for maintaining something like a maritime blockade of Germany. He was accused of weakness and cowardice ; but he went his own way. When the Germans sank American ships he intimated plainly that this must stop. Apparently the Germans, like many people in England and America at that time, did not take his warning seriously. On the 31st January 1917 the German Government declared an unrestricted blockade of the British Isles and began again to sink American ships. On the 6th April 1917, after a vote in Congress, Wilson signed a declaration of war.

Once actually in the war Wilson's energy in prosecuting it was titanic. The German Government affected to despise the preparations of the Americans at two thousand miles' distance from the scene of hostilities ; but the quiet thoroughness of Wilson, and the assured way in which he announced (at the height



THESEUS ROOSEVELT AND THE MINOTAUR.

Roosevelt and the Meat Trusts

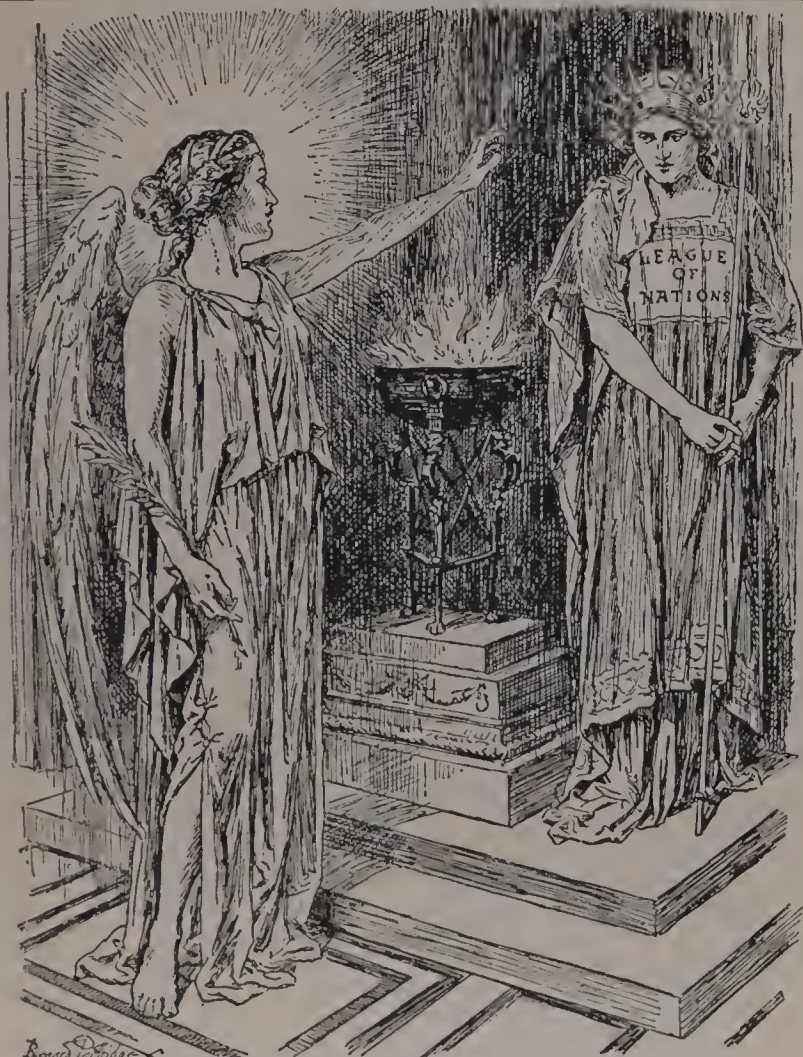
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of the German military success of March 1918) that eight million Americans were in training to come to Europe, must have played a great part in breaking down the Germans' will. The magnificent way in which, after Foch had been made chief among the Allied Generals on the 27th March 1918, Wilson put all the American troops in France entirely at Foch's disposal made possible the Allied success at the end of the fateful month of July. Foch, with a large American reserve of soldiers, was able to arrange the strategy which produced the blow of 18th July, and turned the German advance on Paris into a retreat and, in time, almost into a rout.

Along with his military effort Wilson attacked the Central Powers by his great speeches on nationality and on the morality of States. The Fourteen Points, stated in an address to Congress on the 8th January 1918, were a challenge alike to the military and political methods of the Prussian *Junker* class, and to the Habsburg domination over many separate nations. And what were challenges to the Central Powers were messages of hope to all who were losing faith through what seemed like the destruction of Western Civilization, and who yet, vaguely, still looked for a better world. No speeches have been more nobly expressed, none have been more spiritually potent, than were the grand compositions, eloquent although not rhetorical, which Wilson uttered in 1917-18. Then came the Armistice and the Peace Conference of Paris with Wilson at the pinnacle of fame.

In the early stages of the Conference of Paris President Wilson was undoubtedly the chief of the Allied statesmen; and to his unwavering exertions is due the success of the long effort, shared by General Smuts, Lord Robert Cecil, and Léon Bourgeois, to bring the League of Nations into being. In his other aims Wilson was not so successful, and the Treaty of Versailles of the 25th June 1919 was not altogether as he would have liked it to be. Still, it had the Covenant of the League of Nations in the forefront, and so was some considerable guarantee of justice between nations. But the President could not get his own nation to accept the Treaty with the League of Nations in it. He had made the mistake of taking only members of his own political



THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

PEACE. "THIS IS MY TEMPLE AND YOU ARE ITS PRIESTESS. GUARD WELL THE SACRED FLAME."

party, the Democrats, with him as delegates to the Conference of Paris : being used to managing things somewhat autocratically himself, he would have no members of the Republican party with him, to interfere with his policy. The result was that when he went back to the United States the Senate, in which there was a Republican majority, was decidedly against him. The Treaty with Germany was rejected, and the idea of the United States entering into the League of Nations was definitely put aside. With unquenchable zeal Wilson set forth on a tour of the Western States, making a series of urgent orations to win approval for the League of Nations. In the middle of this noble 'campaign' the overtaxed brain and body of this lonely thinker and worker were smitten by a stroke of paralysis (September 1919). He had still about a year and a half of his Presidency to fulfil. When this was over he retired to private life in Washington and died, as he had lived, calm, fine, and courageous, on the 3rd February 1924.¹

¹ For an estimate of Wilson's influence see *Three Master Builders and Another*, by P. H. Box (1924).

Supplementary Dates.

XXV

- 1843 Joseph Smith authorizes polygamy for the Mormons.
- 1845 Hawthorne's *Mosses from an old Manse*.
- 1847 Foundation of Salt Lake City.
Emerson's *Poems*.
- 1848 Lowell's *Biglow Papers*.
- 1850 Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*.
- 1851 Longfellow's *Golden Legend*.
- 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
- 1855 Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.
- 1858 Oliver Wendell Holmes's *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*.
- 1868 Whittier's *Snowbound*.
- 1870 Lowell's *My Study Window*.
- 1880 Mark Twain's *A Tramp Abroad*.

XXVI

LATIN AMERICA

AFTER the fall of the Spanish Empire in America the newly freed colonies had for many years a turbulent history. This was partly due to the character of the population, the old Indian and Spanish stocks not having, in each colony, blended into a homogeneous people. It was due partly also to the fact that under the Spanish Empire the South American peoples had not received any experience or training in self-government.

Spanish rule ceased in the various places where it had existed in South America practically about the same time, in the years which followed the fall of the Napoleonic Empire in Europe. Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, hoped for a South American Federation, but distances were too great between the different centres of Spanish civilization to admit of this. Accordingly the old Spanish administrative divisions were maintained, to serve as the boundaries of independent States. All these States adopted republican constitutions based on the United States constitution of 1787.

The revolt of Mexico against Spain began in 1810 under the leadership of a priest named Hidalgo. When he was executed in 1811 another priest called Morelos kept the insurrection alive until he too was killed in 1815. The finally successful insurrectionist was General Iturbide, who, after the expulsion of the last viceroy in 1821, made himself Emperor (1822). Successful in throwing off the yoke of Spain, he was unable to maintain his own power and was shot in 1825 by the orders of General Santa Anna. A Republic was established. This young man Santa Anna (he was then thirty years of age) was to wield a commanding influence upon Mexico's destiny, intermittently, for about fifty years. He was either President, dictator, or power behind the scenes until 1845. His autocratic, centralizing policy resulted in the province of Texas declaring itself independent in 1835,

and joining the United States in 1845. After about a year's exile in Havana, in 1845, Santa Anna returned to lead his country's forces in the war against the United States. His failure in the war brought him no discredit, for he was a good soldier, but in 1855 he had to flee the country again.

In 1861 Spanish, British, and French forces made hostile demonstrations at Vera Cruz in order to compel the Republic of Mexico to honour its debts. A settlement was reached which satisfied the British and Spanish Governments, but not the French. After the withdrawal of the British and Spanish forces the French remained. Gradually the French effort developed into a regular war made by France for the conquest of Mexico. In order to placate the other Powers of Europe Napoleon III arranged for an Austrian, not a French prince, to have the Mexican throne. This was the Archduke Maximilian, younger brother of the Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph. In 1864 Maximilian came to Mexico. He was supported by French troops under Generals Forey and Bazaine, and by some influential Mexicans, including Santa Anna. In 1867 the Government of the United States, its hands being now free from the Civil War at home, induced Napoleon III (whose forces were being hard pressed by General Juarez) to withdraw his forces. Maximilian refused to leave with the French troops. He fought on with his few supporters until betrayed, and was shot at Queretaro on the 19th July 1867.

The victory of the Mexican Republicans against the French and Maximilian was largely due to Benito Juarez, a pure-blooded Indian, who had been elected President in 1857. He maintained his position, in the face of many risings, with indomitable determination until his death in 1872. In the following period power came into the hands of his ablest Lieutenant, General Porfirio Diaz, who governed this difficult country and people with magnificent efficiency for thirty years. Diaz, the first servant of the State, made Mexico prosperous and peaceful, but he was totally unable to find or to train any strong men to succeed him. In 1911 a revolution of the Mexican Liberals drove him from power. The old soldier and statesman died in Paris on the

"The Franciscan friars now appeared, the two in front bearing the cross and holy water, the others holding tapers. Each of the three coffins intended for the doomed men was carried by a group of four Indians; three black crosses, to be fixed where each prisoner knelt for execution, were borne last.

"Captain Gonzales then made a sign to Maximilian to move forward. The Emperor advanced courageously, saying to the two generals—'Vamo nos à la libertad!' (Let us go to freedom!)

"The procession slowly ascended the street leading to the cemetery, behind the church, and by the road approaching the aqueduct. It soon came out upon the height overlooking the plain, and seen from below the appearance of the *cortège* was most impressive. The Emperor walked first, having the Abbé Fischer on his right, and the bishop on his left. Immediately behind came Miramon, supported on each side by Franciscans, and Mejia between two priests belonging to the parish of Santa Cruz.

"When the procession reached the summit of the hill Maximilian looked steadily for a moment at the rising sun; then, taking out his watch, he pressed a spring which concealed a portrait, in miniature, of the Empress Charlotte. He kissed it, and, handing the chain to the Abbé Fischer, said—'Carry this souvenir to Europe to my dear wife, and if she be ever able to understand you, say that my eyes closed with the impression of her image, which I shall carry with me above!'

"The *cortège* had now reached the great exterior wall of the cemetery, and the bells were slowly tolling for a funeral knell; only those composing the escort were present, for the crowd had been debarred from ascending the hill.

"Three small benches, with the wooden crosses, were placed against the wall; and the three shooting parties, each having two non-commissioned officers as a reserve, for the *coup de grâce*, approached within a few paces of the prisoners.

"The Emperor at the noise made by the movement of the muskets thought the soldiers were about to fire, and rapidly turning to his two companions, he embraced them most affectionately. Miramon, surprised, very nearly sank upon the seat, where he remained quite helpless; and the Franciscans raised him in their arms. Mejia returned the embrace of Maximilian, whispering some broken words which were not overheard; he then folded his arms and remained standing.

"The bishop advancing addressed the Emperor. 'Sire, give to Mexico, without any exception, the kiss of reconciliation in my person; let your Majesty, in this supreme moment, accord pardon to all.'

"The Emperor was unable to conceal the emotion which agitated him; he allowed the bishop to embrace him, then, raising his voice, he said, 'Tell Lopez that I forgive him his treachery; tell all Mexico that I pardon its crime.'

The Death of Maximilian

From 'The Morning Post' at the time

2nd July 1915. His immediate successors speedily made a mess of the fine State he had constructed. Neither the mild and intellectual Liberal, Madero, nor the trained professional soldier, Huerta, could keep the peace. General Carranza, more of a politician than a soldier, did better ; he restored a good part of the land to order between the years 1914 and 1920, but he alienated the United States and Great Britain by seizing the property of some English and American companies. He was displaced by General Obregon (and was killed while attempting to escape from Mexico) in May 1920. Obregon, being elected President, recognized Mexico's debts and the rights of foreign nations in Mexico, so that in 1923 the United States opened up regular relations with his Government.

South of the vast State of Mexico is the territory usually known as Central America. It is occupied by six Republics, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Salvador, and Panama, besides the colony of British Honduras. The Republic of Panama is a comparatively recent creation, made by secession from the continental South American State of Columbia in November 1903.

The Central American Republics (except Panama) are similar in race, in civilization, in economic development, and in history. There is, therefore, always a possibility of their joining together into a Federation for their common interests. Actually, after the Central American area was detached from Spanish rule in 1821 a Confederacy was established, which lasted until 1839. In that year the present Republics claimed and established complete independence ; the example was set by Guatemala. There Rafael Carrera, one of those strong-minded autocrats who from time to time rise in Latin America, made himself practically sovereign, and ruled until 1865.

These Republics all had a stormy history for the first fifty years of their existence, suffering not only from revolutions (*pronunciamientos*) at home, but from apparently interminable wars with each other. Between 1855 and 1860 Central America was sorely troubled by an adventurer from the United States, William Walker of Nashville, Tennessee. This ardent young man

(he was only thirty-one when he descended on Nicaragua), honest, brave, and temperate, believed that he was destined to free Spanish Americans from the oppression of parties and dictators. With the help of other freebooters, whom he governed with a rod of iron, he made himself President of Nicaragua, in 1856-7. He subsequently organized other descents upon the State which he wished to 'free' until he was caught, tried, and shot by the Government of the Republic of Honduras on the 12th September 1860.

In the year 1907 the Governments of the South American Republics concluded treaties among themselves, establishing a High Court for the settlement of all their differences with each other. This attempt to supersede war by a system of inter-State justice broke down through Nicaragua rejecting a decision of the High Court. However, in February 1923, after a Conference held at Washington, with Mr. Charles E. Hughes, United States Secretary of State, present and acting as chairman, a new series of treaties was concluded. The five Central American Republics, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador, bound themselves 'to observe the most complete harmony', and agreed to withhold their recognition from any one of their members which by *coup d'état* should change the Government without the consent of the people. At the same time an International Central American Tribunal was established to settle all questions of dispute between the five Republics. A third treaty declared Free Trade to exist between the States and a fourth limited their armaments and defined what was to be the exact number of each State's army. Thus, while maintaining their separate sovereign rights, the Central American States have joined together to guarantee their existing institutions, to settle all their disputes, and to associate freely with each other.

The Republic of Colombia, the most northerly of the Continental States of South America, began with the insurrection of 1810 and was made, under Simon Bolivar, into a Federal State, including what are now the States of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Distance, lack of population, and of common interest prevented this large Federal State from holding together. When

the split came in 1831, Colombia became the Republic of New Granada. In 1861 it became the United States of Colombia, with nine self-governing States whose separate issues of postage stamps now somewhat puzzle the European collector. In 1886 it reverted to a unitary constitution and is now known as the Republic of Colombia. During the negotiations with President Roosevelt of the United States concerning the projected Isthmus Canal, Colombia lost its Central American province of Panama. This became the Republic of Panama, independent and protected by the United States (1903). Against this secession Colombia vehemently protested, but it has since (1914) recognized the independence of Panama and accepted an indemnity from the United States for the loss of position in the Canal Zone.

Venezuela in the middle portion of the nineteenth century suffered greatly from the struggles of the *Yellows* and *Blues*, that is, the Liberal and Conservative parties. Between 1866 and 1870 this produced nearly continuous and bloody civil war. From the desolation which the war was bringing on the people, Venezuela was saved by General Guzman Blanco, inferior in public spirit or efficiency to Diaz of Mexico, yet something of a statesman and a man of undoubted force of character. He was several times President, and—whether President or not—was actually the governing personality of the Republic from 1870 to 1886. At the end of this period he retired to Paris, having had himself appointed diplomatic Minister to all the Courts and Governments of Europe. He left behind him in Venezuela one of his own nominees as President. In 1889, however, a revolution destroyed his influence. Nevertheless the peace and financial security which for nearly twenty years he had given to Venezuela had permanently benefited the country. Venezuela is now a prosperous and, it appears, stable State.

Of the other South American Republics two, Ecuador and Bolivia, are only very partially settled with a white population. The others, partly perhaps owing to having a larger proportion of whites, partly owing to the possession of fine coasts, rivers, and ports, are much more progressive, much more in touch with the rest of the world. Of these Brazil is the largest. The Royal

Family of Portugal had escaped to this country when Napoleon's troops occupied Lisbon in 1807. On the expulsion of the French troops in 1811 from Portugal, the Royal Family did not return from Brazil, but remained at Rio de Janeiro until 1821. Meanwhile, Portugal was governed by a regency. In 1821 John VI returned to Lisbon and died in 1826. His granddaughter, Maria, succeeded him on the Portuguese throne. In the meantime his son Pedro I had declared himself Emperor of Brazil, and had renounced his rights on Portugal in favour of his daughter Maria. Dom Pedro, however, had to go to Portugal to fight for Maria in the Miguelite War. In 1831 he abdicated from the Brazilian throne, having no great love for any Crown. Maria remained Queen of Portugal, married a Prince of Coburg, and founded the family which reigned at Lisbon until 1910. The Brazilian branch, the maleline of the House of Braganza, represented by the Emperor Pedro II, son of Pedro I, reigned at Rio de Janeiro until 1889. Pedro II was a good man and a good emperor, but like his father he cared very little for a throne. When in 1889 the Republican party, which had been fairly strong in the political life of Brazil for twenty years, made a *coup d'état*, Dom Pedro, who had deliberately gone on a visit to Europe, quietly accepted his deposition and remained where he was. He was a man of quiet, scholarly tastes, with a fairly ample fortune. He spent the remaining two years of his life in Europe, and died at Paris on the 5th December 1891.

The change from an Empire to a Republic in Brazil was accepted without enthusiasm as something inevitable on the republican Continent of America. The constitution of the Republic is Federal, the constituent States having large powers of self-government. In foreign affairs Brazil has maintained close ties with Great Britain, and sent warships to European waters to support the Entente Powers in the War of 1914-18.

Bordering on Brazil, towards the south, are Paraguay and Uruguay. These two countries, although each of them is larger than the British Isles, are small when compared with Brazil, which is as big as the Continent of Europe. Paraguay, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the chosen domain

of the Jesuit missionaries, who administered it with complete paternalism. It became an ordinary Spanish province after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. In 1814 Paraguay found its liberator in Dr. Francia, about whom Carlyle wrote a celebrated essay, and who held absolute sway until his death in 1840.

José Gaspar Rodríguez Francia was born at Ascension in 1757. He received a good education at the University of Cordova de Tucuman in what is now the Argentine Republic. His chief interest at first was theology, and his degree of Doctor was gained in that study. Later he became a practising lawyer. Although over fifty years old when the insurrection against the Spanish Empire in Paraguay occurred, Francia at once took control of the movement. For the next thirty years he governed the country like an ancient Greek tyrant, encouraging agriculture, promoting public works, dealing out rigid justice between man and man, while putting himself above the ordinary law. He was, indeed, a type of the strong-minded hero whom Carlyle admired in Frederick the Great. Like Frederick, Francia left no successor to carry on his work. He had not even trained good administrators: and the Paraguayans, accustomed (both under the Jesuits and under Francia) passively to follow the strong-willed governors, were unable to use their liberty. Anarchy followed; from this they were again saved by a dictator, Don Antonio Lopez, a nephew of Francia.

Lopez died in 1862. His son, Don Francisco, succeeded to his power, and became involved in a frightful struggle, concerning frontiers, with Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine. The Paraguayans, the descendants of the warlike Guarini Indians whom even the Jesuits had only partially tamed, made for five long years a truly heroic struggle against their overwhelming foes. Their devotion to a cause which in itself was not particularly lofty excites wonder and admiration. At the end of the struggle, when Don Francisco Lopez had been killed at the battle of Aquideban on the 1st March 1870, the great majority of males in Paraguay had been wiped out of existence. The population had fallen from 1,300,000 to 220,000, of whom only 28,000 were men. Since then fifty years of comparative peace and a large

immigration from Europe have restored the population to more normal proportions and numbers. Even now, however, there are less than a million people in Paraguay.

Uruguay may be said to have started when the Spanish Governor of Buenos Ayres founded on a low promontory on the north side of the estuary of the River Plate the town which has since grown into the magnificent city of Montevideo. It was liberated from Spanish rule, like most of the other South American provinces, in 1814. During the Napoleonic Wars a British force under General Whitelocke had held Montevideo in 1807, but it was lost when Whitelocke was defeated at Buenos Ayres. Both Brazil and the Argentine had designs against the Uruguayan Republic. After the year 1835 numbers of refugees crossed the River Plate and took refuge from the tyranny of the Argentine dictator Rosas in Montevideo. This provoked Rosas to make war upon Uruguay. For eight years Montevideo was attacked and intermittently besieged by the Argentinos. It was brilliantly defended from 1842 to 1846 by Garibaldi. Garibaldi had left Italy in consequence of the failure of the 'Young Italy' movement, and now employed his talent for irregular military and naval warfare, and his passion for freedom, in the service of the Uruguayans. His adventures are fully described in his interesting *Autobiography*.

The war ended with the intervention of the British and French fleets which blockaded Buenos Ayres in 1846, and opened the River Plate to trade. Since then the pastoral industry of Uruguay, a country of rolling, grassy plains, has made enormous progress: it is beautifully and romantically described in W. H. Hudson's *The Purple Land* (1885).

The Argentine Republic, which is ten times the size of the British Isles, is perhaps the most highly developed of the South American States. European immigrants and capital (largely British) have given it the means of building up a fine system of railways, electric and gas plant, and other modern conveniences. Except under the dictator Rosas, whose reign of terror lasted from 1835 until 1852, the republic has been, on the whole, mildly and successfully governed, and has engaged in no external

war since the struggle with Paraguay, 1865-7. This comparatively quiet domestic history was due to General Roca, a statesman as well as a soldier, who held the Presidency from 1880 to 1886, and from 1898 to 1904. Local revolts in the intervals between Roca's period as President did not seriously affect the general progress of the country.

Covering the western slope of the South American continent are the large States of Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. Bolivia is a mountainous country, many parts of its frontier being over 1,300 feet high. Its fertile valleys have an almost tropical climate, and it shares with Peru one of the wonders of the world, Lake Titicaca, about 80 miles long and situated at a height of 1,245 feet above sea. Since the disastrous war of 1879-83 with Chile, Bolivia, huge State as it is, has been entirely land-locked.

Bolivia's neighbour, Peru, is one of the most interesting States of this fascinating continent. Its people are descendants of the Spaniards and of the Inca Indians, a mild-mannered race who, in Pizarro's day, had attained to a fairly high condition of civilization. After Spain had fought her last battle in South America at Ayacucho, in 1824, Peru went through the usual vicissitudes of a people wholly inexperienced in self-government, until 1844. Then the troubles of the time threw up one of those strong men for whom the conditions of South American politics gave opportunity. The Peruvian strong man was a real statesman, Ramon Castilla, who had fought at Ayacucho, and had the position of a national hero. From 1844 to 1866 he was President, and succeeded both in keeping peace at home, and in establishing the credit for Peru by paying her debts abroad. In 1872 Peru was fortunate to find another statesman, Manuel Pardo, the first civilian to be elected President. A scholar and man of letters himself, he encouraged literature and art, exploration and science, and carefully administered the finances of the country.

In 1879 the disaster of modern Peruvian history came when the State became involved in war with Chile over the possession of the nitrate province of Tarapaca. South American wars, although fought with small numbers, have been very sanguinary. In this war, in which the Bolivians fought on the Peruvian side, the

greatest determination was shown by all combatants ; it only ended with the complete exhaustion of the Peruvians. On the sea it was the first war in which ironclad ships had fought against each other. Chile had two ironclads ; Peru had one, the *Huascar*. On the fate of this solitary ship the fate of Peru depended. In a tremendous fight on the 8th October 1879 the *Huascar* was captured after its captain, the Admiral Grau, and almost all the officers had been killed. The army of the Chilians was equally successful, and after three pitched battles took the Peruvian capital Lima by storm in 1881. Peace was not made until 1883 when, by the Treaty of Ancon, Peru ceded Tarapaca ; Chile was also to occupy the provinces of Tacna and Arica for ten years ; at the end of this period a plebiscite of the inhabitants was to decide whether these provinces were to be Chilean or to be returned to Peru. Certain difficulties have prevented this settlement of the Tacna-Arica question from taking place. When the League of Nations was established Peru laid the case in front of that body, but the matter still awaits conclusion.

Chile, since the year 1851, has been the most settled State, politically and socially, in South America. In the year 1833 it was endowed with a Constitution of the usual pattern, with a President, and a Legislative (Congress) of two Chambers. This Constitution has worked well. With Europe Chile has always maintained good relations, except that between 1863 and 1866 it supported Peru in a dispute which that State had with Spain. In 1866 Valparaiso was bombarded by a squadron of the Spanish Navy ; after this hostilities ceased and peace was made. In 1891 there was a civil war lasting for six months between the Conservative party, which was predominant in Congress, and José Manoel Balmaceda, the Liberal President, who by autocratic methods wished to make Chile more democratic. The Conservatives won, and Balmaceda resigned and committed suicide.

The history of this struggle explains the peculiar condition of Chile. The State has for nearly a hundred years been controlled by a number of wealthy, landed and moneyed families, mainly of old Spanish stock, but containing also members of British descent. These 'governing families' have proved themselves

to be an intelligent oligarchy, maintaining peace in domestic and foreign relations, and providing what is acknowledged to be efficient administration. It was against this monopoly of administration by an oligarchy that the honest and public-spirited autocrat, Balmaceda, was contending, and his effort was watched with sympathy by the democracies of Europe. Yet there have been European observers who hold that the present system of government in Chile, a compound of aristocracy and democracy, is not unsuitable to the country.

The blending of Spanish and Indian stocks in South America has resulted in populations which are apt to become excited, reckless, and cruel in times of political crisis. Frequent revolutions have led to wars which have not been child's play, but have been fought with extraordinary bitterness, and with (considering the small forces engaged) a very high proportion of deaths. From these calamities States have often been saved only by a kind of Caesarism, by some strong, ambitious man, sometimes public-spirited, sometimes quite unscrupulous, whom the anomalous conditions of South American life seem to develop. In recent years, however, political conditions have become much more stable. The people in each State grow, as a whole, more educated, more experienced in politics; trained administrators exist in the public offices; and in public life capacity is no longer the rare possession of some isolated 'dictator'.

XXVII

THE FAR EAST

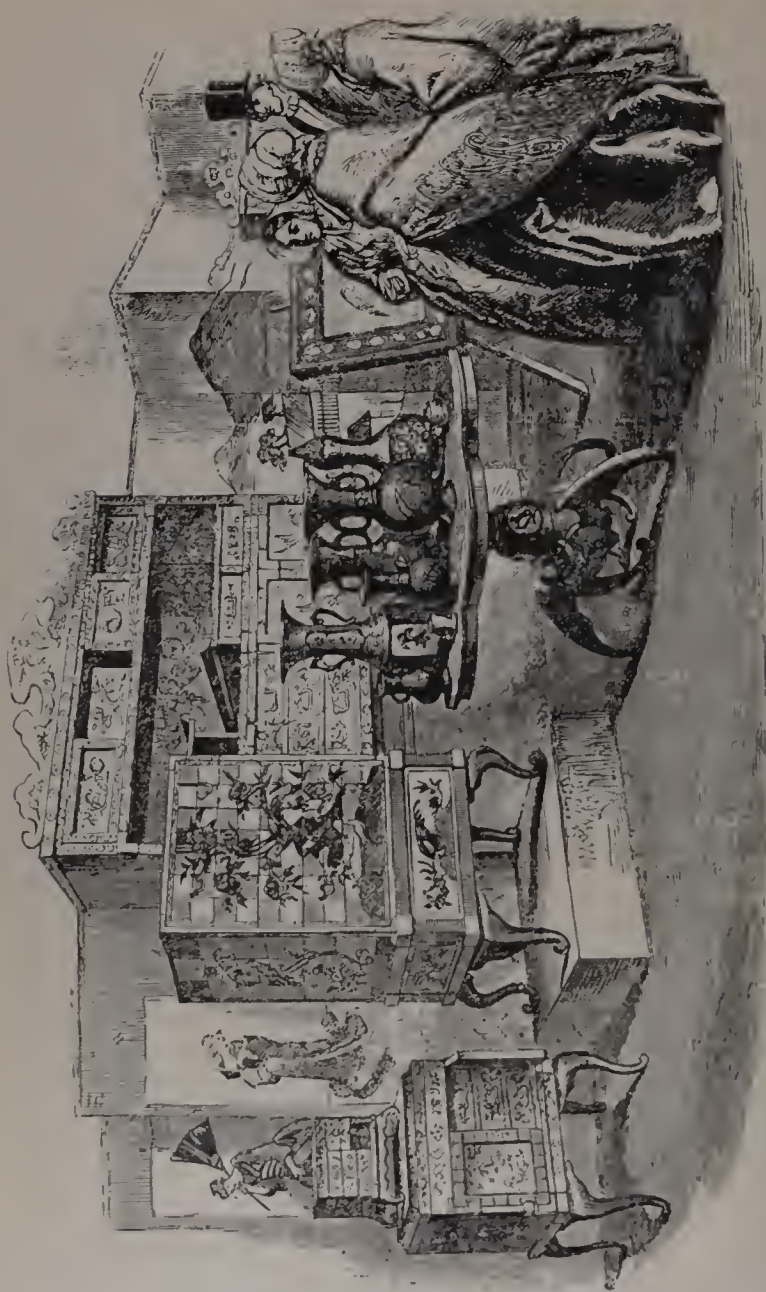
IT is obvious to all observers that in the last century and a half the mass of mankind have discovered each other. The world has become *one*, instead of being divided into almost wholly isolated continents as it was in the Middle Ages and even more recent times. Now the events in one hemisphere, or in one continent, react like electric shocks upon the whole of mankind.

The life of China and Japan is to-day part of world-history, but formerly it was not so. Japan has the oldest reigning dynasty in the world. The founder of the Mikado's line is reputed to have ascended the throne in 660 B. C.

From the dawn of history until the year 1853, when Commodore Perry came steaming into the Bay of Yedo, Japan was out of touch with Europe. There was a time indeed, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the Dutch and Portuguese were allowed to enter Japan and when numerous converts were made to Christianity. But in 1624 the policy of the Shogun changed, and by the year 1638 all the foreigners were driven out and Christianity was extirpated from the islands. Buddhism was left without a rival.

The Shogun was a hereditary general (not always from the same family) who was the effective ruler of Japan and who reduced the power of the titular ruler, the Mikado, to a mere shadow. The Shogunate, which first rose to power in 1192 (it had several periods of depression), had its seat at Yedo (named in modern times Tokyo). The seat of the Mikado, whom no one but his immediate attendants ever saw, was at Kyoto.

Commodore Perry, with a squadron of United States warships, came to the Islands in 1853 with instructions to obtain from the Japanese permission for American whaling ships to use their ports. The Shogun, threatened with bombardment, consented to make a treaty. The Powers of Europe forthwith claimed the



THE JAPANESE EXHIBITION, IN FALL MALL EAST.—(SEE NEXT PAGE.)

The Opening of Japan

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1854

JAPANESE EXHIBITION.

A SINGULAR cargo of curiosities has just been brought to the metropolis from Japan, one of the most sealed countries of the globe; and the rarity of whose productions beyond its own pale, reminds one of the disgust of the Citizen of the World at the meanness of the Dutch merchants, through whose covert dealings we have hitherto been accustomed exclusively to receive *quasi* specimens of Japanese Art and Manufacture.

The Collection was opened to the public, at the Gallery of the Old Society of Painters in Water Colours, in Pall-mall East, on Monday last, and it is said to be the first direct importation that has ever taken place to this country; only one European ship, belonging to a Dutch merchant, having permission to trade annually with Japan. The articles consist of tables, cabinets, boxes, &c., japanned upon wood, inlaid with pearl and enamel; distinguished from the papier mâché of this country by its extreme lightness and smoothness, and absence of painting, as much as by the peculiarity of the designs, which are in most cases exceedingly graceful. There are also some embellished with very beautiful designs in coloured straw, a kind of ornamentation peculiar to the Japanese, and of which the cabinet, with the birds in our Engraving, is one of the best specimens. The bronzes are rare and mostly antique: the two largest bronze vases, which are very pure in form, and are shown on the table in our Illustration, we understand have been purchased for the Museum of Practical Art, at Marlborough House; as also a very beautifully ornamented glove-box, some boxes of the red and green lacquer, which are exceedingly scarce, and a small table ornamented with straw. The porcelain, of which there is a considerable show, consists of vases and water-bottles of elegant forms, and some of a grotesque nature, cups, &c., of uncommon lightness and transparency, some of them very nicely decorated; round many a bamboo casing has been woven with marvellous nicety, considering the thickness of the cup being no greater than that of an egg-shell. The tall vase water-bottle and cups on the table in our Illustration has been selected as fairly representing this department of the Exhibition. The basket-work is fine and ingenious in shape and pattern, and all of it executed in bamboo.

There are also some silk dresses and wrappers, very soft and lightly wadded, which are worn by the Japanese nobles; and on the walls are pictures of Japanese of all ranks—both men and women—in a variety of costumes, of which that of a bride, and a female walking with one of the fanlike parasols commonly used in that country, will be seen in our Engraving; which also contains one of several screens, on which are depicted the houses and domestic manners of the people. In the background of the Illustration is an inlaid wardrobe, purely Japanese; the forms only of most of the furniture being evidently of European origin, though the decoration, in all cases, is wholly their own. The table in the centre is one of the best: the top is decorated with a very graceful design, inlaid in pearl; the claw being of a novel form, consisting of a representation of three flying foxes, the wings of which form the support. There are also tables, supported by monkeys and fish; puzzle-boxes of a variety of kinds; and a quantity of toys, said to be superior to that in general use. Altogether, it forms a very curious collection; and, no doubt, from the interest recently excited by the United States' Expedition to Japan, it will be very attractive.

same privileges, and soon Japan by treaty became connected with nearly the whole world. Foreigners were permitted to trade in five ports, and were given 'extra-territorial' rights, for instance, they could be tried in court only by their own consuls. This was the system of 'Capitulations' similar to the capitalizing or treaty-system which the Western States had with Turkey.

The impact of Western people and Western ideas had on Japan its stimulating effect. The thinking, educated portion of the population began to move. In 1867 the clans and families of privileged feudal nobles rose in revolt against the Shogunate. By the year 1868 the struggle was over. The last Shogun had resigned. Then occurred the most wonderful thing of all. The feudal nobility having gained the supreme power, with all the State at their feet, resigned their privileges, abolished feudalism, and became, in the eye of the law, ordinary subjects. The Mikado was brought forth from the obscurity of centuries, and his capital transferred from Kyoto to Yedo, renamed Tokyo. With a thoroughness which excited the admiration of the whole world the new Government studied the affairs of Western Europe, adopting Western culture and institutions and grafting them upon the existing Japanese civilization. It is hardly too much to say that in 1868 Japan became a Western Power.

In the fifty years after the momentous year 1868 Japan, with the quiet and indomitable persistence which impressed all observers, had been steadily building up her position as a Great Power. In 1889 a Constitution, which had been carefully studied and designed by the best brains in Japan, was granted to the people by the Emperor. There is a Cabinet of Ministers, a Privy Council of Elder Statesmen who advise the Emperor, and a Diet of two Houses (House of Peers and House of Representatives). The Ministers are responsible not to the Diet but to the Emperor. The Council of Elder Statesmen (drawn chiefly from two great families or 'clans') wields great influence and is said to be the real governing power.

In 1894 the modern navy and army of Japan were tested in a war which broke out with China concerning the control of the ancient, independent, but extremely feeble Empire of Korea.

The forces of Japan were completely successful. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, 17th April 1895, she annexed the island of Formosa and the Laio-Tung Peninsula from China. But the Governments of Russia, Germany, and France made objections to the acquisition of the Laio-Tung ; so the Japanese Government with great prudence and self-restraint, waived its right, and the Laio-Tung Peninsula was left with China. Three years later



(1898) Russia obtained from the Chinese Government a lease for ninety-nine years of Port Arthur, the chief place in the Laio-Tung Peninsula. At the same time Germany obtained a lease of the chief places on the Shantung Peninsula, Kaochow and Tsingtao: Great Britain thereupon obtained a lease of Wei-hei-wei.

Japan had reason to think itself badly treated over the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the Russian acquisition of Port Arthur. She took part with the other Powers in the international expedition of 1900 to relieve the Foreign Legations besieged by the Boxers in Peking. In 1902 she further strengthened her position

as a world-power by making a Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. The two Powers agreed to assist each other if either were attacked by more than one State. The object of the Alliance was to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East.

Actually this *status quo* was being vitally affected by the extension of Russian control into Manchuria. By 1901 the Trans-Siberian Railway had been completed from Moscow to Chita on the frontier of China. From Chita Russia, by agreement with the Chinese Government, constructed another line, the 'Chinese Eastern Railway', moving by way of Manchuria to Vladivostock and Port Arthur. With the growth of Russian influence in Manchuria, Japan had also to watch Russian control increasing daily in Korea. In 1904 both sides felt strong enough for a struggle that appeared certain to come sooner or later. Japan and Russia went to war on the plains of Manchuria and in the Yellow Sea. The result was a surprise to Europe, for the Japanese Army captured Port Arthur (January 1905) and the Japanese Navy defeated the Russian fleet in the great 'Battle of the Sea of Japan' or Tsushima (May 1905). In the land theatre of war the number of the forces which each State could put on the field was about equal.

The success of Japan in the war was due to the fact that the Japanese were a more united people than the Russians; their rulers were more public-spirited, so that all branches of the administration, military, naval, diplomatic, political, worked without friction together. On the other hand, while Russian soldiers were fighting with the utmost heroism in Manchuria, and a few able and public-spirited generals and high officials were engaged in titanic labours to keep the military administrative machine running, revolution was breaking out at home.

Peace was arranged between Russia and Japan, through the good offices of President Roosevelt of the United States, at Portsmouth, Maine, on the 29th August 1905. Russia consented to evacuate Manchuria, and to recognize Japan as the preponderating Power in Korea. She also ceded to Japan Port Arthur and the Laio-Tung Peninsula. The terms, in view of the Japanese success in the war, were moderate, but the Mikado's Government

The opening of CHINA



were wise in desiring to get quit of hostilities before the country's resources were further depleted.

The other great country of the Far East which challenges the imagination even more than Japan is China. There is evidence that China was a State with a Monarch as early as the year 2350 before Christ. After this came a ' Feudal Period ' when the country was divided into a large number of territorial lordships. This period lasted for about two thousand years. In 221 B. C. some strong man or men made one united Empire ; and the Imperial form of Government endured until the year A. D. 1912. At various times different families or clans arose to dominate the throne ; yet, taken as a whole, the political life of China in the Imperial period was wonderfully stable. The chief of the early dynasties were the Sung, which lasted from A. D. 960 to 1279 ; the Yuan, from 1280 to 1367 ; and the Ming, from 1368 to 1643. The names of these dynasties are familiar to European collectors of Chinese pottery ; no modern manufacturers have been able to match the wonderful blue glazes of the Ming and Sung period. In 1643 China was conquered by Manchurian Tartars, who established themselves as a governing aristocracy and erected one of their own clans, the Ching, to the Imperial throne. The Ching or Manchu Dynasty ruled China until the revolution of 1912. It still lives, under the Republic, peacefully undisturbed, in a palace of its own in the environs of Peking.

China never encouraged foreigners to come to the ' Flowery Empire ' as it was officially called. In the Middle Ages the maritime route from Europe had not been discovered. On the land side the Chinese attempted to screen themselves from barbarians by the Great Wall, which was built about the year 214 B. C. It separates China from Mongolia, and is about 1,500 miles long.

Marco Polo, the Venetian, travelled to Mongolia about the year 1280, and wrote a fascinating book of travels which contains information concerning Medieval China. In 1497 Vasco da Gama opened up the maritime route, around the Cape of Good Hope, which led to India and the Far East. By the year 1635 Portuguese, Dutch, and English ships were doing a little trade with some ports of China like Canton, but communication was very



The Great Wall of China as it crosses the Nankow Pass, with protecting towers every 200 yards

slight. The Russians, after they began to colonize Siberia, towards the end of the sixteenth century, came into touch with the Chinese by the land route, and the Russian Government made a frontier treaty with the Manchu Empire in 1725 (Treaty of Kiakta). In 1792 the British Government sent one of its diplomats, Lord Macartney, on a mission to Peking; and for some years before this the British East India Company had been importing opium, for which there was a huge demand, into China. It was because the Chinese Government seized certain stocks of Spain belonging to British subjects that hostilities broke out with Great Britain in 1840. A naval war ensued, with the result that in 1842 the Treaty of Nanking was made. The Chinese Government ceded Hong Kong to Great Britain, and opened five ports (Canton, Amoy, Fu-Chau, Ning-po, and Shanghai) to British traders.

In 1857 another war with Great Britain broke forth, owing to Chinese misunderstandings with British subjects. This time Napoleon III joined in the war, and Franco-British troops took the Taku Forts in 1857 and entered Peking. The result was a further opening of Chinese ports to European commerce. Also the arrangement was made (and is still in force) that a European official should be placed at the head of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service. This official, called Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, has always been an Englishman; the best known was Sir Robert Hart, who devoted his talents to making the service a model of efficiency. Hart died in 1911. The excellent working of the Maritime Customs Service (which is partly staffed by Europeans) has kept China from bankruptcy, and has mitigated the political and financial disorganization that fell upon the country after the year 1912.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Chinese Government, under the eminent statesman, Li Hung Chang, attempted to keep a middle course between restricting communication with the outside world and adopting a limited amount of Western civilization on the other. The war with Japan in 1894, although unsuccessful, made little impression on the ancient Empire. The fanatical 'Boxer' rising in 1900 against foreigners,



The earliest view of Canton Harbour

From Nieuhoff's 'Embassy of the Dutch East India Co.' (1655)

had deeper results. An international army, British, French, German, Russian, Japanese, and American, entered Peking, and a heavy indemnity was imposed upon the Chinese Government, which ought to have prevented the fanatical Boxers (a secret society) from murdering foreign missionaries and traders. Li Hung Chang died in 1901. Nevertheless Imperial China continued to make progress in a solid way. In 1907 the Government made the trade in opium illegal, and made great headway in suppressing the habit of opium-smoking until the Revolution of 1912 occurred.

Meanwhile a considerable number of young Chinese students were being educated in Western ideas by missionary colleges, especially by colleges in China maintained by ministers of religious denominations in the United States. A considerable proportion of these students passed on from China to Europe or America, and studied in the great Western Universities. When they returned to China the impact of Western ideas, especially the ideas of self-government, produced a stir among the educated classes. The Revolution of 1912 was the result. The Manchu Emperor was forced to abdicate. China became a Republic, with a President, a Prime Minister and Cabinet, and a Parliament of two Chambers.

Until 1912 China, under the Manchu Emperor, had been administered by a bureaucracy (or Civil Service) recruited by an elaborate system of competitive examination. Although the mass of the people were uneducated there were a limited number of schools in every province and large city. The best pupils from these institutions could enter for the public examination which the Government conducted in every province for the recruiting of the bureaucracy. The number of candidates who presented themselves for examination every year was very large; only three or four out of every thousand were successful in getting a post in the administration. The subjects of examination were chiefly Chinese literature and history; the standard of knowledge shown by the candidates was very high. This system of selection had for over a thousand years produced a careful, conservative service of officials who administered China not unsuccessfully.

The Revolution of 1912 did away with this system. But

before a new system could be established the military class, consisting of any general popular enough to get soldiers to follow him, had seized power in the several provinces ; and for the next fifteen or more years brigand armies levied blackmail in all the inland regions of the country. Only the watch kept by foreign warships, and the European-directed Maritime Customs Service, enabled normal economic life to function in the ports. Nominally the Chinese Government sided with the Entente Powers in the War of 1914-18, but actually it could do nothing. At the Washington Conference of 1921-2 the Peking Government was treated as an established Power, and was guaranteed from outside intervention, but in the following three years the internal condition of the country showed little improvement. The cultivation of opium, which the Imperial Government had practically suppressed by the end of 1911, was begun again in nearly every province. Thus opium-smoking and the 'drug-habit' became a scourge not merely to China, but to other countries like the United States into which opium and its products were commonly smuggled.

XXVIII

EUROPE BEFORE THE WAR

BEFORE the War of 1914-18 Europe consisted of six Great Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France, Italy, and Great Britain); three Secondary Powers (Spain, Sweden, Turkey); and eleven other minor sovereign States. Some of these minor States, like the Balkan States, were possessed of considerable physical power, while others, like Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, although not incapable of defending themselves, relied chiefly on their moral prestige, which was due to their history and their consistent policy. All the States, except perhaps those of the South-east (the Balkan States and Turkey), regarded themselves, in some respects, as forming a community. While acutely sensitive of their sovereign rights, they still recognized that they had a joint responsibility for the maintenance of peace and of civilization on the continent. The Great Powers especially, although armed to the teeth and in deadly apprehension of an attack from their neighbours, nevertheless frequently acted together in a rather loose and informal association called the Concert of Europe.

The chief features of interest in European life in the thirty or forty years before the War were the industrial development (it might almost be called the Industrial Revolution) of Germany, the revival of French morale under the Third Republic, the social and economic consolidation of the Kingdom of Italy; the movement towards expansion overseas, the revolutionary movement in Russia, and the effort to avoid wars by arbitration and mutual agreement and to create some permanent machinery with this object.

After the establishment of the Empire in 1871 Germany enjoyed under three Emperors, William I (who died in 1888), Frederick III (who died three months later, in the same year), and William II, something like a Golden Age. This Golden Age

appears now all the more splendid by contrast with the black misery of the years immediately following upon 1918. The German people have a talent for industry : they are careful, methodical, laborious. The habits of the German commercial *bourgeoisie* are described in Gustav Freytag's fine novel, *Soll und Haben*, first published in 1855. German capacity for organization proved suitable for industry on the large scale ; before the nineteenth century ended enormous ' plants ' were established, and were being ever extended in the valley and district of the Ruhr, in the Upper Rhineland (Baden, Wurtemberg), in the Silesian coalfield, and elsewhere. An extraordinarily complex system of trade-agreements connected many of the big industrial concerns to each other. Thus the whole of German economic life was scientifically controlled and directed to the production of wealth. The population grew rapidly. A high tariff, introduced in 1878, made it possible for the manufacturers to monopolize nearly the whole of the domestic trade ; thus they were able to produce enormous quantities of goods which they could dispose of at comparatively high prices in the home-market, while they could afford to export their surplus goods in large quantities abroad, and to sell them cheaply. This large export trade necessitated the constant search for new markets abroad—a search which the German Government (owing to its military origin and sympathies) was rather inclined to support by military threats and the brandishing of the sword. This produced a feeling of instability in Europe, and was the cause, after the War broke out, of the inflexible determination of the Entente peoples to destroy ' Prussian military domination ', and to prevent such circumstances from happening again.

Germany (if it is possible to say such a thing) was almost too well-governed before the War. The successive chancellors, first Bismarck (who retired in 1890), then Caprivi (1890-4), Hohenlöhe (1894-1900), then Bülow (1900-9), finally Bethmann-Hollweg (1909-17), carefully fostered the industrial classes, both employers and employed, and made Germany trim and neat and rich. High tariffs ensured the profits of the employers, insurance for old-age, sickness, and accident, ensured a certain degree of

material well-being for the employed. Education, liberal and also technical, was given with great care and skill to everybody. And yet the people lacked spontaneity. They had a Federal Constitution of Emperor, Chancellor, Bundesrat or Council, and Reichstag or Parliament. The Reichstag was elected by universal suffrage, but the Deputies could not control the Imperial Ministers. The Chancellor was responsible not to the Reichstag but to the Emperor. There were, it is true, political parties in the Reichstag, but they could not bring about the fall of a Chancellor or put men in whom they had confidence into office. The German people was thus wholly governed from above. Its entire management was bureaucratic. None of the Chancellors was chosen from among the political leaders of the people. They were all bureaucrats (i. e. civil servants) or soldiers; Bismarck rose in the 'Home' Department, Caprivi was a soldier, Hohenlohe had been a provincial governor, Bülow was in the diplomatic service, Bethmann-Hollweg in the Law Department. The best politicians, like the Liberal Ernst Bassermann (1854-1917), never held office. Thus outside the Junkers, the landed class which supplied all the high civil servants and officers, the German people had little political experience.

In spite of what Carlyle said in his famous letter written during the siege of Paris, France did not sink deeper into anarchy through prolonging her resistance after the fall of the Empire in 1870. On the contrary, she arose from that heroic struggle fortified on the same foundations of her self-respect.

The Third Republic, with the system of Responsible Parliamentary Government, according to the Constitution of 1875, proved to be solid and stable. Its leaders, the Presidents MacMahon (President 1873-9), Grévy (1879-87), and Carnot (1887-94), the Ministers Gambetta, Ferry, and Freycinet, were cautious but firm in foreign policy, and energetic in home administration. Until 1895 the President was on the whole the most weighty factor in French politics; after that date the Premier had been the dominant office. The last President who tried to control the actions of the Premier and Cabinet was Casimir-Périer, and he recognizing soon that this could not be, resigned from the

Presidency after six months of office, and retired altogether from politics (15th January 1895).

Only once in this period was the internal stability of the Republic seriously menaced. The celebrated attempted *coup d'état* of General Boulanger in 1889 was a farce. He tried to seize the supreme power of government, failed, and fled to find a suicide's death in Brussels two years later. The real danger came in the Dreyfus affair. In 1894 Captain Alfred Dreyfus was sentenced to transportation on a charge of divulging military secrets. As there were grave doubts concerning the justice of the conviction, the case, after prolonged agitation by Émile Zola, Anatole France, and others, was reopened in 1898. The General Staff, and indeed most of the officers of the army, were strenuously opposed to the reopening of the Dreyfus Case. The affair became really a contest, not over the justice of Captain Dreyfus's cause, but over the question of civil or military control of the State. The re-trial of Dreyfus, during the premiership of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, showed the civil power successfully asserting itself; the military element in the State was reduced to its rightful place. Dreyfus himself was not acquitted on the re-trial, but he was soon afterwards released.

All this time the German Empire was the dominant State in Europe. Lord Beaconsfield at the time of the Congress of Berlin had already written that Germany was dominant. This was a purely military ascendancy, due to the size and proportion of the German military machine, and to the callousness with which they threatened to unloose in Europe the horrors of a great war. There was little that was moral in the German ascendancy, no poetry, no art of European fame. In theology and history there were some noted Germans, such as Harnack and Mommsen; and in German chemistry there was high ability. But the only people who could claim something like intellectual pre-eminence and ascendancy in Europe were still the French. The historians of the time of the Third Republic are supreme: Sorel, Vandal, de la Gorce, Luchaire. The French novel is recognized as the artistic model; the Third Republic includes the work of Daudet, Zola, Bourget, Loti, Anatole France. In sculpture there was Rodin,

in painting Manet and Degas, in music Saint-Saëns. The Frenchman, Bergson, shares with the Italian, Croce, the distinction of being the most influential contemporary philosopher. In the ten years before the War the pessimism which people complained of in France during the 'nineties had completely disappeared; a renaissance of the national spirit was taking place. 'France is a country of renaissances', wrote René Bazin in *La Douce France* (1909). The claim was justified: the writings of Bazin, Barrès, and Bordeaux themselves testify to the revival of *La Nouvelle France* in the years 1904-14. The creation of the Entente was another sign of this rejuvenescence.

The union of Italy under the House of Savoy and the attainment of a sound social and economic condition in the State was one of the happiest results of late nineteenth-century history. Old Italy was politically composed of dominions of six minor States (Sardinia, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, the Papal States, and Naples) and one Great Power (Austria, which had the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom). Thus divided, Italy was a notoriously weak place in the European system of States. Its 'morcellation' made it a field for the competition of Great Powers who desired to have influence on the peninsula. There was little probability that the other Great Powers of Europe would permanently acquiesce in the position of exclusive domination which Austria held in Italy. The movement for Union, undertaken by the House of Savoy in conjunction with prominent politicians in all the component States, reached complete success in 1870 when Victor Emmanuel entered Rome. Henceforward no Power outside Italy could hope to establish a sphere of influence there. Italy became solid.

United Italy, however, started under great disadvantages as a Great Power, with the obligation of being able fully to protect itself and to make Italy respected. The country was poor; it had no coal and no iron, in an age when political power depended on industrial wealth. The State was burdened with a large debt, due to the Crimean War and the Wars of Liberation. Patience and hard work, however, triumphed over the natural disadvantages of the country and the legacy of the past struggle.



Bergson

The scientific utilization of water-power, by the strong rivers which flow into Lombardy from the Alps, enabled North Italy, especially Turin and Milan, to become a great industrial region. Intensive cultivation of the rich alluvial soil of the northern plain, of the rich volcanic soil of the south, enabled the country largely to feed itself. The surplus population emigrated in a steady stream to the Argentine and the United States, and sent back large remittances of money to their people at home. Thus Italy was able to obtain a favourable balance of trade ; and under the skilful guidance of finance ministers like Luzzati (born in 1841 and still alive) the credit of the country rose, the interest on the National Debt was reduced, and the exchange value of the lire was about the same as that of the franc, namely twenty-five or twenty-six to the £1 sterling. Unfortunately the courageous and public-spirited King Humbert, who had succeeded his father King Victor Emmanuel II in 1878, was murdered by an anarchist in 1900. Under his son Victor Emmanuel III the State continued to make solid progress until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.

The rise of two Great Powers (Imperial Germany and the Kingdom of Italy) after 1870, and the revival of one old Great Power, France, made almost inevitable a movement to expand overseas. The young Germany and Italian States were beginning ' to feel their wings ' as world-powers ; and to the French the enterprise of refounding their lost Colonial Empire was a banner of hope in their dejection. Therefore all about the same time are found engaged in a race for colonies.

France had the start ; the Bourbon and Orleans Monarchy of the period 1815-48 had conquered and annexed Algeria. After 1871 France took up the task again with splendid energy. Jules Ferry was the statesman with the vision of overseas empire ; and able French officers, Rivi re, Bragga, Gall ni, and Joffre, won for France Tonkin, the Congo, Madagascar, and Senegal. In 1881 Tripoli had become a French protectorate by the Treaty of Bardo, concluded with the Bey of the country. Failing, through political mistakes, to obtain power in Egypt in 1882, France compensated herself by establishing a complete hegemony along all

the North African coast to the west of Tripoli, until by 1908 she had secured a permanent position in Morocco, and so extended out of the Mediterranean into the Atlantic.

Germany's efforts overseas were mainly directed towards tropical Africa. In 1883 and 1884 the efforts of Dr. Karl Peters and Lüderitz secured large tracts in East and West Africa, important fields for the supply of raw material to German industries at home. Italy, coming into the movement rather later than Germany, had to be content with a colony in the Red Sea (Italian Somaliland or Eritrea). On attempting to penetrate into Abyssinia, in order to establish a sphere of influence there, the Italian Army received a severe defeat at the battle of Adowa (1896). This was the end of the Abyssinian adventure. In 1912, however, Italy by a risky war took Tripoli and Cyrenaica from the Turks, and so became with England and France one of the three North African Powers.

The Partition of Africa had been carried out without wars between the competing Powers largely owing to the rules and agreements made at the Berlin Conference of 1885. Even Belgium, through the enterprise of King Leopold I, obtained control of an enormous territory, called the Congo Free State. Holland retained her ancient colonies, and was and is the pre-dominant State in the islands of the East Indies.

The Revolutionary Movement in Russia was connected with a general revolutionary movement in the rest of Europe, but it was much more organized, much more intense. The various Slavonic peoples who composed the Russian State were, apparently, very difficult to govern. The Tsarist authorities had adopted a system of strict administrative control, without any central representative element in the Government. Under this all-pervading, highly centralized bureaucratic system, order was kept, and the unwieldy country showed signs of considerable material progress. The liberal, kindly Tsar Alexander II freed all the serfs in 1861. Yet the carefulness and strictness of the bureaucracy had, among other results, the effect of driving the elements of opposition underground; and what, under a representative system, would have been constitutional Opposition

Parties or Groups, became revolutionary secret societies. For this kind of subterranean conspiracy, the Russian revolutionaries showed considerable aptitude; but the police authorities developed an almost equal aptitude for discovering them. The police agents were active in searching out conspiracy not merely in Russia, but in the capitals of the rest of Europe where political exiles and fugitives congregated. In Paris, for instance, the Russian police had a regular department for the investigation and detection of Russian political offenders, although it could exercise no powers of compulsion within the French State.

The Russian Revolutionaries were of two different kinds. First, there were Anarchists, who, although they did not originate with Bakhunin (1814-76), were largely fostered by that unpractical thinker. Bakhunin's opinion was that inequality and misery among mankind were due to the existence of authority and privilege. Therefore all compulsion must be abolished; there must be no compulsory law; everybody must be allowed, untrammelled, to follow his own inclinations. Then the natural goodness of men would assert itself. Compulsory law would not be needed, because everybody would naturally do the right thing. In order that everybody might know what was the right thing to do, a liberal education must be universally supplied.

It is obvious, as a criticism of this, that Bakhunin's society of absolutely unregulated people could only be possible in a race of angels; the existence of even only one black sheep would spoil the whole system, because he would have to be compelled not to interfere with the others; and so compulsion would enter into the social system, and with compulsion, privilege and authority.

Yet this doctrine of Anarchism, curiously blind to every consideration of common sense, seemed to have a strong attraction for many Russians. A secret anarchist society probably existed in every large Russian city. From believing that all authority was bad to believing that all authority must be suppressed was only a step; and there were numerous Russians who, with a curious obsession for translating extreme views into concrete action, were ready to assassinate all magistrates. Hence the

numerous atrocious murders of officials, from the Tsar, Alexander II (assassinated in 1881), downwards. Ministers like de Plehve (assassinated in 1904), Stolypin (one of the best of the Tsar's officials, shot in Kiev Theatre in 1911), and the commonest police agents paid the penalty of their zeal at the assassin's hands.

The mild manners and amiable ideals of many Anarchists must not be allowed to obscure their moral responsibility for the awful crimes of their most fanatical members. The first man to make their organization known to Western Europe was Turgeniev, in his novel, *Fathers and Children* (1862).

Quite different from the Anarchists, although often working with them, were the second sort of revolutionists, the Communists. These had no objection to authority, only it must be authority applied to destroying private capital and keeping wealth wholly in the possession of the Proletariat. Russian Communists, like German, were inspired by the writings of Karl Marx. They aspired to transform the existing Russian system—political, social, economical—into an association of Communist groups, which should possess and use all the capital of the country, and govern the country wholly in the interests of the workers. Some great nobles, like Tolstoi (1828-1910) and Kropotkin (1842-1921), adopted the Communist theory. Many Communists, like the Anarchists, carried on their propaganda from abroad, from Geneva, Berne, or Paris. Among these was the now celebrated Vladimir Oulyanov, better known as Lenin (1870-1924).

The Tsarist régime, as it was organized by Peter the Great, and as it existed until the reign of Nicholas II, made Russia (which was obviously a very difficult country to govern) a finely efficient and progressive State. People were more free than is probably usually understood. In 1861 Alexander II had freed the serfs. The communal land of each village was divided up, and each former serf was given a portion of it as his own property. The bureaucracy was open to any Russian who could satisfy the necessary educational tests. The nobility had no privileges in the military, naval, or civil services. The chief defect in the Russian system was that, owing to the absence of local and central representative institutions, everything was given over to the

bureaucracy; the number of bureaucrats, accordingly, was enormous, and effective supervision of it was difficult; as it grew larger, the average of intellectual ability tended to decline, and corruption and absence of public spirit became marked. A moderate parliamentary system would have supplied a useful supplement to the bureaucratic system, and a wholesome corrective and critic of it. A beginning was made with such a parliamentary institution when the Duma was established in 1907. Unfortunately the Tsarist system collapsed under the strain of the Great War before the Duma had time to take root as an effective organ of the Government. The mistake, probably, which Nicholas II and his advisers made, was in continuing to choose only bureaucrats for Ministers, and in not entrusting more influence to the Duma.

In the last part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, there was a widely spread movement for international peace. Large and small States share the credit for this almost equally. The Dutch must be given the palm of merit, for it was a Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, who started modern international law, with his *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, in 1625. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Congress of Paris, 1856, at the end of the Crimean War, made two important steps. Firstly, it entered into the agreement known as the Declaration of Paris, defining maritime blockade and the rights of neutrals in sea-borne trade during time of war. Secondly, by the 23rd Protocol, the Congress of Paris enunciated a 'view' (the time was not ripe for an agreement) that any State, *before* going to war, should have recourse to the good offices of the Third Party, to see if quarrels could be settled peacefully.

After this, there was the Geneva Convention (1864), which made certain humane regulations for the conduct of war. The course of international arbitration was strongly supported by the British Government, which submitted many important cases to an arbitral court set up for each occasion; for instance, in the affair of the *Alabama* (1871), of the Venezuela Boundary (1899), and the North Sea incident (1904). This last was a particularly good example of avoidance of war by arbitration. The Russian

fleet was on its way to the Far East, to fight Japan in the war in which Britain was neutral, although an ally of Japan. In a moment of panic, the Russian fleet opened fire on British fishing-boats off the Dogger Bank, and killed some of the helpless sailors. Public opinion in Great Britain was naturally aroused, all the more so as the Russian naval authorities refused to admit that they had acted without due cause. The British Government, however, refrained from sending an ultimatum, and agreed to submit the case to arbitration. A Court was set up at Paris, and damages were awarded to the British fishermen.

A powerful impetus in favour of the peace movement was given by the Tsar, Nicholas II, in the celebrated circular, issued on the 24th August 1898, proposing an international conference on disarmament. The proposal resulted in two Conferences held at the Hague in 1899 and 1908. It was found impossible to conclude an international agreement on the limitation of military and naval forces, but several important rules were adopted for ameliorating the conduct of war, particularly in regard to the treatment of the civilian inhabitants of an invaded country, and in regard to prisoners.

These continual efforts were helping to create a 'peace atmosphere' which was not sufficient to prevent the War of 1914, but which, when the war was over, provided a medium in which the newly created League of Nations could work and thrive.

In European politics the most prominent feature of the nineteenth century was the progress of the constitutional idea. This was largely due to the admiration which the English system of parliamentary government evoked ever since the early years of the eighteenth century. It was the constitutional idea that made British statesmen friendly to European political movements. Thus the Conservative George Canning, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1822 to 1827 and Prime Minister in 1827, encouraged the constitutional parties in Spain and Portugal. The Liberal Minister, Lord Palmerston, Secretary of State during the greater part of the period 1830 to 1865, followed in Canning's steps, and favoured the movement for the union of Italy, largely because it was a movement actuated by liberal

and constitutional views. Mr. Gladstone, four times Prime Minister (1869-74, 1880-5, 1886, 1892-4), held the same views, and tried to put them into effect by his Home Rule Bills for Ireland. By the end of the nineteenth century every State in Europe had some form of Constitutional Government except Austria, Germany, and Russia. In the British Empire the system, under the name of Responsible Government, had been extended to Canada in 1846, to the Australian Colonies (except Western Australia) in 1855, and to Cape Colony in 1872. The early twentieth century was to witness almost the completion of the process, with Constitutional Government established at last in Austria and Germany, although not in Post-Revolutionary Russia.

Supplementary Dates.

XXVIII

- 1805 Öhlenschläger's *Håkon Jarl*
- 1809 Kriloff's *Fables*.
- 1830 Early poems of Pushkin.
- 1831 Pushkin's *Eugène Oniéguine*.
- 1834 Mickiewicz's *Thaddæus*.
- 1835 *Kalevala*, the Finnish epic, is edited.
- 1836 Josika, a Magyar, writes his first novel, *Abafi*.
Palacky publishes *The History of Bohemia*.
- 1842 Gogol's *Dead Souls*.
- 1850 *Catalina*, Ibsen's first play.
- 1852 Turgeniev's *Sketches of a Hunter*.
- 1877 Ibsen's *Pillars of Society*.
- 1880 Verdi's *Aida*.
- 1884 Dvořák's *Stabat Mater*.
- 1885 Tolstoi's *My Religion*.
- 1893 Tchaikowsky's *Pathetic Symphony*.
- 1894 Anton Tchekhoff's *In the Twilight*.
Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel*.
- 1897 D'Annunzio's *Triumph of Death*.
- 1898 Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*.
Rodin's statue of Balzac.

XXIX

THE OUTBREAK

THE War came both suddenly and slowly ; that is to say, conditions which seemed likely to produce war had been in existence for years, and the likelihood seemed to be yearly growing greater. Nevertheless, when the war-crisis arose in the summer of 1914 and within twelve days (22 July-3 August) produced hostilities on the grandest scale, the world was taken by surprise.

The period of European History from 1871 to 1914 is called by continental historians the period of the Armed Peace. The war of 1870-1 had established Germany as a great military Power. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by her had made it necessary for Germany to keep her forces on something like a war footing after the war was over. She must always be on the alert ; prepared to defend Alsace and Lorraine. This shows how the annexation had given a wound to the European System and how it produced international instability for the next forty years. Germany remained fully armed to retain Alsace-Lorraine from France. France remained fully armed in case she should again be faced with a German war. Italy, a new Great Power, had to be fully armed in case Austria should remember the lost Italian provinces ; and Austria, still possessing Italian regions on one side, and Slavonic regions on the other, had to keep herself fully armed to meet a possible war with Italy or Russia. Great Britain, in the same way, exposed to possible attack by the expansive might of Germany, kept herself fully armed, on the sea at least ; owing to her insular situation she was not compelled to maintain an army on the continental scale. But the other Powers—Russia, and the Secondary States—were not so fortunate : they were continental : they were exposed to the possible invasions of heavily armed neighbours. So they, too, had to keep enormous numbers of men under arms. In spite of its outwardly pleasant life, its towns and markets, its

villages and *châteaux*, its watering-places, museums, universities, and churches—beneath this pleasantness of *bourgeois* existence, Europe was an armed camp. In Germany there was no need to look below the surface: militarism was there, staring every casual visitor in the face. Officers formed a large proportion of the passers-by on the pavement; the drill-ground was as common as the public park.

There is a tendency now to say that the cry against German militarism was merely a natural piece of English and French propaganda during the late war. It was not so. Militarism was frightfully prominent in the German Empire. It was the misfortune of the Germans that, owing to the warlike origin of their Empire, and particularly owing to the holding of Alsace-Lorraine, the Empire from the start was in a position of defiance of the rest of Europe, a position of relying only on the strong hand, of justifying itself by force. The success of the Imperial movement from 1864 to 1870, and the obvious necessity of guarding the gains of 1870 by arms, enabled all these people who believed in force, the Junkers, to turn round upon the rest and say: 'You see, we were right; this is a world in which force counts, in which the arms of a people must be strong and ready to smite.' To this reasoning the most moderate, peaceful, liberal elements in Germany failed to reply; there were large numbers of such people—nearly all the middle-classes, in fact. But they surrendered their judgement to the militarists, and allowed themselves to be led by them. Military Germany was so strong, so successful, that the moderate-minded Germans gave in, convinced, as it seemed, by the logic of facts.

But this condition of affairs could not go on for ever. Europe could not permanently acquiesce in a German military domination. On several occasions the German Government continued to get what it wanted by rattling the sword, but there was bound, in time, to be a reaction. Then, as the reaction in the rest of Europe against German militarism became stronger, the German Government became anxious for its safety. Hence came the feeling in Germany that the country was being 'encircled', pressed upon, and that it was some day to be attacked in a war

for existence. Out of this nervous feeling came the sudden *riposte* of Germany, the War of 1914.

The peace of Europe depended upon the Great Powers. Small States could start wars, but these wars could always be restricted locally, provided that the Great Powers refused to fight. Whenever the Great Powers acted 'in concert' the result was peace. But they could not act in concert continuously because their interests were divergent. To some extent colonial rivalry divided them, but the greatest divider was Alsace-Lorraine. Germany had to remain always on guard, always in a feeling of antagonism to France and Powers sympathetic to France. Thus it came about that, gradually, the Great Powers divided themselves into two Groups—the Triple Alliance and the Entente.

The *Triplice* or Triple Alliance Group was the first to be formed. It arose out of a Dual Alliance, made by Germany and Austria, in 1879; Austria feared war with Russia: Germany feared war with France: therefore the two Powers made the Dual or Bismarck-Andrassy Alliance. It endured until 1918.

In 1882 Austria and Germany were joined by Italy. Thus the Triple Alliance was formed. The idea underlying it was good. Italy would have liked to force Austria to give up Trent and Trieste (*Italia irredenta*); but she could not do this: Austria was too strong. Therefore the next best thing was to be on good terms with Austria, and to get whatever concessions she could by agreement.

The Triple Alliance was not very dangerous to European peace. Its terms, which have been published, are seen to have been purely defensive. The real danger came from the solidarity of Austria and Germany under the Bismarck-Andrassy Alliance. Central Europe became almost a single military unit.

Faced with this state of affairs the French Government felt nearly helpless. It was made particularly anxious by reason of the continually diminishing birth-rate of France. With the French population growing smaller, and the German population and army growing rapidly larger, France seemed to be really in danger of some day being overwhelmed. So France looked out for a possible ally, and found one in Russia, a country which,

racially, was unsympathetic towards Germany, and which, on the other hand, was glad to get French capital. In 1894 the Franco-Russian Alliance was made.

After this England began to associate herself with the continental grouping. Since 1878 the British Government had been holding somewhat aloof from Europe. Lord Salisbury's *Splendid Isolation* phrase had the usual effect of brilliant phrases: it prevented people from thinking. The South African War in 1899, however, made people think. The German Fleet had been growing at a tremendous rate for ten years. Against whom could it be directed? Only against England (so it was argued), for England was the only Power against which a large navy could decide the fortunes of war: all the other Powers were Land-Powers. So the British Government, after the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, began to come out of its isolation; and under the direction of King Edward VII, who was a statesman with a European outlook, the Dual Entente, the *Entente Cordiale*, of Great Britain and France was formed in 1904. On the French side, the chief mover was M. Delcassé, who had also made the Franco-Russian Alliance. The completion of the Entente grouping therefore came naturally a few years later, when Russia entered into the cordial entente in 1907.

In spite of these two, apparently, opposed diplomatic groups, the Triple Alliance and the Entente, the Powers not infrequently met in concert, and by mutual agreement adjusted crises which had arisen in Europe. The last occasion in which the Concert met before the Great War was in May 1913, in London. Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro had joined in a Balkan League, chiefly owing to the efforts of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria and M. Venizelos, Premier of Greece. The League had in 1912 demanded that Turkey should carry into effect Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, concerning reforms in Macedonia (see p. 698). This demand produced the Balkan War of 1912-13, in which the States of the Balkan League severely defeated Turkey. A conference of the Great Powers and the Belligerent States was held in London at the end of the war, and the Treaty of London, 30th May 1913, was concluded, reducing Turkey in Europe to

the territory east of the Enos-Midia line. The Treaty, however, came to nothing, as the Balkan League broke up, and fought within itself—Bulgaria against the other three. The Second Balkan War (1913) lasted only about a month, and was terminated through the military intervention of Roumania. The Final Peace was signed at Bucharest, 10th August 1913, without the European Concert taking any part. Greece gained Salonica ; Serbia acquired most of Turkish Macedonia ; Bulgaria (vanquished in the Second Balkan War) received only a minor share of the old Turkish territories.

The Peace of Bucharest left conditions in the Balkans very unstable, for Bulgaria and Turkey were resolved to have their revenge ; and Serbia, owing to her extension of territory, seemed nearer than ever to a conflict with Austria. This conflict came rapidly after the murder of the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, with his wife, at Sarajevo in Bosnia on the 28th June 1914. The murders were believed in Austria to be due to Serbians. The Austrian ultimatum of the 23rd July followed, and then came the invasion of Serbia. The outbreak of the Austro-Serbian War determined the Russian Government to mobilize its army. This led to the German ultimatum to Russia on the 31st July. Russia was the ally of France. So Germany, in going to war with Russia, went to war with France, striking at her through Belgium on 4th August, rapidly after the murder at Sarajevo.

The whole truth concerning this atrocious deed has never been made clear. Bosnia and Herzegovina were two Turkish provinces which Austria had received to administer, but not to own, at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The provinces remained nominally under Turkish sovereignty. In 1908, without asking leave of the other Powers who had signed the Berlin Treaty, Austria impudently annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and defied the rest of Europe. This unfortunate incident was somehow smoothed over, for Germany was clearly supporting Austria ; the other Powers, therefore, merely made general protests. But for a few weeks the decision for war or peace between Serbia and Austria had literally trembled on the balance. For Bosnia and

Herzegovina had a population of whom the majority were of Serbian blood ; and, had these two provinces continued, even only nominally, under the sovereignty of Turkey, they might one day have been gained by the Serbian Kingdom from the decadent Turkish State. But once Bosnia and Herzegovina had been absolutely annexed by the powerful Empire of Austria, there was little chance of Serbia ever getting them.

The ' annexation crisis ' of 1908 left Austro-Serbian relations very disturbed. The Serbian Government behaved correctly, but many Serbs privately spoke and wrote against Habsburg domination over ' Jugo-Slav ' ¹ people in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Croatia.

In June 1914 the heir-apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand (nephew of the Emperor Francis Joseph), and his wife were paying a State visit to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. On Sunday, the 28th June, they were both assassinated in their motor-car as they drove through the crowded streets. The murderer was an Austrian subject, a Bosnian named Gabrilo Prinzip, who had lived for some time in exile at Belgrade. He was one of those mad, morose, fanatical nationalists who in every country have done so much damage to the cause of sane, moderate politics.

The Austrian Government chose to regard this frightful tragedy as due, not indeed directly to the Serbian Government, but to the agitation which for years had been going on against Austria in Serbian newspapers and speeches. Austria consequently made explicit demands that the Serbian Government should take immediate steps to stamp out this agitation. But it also went farther—it demanded that Serbia should admit Austrian officials into the country, to help to find out the agitators and to bring them to punishment. This demand was contained in the famous ultimatum presented by the Austrian Minister at Belgrade to the Serbian Government on Thursday, the 23rd July, at 6 p.m. The ultimatum demanded that the Serbian Government should (1) forbid all the anti-Austrian publications,

¹ Jugo-Slav means Southern Slav, which is the name which the Serbs gave to all neighbouring peoples who were of close kindred with them.



The BALKAN STATES

Political Divisions
of 1914

English Miles
0 40 80 120 160

Note. Monte. = Montenegro.

(2) dissolve a political club or society called the *Narodna Odbrana*, (3) prevent any anti-Austrian ideas or remarks in the public instruction in the schools, (4) allow the Austrian Government to name Serbian military officers and civil functionaries guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda and to have them dismissed, and (5) admit Austrian officials into Serbia to help to suppress the movement or agitation against Austria-Hungary.

The Serbian Government was only allowed forty-eight hours in which to reply to this ultimatum. Thus it had no time to try and negotiate about these demands, which were more than a sovereign State could accept if it was to retain its independence. The Serbian Government did, however, accept the first four demands ; with regard to the fifth, it replied—

The Royal [Serbian] Government confesses that it is not clear about the sense and the scope of that demand of the Imperial and Royal [Austrian] Government which concerns the obligation on the part of the Royal Serbian Government to permit the co-operation of officials of the I. and R. Government on Serbian territory ; but it declares that it is willing to accept every co-operation which does not run counter to international law and criminal law, as well as to friendly and neighbourly relations.

M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier, handed this reply to the Austrian Minister at the Legation in Belgrade at 5.45 p.m. on the 25th July. Almost as soon as he had got back to his office he received a note from the Austrian Minister, stating that the reply to the ultimatum was unsatisfactory, and that diplomatic relations between Austria and Serbia were now severed. On the 29th July Austrian guns bombarded Belgrade. So the war had begun on the Danube and the Save.

It was well known in Europe that if Austria persisted in her demands on Serbia, and went to war, Russia would almost certainly intervene. For Russia, as the chief Slavonic Power, could scarcely be expected to look on quietly while Serbia was crushed. Actually, on the same day as the bombardment of Belgrade began, the troops in the Russian military districts contiguous to the Austrian frontier were mobilized. Now, by the Austro-German Dual Alliance of 1879, Germany was bound to

go to the assistance of Austria if Austria were attacked by Russia. And by the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894 France was bound to go to the assistance of Russia if Russia were attacked by Germany. The Austrian Government was well aware of these facts; therefore when it decided to go to war with Serbia it was deliberately undertaking the responsibility for a general European war.

But it must share this responsibility with Germany, which indeed was really the major partner in the guilt. There are four respects in which Germany must be held principally guilty for the calamity that now came upon Europe.

First, Germany by forcibly annexing Alsace-Lorraine from France in 1871, a conquest which she thereafter was always fearful of losing, and always alert to defend, had established militarism in the European atmosphere: she had imposed upon Europe the system of 'armed peace', where huge conscript armies looked at each other across unstable frontiers.

Secondly, the German Government, as early as the 18th July,¹ knew of the terms of the ultimatum which the Austrian Government was going to present to Serbia, and she did not use her influence, as she could have done, to prevent the ultimatum being sent. If the German Government had said emphatically: 'We will not support you by arms in a war involved through your attacking Serbia,' then the Austrian Government would never, single-handed, have gone on to its destruction.

Thirdly, on the Austro-Serbian crisis becoming acute, but before hostilities had actually begun, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, proposed that a European conference should be assembled to arrange for a peaceful solution. Such conferences of the Great Powers had frequently before solved serious international crises, and would probably, if only by delaying matters and allowing passions to cool, have solved this crisis. But the German Government declined the British proposal, on the ground that such a con-

¹ For the evidence of Germany's knowledge (chiefly a letter from the Bavarian Minister at Berlin to the Munich Government, 18 July 1918), see Mowat, *A History of European Diplomacy, 1815-1914*, p. 292.

ference 'could not be brought together except at the request of Austria and Russia' (27 July). This answer was in fact an absolute refusal, because Austria, by letting the ultimatum time-limit expire on the 25th July, had already practically gone to war, and had shown that she would not ask for a conference.

Finally, Germany is clearly responsible for taking the last step in making a general war absolutely inevitable, by deliberately perpetrating the most shameless breach of the law of nations that has occurred in a hundred years. The British Government,

*Leopold I**Leopold II**Albert**1831-65**1869-1909**1909-**The Belgian Dynasty*

knowing that the small neutral country of Belgium lay as a temptingly easy route between France and Germany, asked for assurances from these two States that they would not violate Belgian neutrality if they undertook military operations. On the 31st July the French Government gave the assurance asked for : the German Government declined.

On the 31st July the German Government demanded that Russia should demobilize her troops. This demand being rejected, Germany declared war on Russia on the 1st August. On the 2nd August, German troops, obviously with the intention of invading France, penetrated into the neutral State of Luxemburg, of whose neutrality Prussia was itself a guarantor. The French Government, to make perfectly clear that France was not the aggressor, withdrew all its troops to a distance of ten kilometres (seven miles) behind its frontier : thus there could be

no contest, no chance shots, between the French and German frontier pickets. On the 3rd August at 6.45 p.m. the German Government declared the existence of a state of war with France ;



BY THE KING. A PROCLAMATION

For Calling Out the Army Reserve and Embodying the
Territorial Force.

GEORGE R.I.

WHEREAS by the Reserve Forces Act, 1882, it is, amongst other things, enacted that in case of imminent national danger or of great emergency it shall be lawful for Us by Proclamation, the occasion having first been communicated to Parliament, to order that the Army Reserve shall be called out on permanent service, and by any such Proclamation to order a Secretary of State from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for calling out the forces or force mentioned in the Proclamation or all or any of the men belonging thereto:

AND WHEREAS the present state of Public Affairs and the extent of the demands on Our Military Forces for the protection of the interests of the Empire do, in Our opinion, constitute a case of great emergency within the meaning of the said Act and We have communicated the same to Parliament:

AND WHEREAS by the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907, it is, amongst other things, enacted that immediately upon and by virtue of the issue of a Proclamation ordering the Army Reserve to be called out on permanent service it shall be lawful for Us to order Our Army Council from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for embodying all or any part of the Territorial Force and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services may be required, in other than a Military capacity:

NOW, THEREFORE We do in pursuance of the Reserve Forces Act, 1882, hereby order that Our Army Reserve be called out on permanent service and We do hereby order the Right Honourable Herbert Henry Asquith, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for calling out Our Army Reserve or all or any of the men belonging thereto:

AND WE do hereby further order Our Army Council from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for embodying all or any part of the Territorial Force, and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services may be required in other than a Military capacity:

Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace, this Fourth day of August,
in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen,
and in the Fifth year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

and on the morning of the 4th August German troops penetrated into Belgium. In the greatest speech which he ever made, Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had on the 3rd August, in the House of Commons, stated that Great Britain could not permit an attack on France through Belgium. As he was ending his speech, a telegram was brought to the House,

intimating that the German Government had sent an ultimatum to Belgium.

Next day, the 4th August, while the German troops and siege guns were actually traversing Belgian soil, on the way to attack Liège, the British Ambassador in Berlin called, as instructed by Sir Edward Grey, on the German Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg. He asked for an assurance that Belgian neutrality would be respected by Germany, otherwise he was instructed to ask for his passports. Sir Edward Goschen's own words give the conclusion of the whole matter :

I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree ; just for a word—' neutrality ', a word which in war time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to make friends with her. .

The ' scrap of paper ' (signed by Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia) was as follows : *Belgium, within the limits specified, shall form an Independent and perpetually Neutral State.* Scrap though it was, it was one of the cardinal hinges of the European system of peace and security. It was to defend this system that the Allies fought with the Central Powers for the next four years.

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1492	Alexander VI (Borgia).	1644	Innocent X (Pamfilii).
1503	Pius III (Todeschini).	1655	Alexander VII (Chigi).
1503	Julius II (della Rovere).	1667	Clement IX (Rospigliosi).
1513	Leo X (de' Medici).	1670	Clement X (Altieri).
1522	Adrian VI (Adrian of Utrecht).	1676	Innocent XI (Odescalchi).
1523	Clement VII (de' Medici).	1689	Alexander VIII (Ottobuoni).
1534	Paul III (Farnese).	1691	Innocent XII (Pignatelli).
1550	Julius III (del Monte).	1700	Clement XI (Albano).
1555	Marcellus II (Cervini).	1721	Innocent XIII (Conti).
1555	Paul IV (Caraffa).	1724	Benedict XIII (Orsini).
1559	Pius IV (de' Medici).	1730	Clement XII (Corsini).
1566	Pius V (Ghislieri).	1740	Benedict XIV (Lambertini).
1572	Gregory XIII (Buoncompagno).	1758	Clement XIII (Rezzonico).
1585	Sixtus V (Peretti).	1769	Clement XIV (Ganganelli).
1590	Urban VII (Castagna).	1775	Pius VI (Braschi).
1590	Gregory XIV (Sfrondati).	1800	Pius VII (Chiaramonte).
1591	Innocent IX (Facchinetti).	1823	Leo XII (Genga).
1592	Clement VIII (Aldobrandini).	1829	Pius VIII (Castiglione).
1605	Leo XI (de' Medici).	1831	Gregory XVI (Capellari).
1605	Paul V (Borghese).	1846	Pius IX (Ferretti).
1621	Gregory XV (Ludovisi).	1878	Leo XIII (Pecci).
1623	Urban VIII (Barberini).	1903	Pius X (Sarto).
		1914	Benedict XV (della Chiesa).
		1922	Pius XI (Ratti).

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1789	George Washington.	1861	Abraham Lincoln.
1797	John Adams.	1865	Andrew Johnson.
1801	Thomas Jefferson.	1869	Ulysses Simpson Grant.
1809	James Madison.	1877	Rutherford Birchard Hayes.
1817	James Monroe.	1881	James Abram Garfield.
1825	John Quincy Adams.	1881	Chester Alan Arthur.
1829	Andrew Jackson.	1885	Stephen Grover Cleveland.
1837	Martin Van Buren.	1889	Benjamin Harrison.
1841	William Henry Harrison.	1893	Stephen Grover Cleveland.
1841	John Tyler.	1897	William McKinley.
1845	James Knox Polk.	1901	Theodore Roosevelt.
1849	Zachary Taylor.	1909	William Howard Taft.
1850	Millard Fillmore.	1912	Woodrow Wilson.
1853	Franklin Pierce.	1921	Warren Gamaliel Harding.
1857	James Buchanan.	1925	Calvin Coolidge.

PRESIDENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

1871	Adolphe Thiers.	1899	Émile Loubet.
1873	Maurice de MacMahon.	1906	Armand Fallières.
1879	Jules Grévy.	1913	Raymond Poincaré.
1887	Sadi Carnot.	1920	Paul Deschanel.
1894	Pierre Casimir-Périer.	1920	Alexandre Millerand.
1895	Félix Faure.	1924	Gaston Doumergue.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE MODERN WORLD

- 1487. Bartholomew Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope
- 1492. Columbus discovers Hispaniola
Death of Lorenzo de' Medici
- 1493. Pope Alexander VI arbitrates between the claims of Spain and Portugal to the New World
- 1494. Charles VIII of France invades Italy
- 1498. Execution of Savonarola
- 1499. Louis XII of France invades Italy and conquers Milan and Naples
- 1500. Cabral discovers Brazil
- 1504. The French lose Naples
- 1511. Pope Julius II forms the Holy League against France
- 1512. Battle of Ravenna. Restoration of the Medici in Florence
- 1513. Machiavelli composes *Il Principe*
- 1515. Francis II becomes King of France and invades Italy
Battle of Marignano
- 1517. Luther nails his ninety-five theses against indulgences to the door of the Wittenberg Hofkirche
- 1519. Cortes conquers Mexico
Charles V elected Emperor
- 1520. Luther burns the Papal Bull of Excommunication
- 1521. Diet of Worms
- 1522. Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, charged with Government of Austria
- 1524. Zwingli converts Zürich to his reformed faith
- 1525. Battle of Pavia
- 1526. Battle of Panipat establishes the Mogul Empire in India
Battle of Mohacs. Ferdinand becomes King of Hungary
- 1527. Sack of Rome
Sweden under Gustavus Vasa becomes independent of Denmark
- 1533. Accession of Tsar Ivan the Terrible
- 1540. Bull 'Regimini militantis Ecclesiae'
- 1541. John Calvin reforms Geneva
- 1545. Opening of Council of Trent
- 1547. Accession of Henry II
- 1552. Henry II invades duchy of Lorraine
- 1555. Religious peace of Augsburg
- 1556. Abdication of the Emperor Charles V. Austria and the Empire pass to his brother Ferdinand; Spain, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands to his son Philip II
- 1559. Accession of Francis II

- 1559. Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis
- 1560. Accession of Charles IX
Meeting of the French Estates and the famous speech of Michel l'Hôpital
- 1562. First French War of Religion
- 1563. Dissolution of Council of Trent
- 1565. Revolt in the Netherlands
- 1567. Second French War of Religion
- 1568. Third French War of Religion
- 1572. Massacre of Saint Bartholomew
Fourth French War of Religion
Capture of Brill by the ' Sea Beggars '
- Mondragon raises the siege of Goes
- 1574. Relief of Leyden by the Dutch
Accession of Henry III
- 1576. Fifth French War of Religion
Formation of the Holy League under the auspices of the Guises
- 1577. Sixth French War of Religion
- 1579. The ten Southern Provinces of the Netherlands return to the allegiance of Spain. Treaty of Arras
Union of Utrecht
- 1580. Philip II conquers Portugal
Seventh French War of Religion
- 1584. Assassination of William ' the Silent '
Death of Ivan ' the Terrible '
- 1585. Eighth French War of Religion. ' The war of the three Henries '
- 1589. Assassination of Henry III
- 1594. Henry IV ' of Navarre ' enters Paris and becomes King of France
- 1598. Peace of Vervins
Edict of Nantes
Death of Philip II
- 1605. Publication of *Don Quixote*
- 1608. Ferdinand IV of the Palatine forms the ' Evangelical Union '
- 1609. Maximilian ' the Great ' of Bavaria forms the ' Catholic League '
' Twelve Years Truce ' between Spain and the Netherlands
- 1610. Henry IV declares war against the ' Catholic League ', but is assassinated ; accession of Louis XIII, ' the Just '
- 1612. Accession of the Emperor Matthias
- 1614. The French Estates are summoned for the last time until 1789
- 1616. Treaty of Stolbova
- 1617. Ferdinand of Styria becomes King of Bohemia
- 1618. ' Defenestration of Prague '
Revolt of the Czechs

- 1618. The Elector of Brandenburg succeeds to the Duchy of Prussia
Outbreak of the Thirty Years War
- 1619. Ferdinand of Styria becomes Holy Roman Emperor
Frederick V of the Palatinate accepts the throne of Bohemia from the rebels
Execution of the 'Arminian' Olden Barneveldt
- 1620. Battle of Bila Hora ('The white hill'). Expulsion of Frederick from Bohemia
- 1623. Conquest of the Palatinate by the Catholics
- 1624. Richelieu becomes Chief Minister of France
- 1625. Christian IV of Denmark intervenes in the Thirty Years War on behalf of the Protestants
Publication of Grotius' *De Jure Belli et Pacis*
- 1626. Battle of Lutter
- 1629. Edict of Restitution
Gustavus Adolphus annexes Lithuania from Poland by the treaty of Altmark
- 1630. Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany
- 1631. Tilly sacks Magdeburg
Battle of Breitenfeld
- 1632. Battle of Lützen. Death of Gustavus Adolphus
- 1635. Military intervention of France in Germany
- 1637. Publication of the *Discourses* of Descartes
- 1640. Portugal recovers its independence
- 1642. Death of Richelieu. Mazarin succeeds him
- 1643. Accession of Louis XIV
Conquest of China by the Manchurian Tartars
- 1648. Peace of Westphalia
Beginnings of the 'Fronde'
Treaty of Münster between Spain and Holland
- 1650. Death of William II of Orange
- 1651. English Navigation Act
- 1653. Collapse of the Fronde
Pope Innocent X condemns the principal tenets of the Jansenists
- 1659. 'Peace of the Pyrenees'
- 1660. Death of Charles X of Sweden
Treaty of Oliva
Suspension of the Port-Royalists
- 1661. Death of Mazarin. Louis XIV assumes the reins of government
- 1662. Death of Pascal
- 1667. Louis XIV attacks the Spanish Netherlands
- 1668. Triple alliance of England, Sweden, and Holland
- 1669. Grimmelshausen publishes *Simplicius Simplicissimus*
- 1670. Treaty of Dover
- 1672. Louis XIV attacks the Dutch

- 1672. First Grand Alliance of the Hague
Massacre of John and Cornelius de Witt. William III of Orange becomes Stadtholder
- 1675. The Great Elector defeats the Swedes at Fehrbellin
- 1678. Treaty of Nymwegen
- 1681. Louis XIV seizes Strasbourg
- 1683. Siege of Vienna by the Turks ; siege raised by the Polish king John Sobieski
- 1684. Holy League between the Papacy, Venice, Poland, and the Empire
- 1686. The League of Augsburg
- 1688. Expulsion of James II of England. Accession of William of Orange
Death of the Great Elector
- 1690. Defeat of Anglo-Dutch Fleet by the French off Beachy Head.
- 1692. Defeat of French Fleet by the British off La Hogue. End of French naval ascendancy
- 1697. Charles XII becomes King of Sweden
Peter the Great works as an apprentice in the East India Company docks
Treaty of Ryswick
- 1699. Peace of Carlowitz
- 1700. Death of Charles II of Spain
Charles XII crushes Denmark and defeats Peter the Great at Narva
- 1701. Outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession
Leopold II creates Frederick of Brandenburg King of Prussia
- 1704. Battle of Blenheim
British capture Gibraltar
- 1706. Battle of Ramillies
Charles XII invades Saxony
Augustus of Poland abdicates in favour of Stanislaus Leszczyński
- 1707. Final suppression of Port-Royal
Vauban writes the *Dîme royale*
- 1708. Battle of Oudenarde
Charles XII invades Russia
- 1709. Battle of Malplaquet
Siege of Pultava by the Swedes
Charles XII is defeated and flies to Bessarabia
- 1711. Treaty of the Pruth
- 1713. Treaty of Utrecht
Frederick William I succeeds to Prussia
Philip V becomes King of Spain
- 1714. Treaty of Rastadt. Return of Charles XII to Sweden
- 1715. Louis XV succeeds to the French Crown
Death of Fénelon

- 1718. Charles XII while invading Denmark is shot dead at Frederikshall
Peace of Passarowitz
Spain occupies Sardinia and Sicily. Battle of Cape Passaro
- 1720. Emperor Charles VI establishes the Pragmatic Sanction
- 1721. Peace of Nystadt
Publication of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*
- 1723. Death of Regent Orléans
- 1725. Death of Peter the Great
Treaty of Kiatka
Ripperda endeavours to recover Gibraltar
- 1727. End of Anglo-Spanish war. Dismissal of Ripperda
- 1730. Accession of Tsarina Anna
- 1733. Death of Augustus the Strong of Poland. War of Polish Succession
Family Compact between France and Spain
- 1735. Austrians driven out of Naples by Spain
- 1736. Francis of Lorraine marries Maria Theresa
- 1737. Russia and Austria make war on Turkey
- 1740. Frederick II, the Great, becomes King of Prussia
Death of the Emperor Charles VI. Frederick invades Silesia
Outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession
- 1741. Accession of Tsarina Elizabeth
- 1743. Battle of Dettingen
- 1745. Battle of Fontenoy
- 1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle
Publication of Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois*
- 1750. Kaunitz goes to Paris as Imperial Ambassador and brings about 'The Diplomatic Revolution'
- 1756. Convention of Westminster between England and Prussia
Habsburg-Bourbon alliance
Frederick invades Saxony. Outbreak of the Seven Years War
- 1757. Battle of Plassey
Tsarina Elizabeth invades Prussia. Battle of Rossbach (Prussians *v.* French)
- 1758. Turks invade Russia
Battle of Zorndorf
- 1759. Battles of Lagos and Quiberon Bay. Capture of Quebec
Battles of Kunersdorf and Minden
Expulsion of Jesuits by Joseph of Portugal
- 1760. Capture of Montreal
Battle of Wandewash
Battle of Liegnitz
Capture of Berlin by Russians
- 1762. Spain intervenes in the Seven Years War on the side of France
Accession and murder of Tsar Peter III. Accession of Catherine II

1763. Peace of Paris
Peace of Hubertusburg
1764. Expulsion of Jesuits from France
1766. Death of Stanislaus Leszczynski, father-in-law of Louis XV,
Duke of Lorraine and sometime King of Poland. Incorporation of Lorraine in France
1767. Expulsion of Jesuits from Spain
1768. War between Russia and Turkey
1771. Gustavus III succeeds to Swedish Throne
1772. First Partition of Poland
1773. Pope Clement XIV dissolves the Society of Jesus
1774. Accession of Louis XVI
Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji
1775. Revolt of the Thirteen Colonies
Oregon discovered by Captain Cook
1777. Death of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria
1778. The Emperor Joseph II occupies Bavaria
Frederick the Great invades Bohemia
1779. Peace of Teschen
1783. Peace of Versailles
Catherine II annexes the Crimea
1785. Frederick the Great forms the Fürstenbund to maintain the
existing territorial system of the Empire
1786. Death of Frederick the Great
1787. Constitution of the U.S.A.
1789. Convention of the French Estates. Destruction of the Bastille
1790. Death of Joseph II
1791. Death of Mirabeau. Constitution of 1791
1792. Sack of the Tuileries
Girondins declare war on Austria
English mission to Peking
1793. Second Partition of Poland
Executions of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette
Appointment of the Committee of Public Safety
1794. French conquer Belgium
1795. Third Partition of Poland
Treaty of Bâle
Constitution of the year III
French conquer Holland
1796. Death of Catherine II
1797. Peace of Campo Formio
Establishing of Cisalpine Republic
1798. Bonaparte sent to Egypt
Battle of the Nile
1799. Siege of Acre
Bonaparte returns to France and is made First Consul
(' Brumaire ')

- 1800. Marengo
- 1801. Concordat of France and Papacy
Treaty of Lunéville
- 1802. Treaty of Amiens
- 1804. Napoleon declared Emperor
Unsuccessful rising of Kara George in Serbia
- 1805. Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz
Treaty of Pressburg
- 1806. Battle of Jena. Extinction of Holy Roman Empire
Berlin Decrees
- 1807. Treaty of Tilsit
Creation of Duchy of Warsaw
Milan decrees
- 1808. Peninsular War begins
Slaves cease to be imported into U.S.A.
- 1809. Treaty of Schönbrunn
Rebellion of Spanish South American colonies
- 1810. Bernadotte is adopted as successor of Charles XIII of Sweden
Hidalgo raises the standard of revolt in Mexico
- 1812. Moscow Expedition
British-American war
Liberal constitution granted in Spain (' Constitution of 1812 ')
- 1813. Battle of Leipzig
- 1814. Abdication of Napoleon. Is exiled to Elba
First Peace of Paris
Congress of Vienna
- 1815. ' The Hundred Days.' Waterloo. Napoleon is banished to St. Helena
Second Peace of Paris
Formation of the Germanic Confederation, the Holy Alliance, and the Quadruple Alliance
Revolt of Milosh Obrenovitch
- 1817. Murder of Kara George
San Martin's victory at Chacabuco
- 1818. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle
Convention of London
- 1819. Conference of Carlsbad
Bolivar's victory at Boyaca
- 1820. Congress of Troppau
- 1821. Death of Napoleon
Greek Rebellion
Independence of Mexico, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Nicaragua
- 1822. Congress at Verona
Dom Pedro declares himself Emperor of Brazil
Iturbide proclaims himself Emperor of Mexico
- 1823. French invasion of Spain

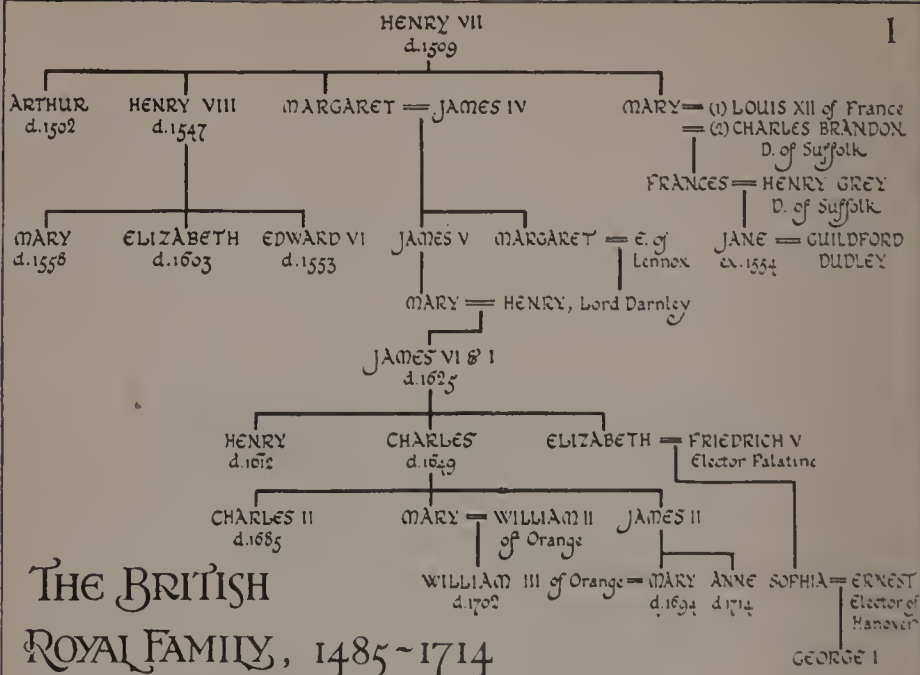
- 1823. Enunciation of the Monroe doctrine
- 1824. Victory of Sucre at Ayacucho
- 1825. Death of Tsar Alexander I
British Government recognizes the independence of the re-
volted Spanish colonies
Santa Anna proclaims Mexico a republic
- 1827. Battle of Navarino
- 1829. Treaty of Adrianople. Independence of Greece
- 1830. Expulsion of Charles X from France (' Revolution of July ').
Election of Louis-Philippe
- 1832. Battle of Konia
- 1833. Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi
Victory of Napier over the Miguelites of Spain off Cape St.
Vincent
- 1834. Prince Otto of Bavaria appointed to the Greek Throne
- 1836. Foundation of ' The League of the Just
- 1839. Battle of Nesib
Abdication of Milosh Obrenovitch of Serbia
- 1841. Convention of the Straits, or Treaty of London
- 1842. Treaty of Nanking ends Anglo-Chinese War
- 1846. Spanish marriages result in rupture of *entente* between
England and France
Treaty of Washington
- 1847. Foundation of the Communist League. The Communist Mani-
festo of Karl Marx
Mexicans driven out of Texas and California by General Scott
- 1848. Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo
Constitutional Proclamation of Christian VII of Denmark
Revolution in France. Expulsion of Louis-Philippe. Louis-
Napoleon becomes President
Revolutionary movements in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and
Italy
Frankfort Parliament
- 1849. Frederick William IV of Prussia refuses the German Crown at
the hands of the Frankfort Parliament
Battles of Custoza and Novara. Abdication of Carlo Alberto
of Sardinia. Accession of Victor Emanuel
- 1850. The Dreikönigsbündnis
Agreement of Olmütz between Prussia and Austria
- 1851. *Coup d'état* of Napoleon III
- 1852. Treaty of London. Integrity of the Danish Territories
guaranteed
- 1853. The Tsar Nicholas I invades Moldavia and Wallachia. Out-
break of the Crimean War
Commodore Perry steams into Yedo Bay
- 1854. Capture of Sevastopol
Completion of the German Zollverein

- 1855. Treaty of Paris
- 1857. Dred Scott Case
Second Anglo-Chinese war
- 1859. War of Italian Liberation. Magenta, Solferino. Treaty of Villafranca
Milosh Obrenovitch becomes Prince of Serbia
Wallachia and Moldavia elect Colonel Couza as Hospodar
Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily and Naples
- 1860. Michael Miloshovitch becomes Prince of Serbia
Abraham Lincoln elected President of the U.S.A.
- 1861. Serfdom abolished in Russia
Victor Emanuel becomes 'King of Italy'
Outbreak of the American Civil War
- 1862. Great Exhibition of London
Capture of New Orleans by the Union
Bismarck becomes Minister-President of Prussia
Abdication of King Otto of Greece. Accession of Prince George of Glücksburg
- 1863. Suppression of Polish Insurrection
Battle of Gettysburg
- 1864. 'First International'
Geneva Convention
War of Schleswig-Holstein and Treaty of Vienna
Convention of Gastein
Archduke Maximilian of Austria becomes Emperor of Mexico
- 1865. End of American Civil War
- 1866. Austro-Prussian War. Sadowa. Treaty of Prague. Dissolution of German Confederation
Treaty of Paris
Couza exiled from Rumania. Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen becomes ruler
- 1867. Paris Exhibition. Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*
Establishment of Second Mexican Republic
- 1868. Queen Isabella of Spain exiled
Last Shogun of Japan resigns
- 1869. Bakhunin joins the International
- 1870. Franco-Prussian War
- 1871. Treaty of Versailles. Peace of Frankfort
William is proclaimed German Kaiser in the Galerie des Glaces, Versailles
- 1872. Milan of Serbia becomes king
- 1873. Last Congress of the 'First International'
- 1875. Establishment of the Constitution of the Third Republic in France
Revolt in Herzegovina
- 1876. 'Bulgarian atrocities'

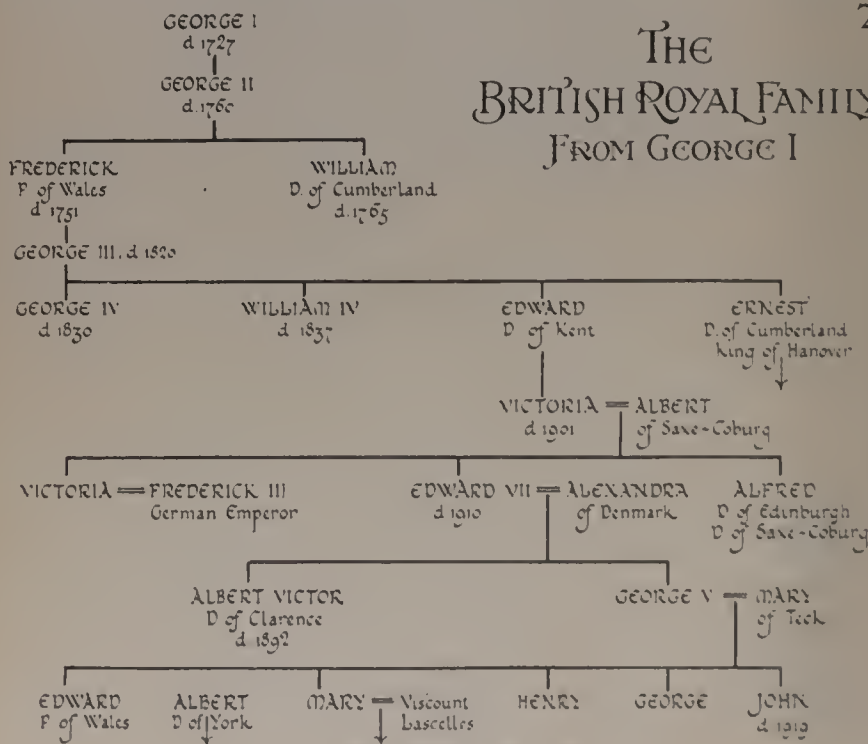
- 1877. Russo-Turkish War
- 1878. Treaty of San Stefano
Congress of Berlin. Recognition of Bulgaria; Austria is
allowed to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina
Japan ' becomes a Western Power '
- 1879. Dual Alliance of Austria and Germany
- 1881. Assassination of Tsar Alexander I
Turks cede Thessaly to Greece
- 1882. Triple Alliance of Austria, Germany, and Italy
- 1888. Frederick III becomes Kaiser, and dies. Accession of Wil-
liam II
- 1889. Establishment of Brazilian Republic
Japanese Constitution proclaimed
Attempted *coup d'état* of Boulanger
- 1890. Fall of Bismarck
- 1894. Korean War
' L'Affaire Dreyfus '
Franco-Russian Alliance
- 1895. Treaty of Shimonoseki
- 1898. Spanish-American War
Tsar Nicholas proposes an International Conference on Dis-
armament
- 1899. First Hague Conference
South African War
- 1900. Boxer rising in China
- 1902. British-Japanese Alliance
- 1903. King Alexander and Queen Draga of Serbia assassinated
Peter Karageorgevitch becomes King of Serbia
- 1904. Russo-Japanese War breaks out
' Entente Cordiale ' between England and France
- 1905. Capture of Port Arthur
- 1907. Establishment of the Russian Duma
Russia joins the ' Entente Cordiale '
- 1908. Second Hague Conference. Annexation of Bosnia and Herze-
govina by Austria
- 1910. Portuguese Revolution
- 1911. Mexican Revolution
- 1912. Chinese Revolution
Italy annexes Tripoli
First Balkan War
- 1913. Assassination of King George of Greece
Treaty of London
Second Balkan War. Peace of Bucharest
- 1914. The Murders at Serajevo
Outbreak of the Great War

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

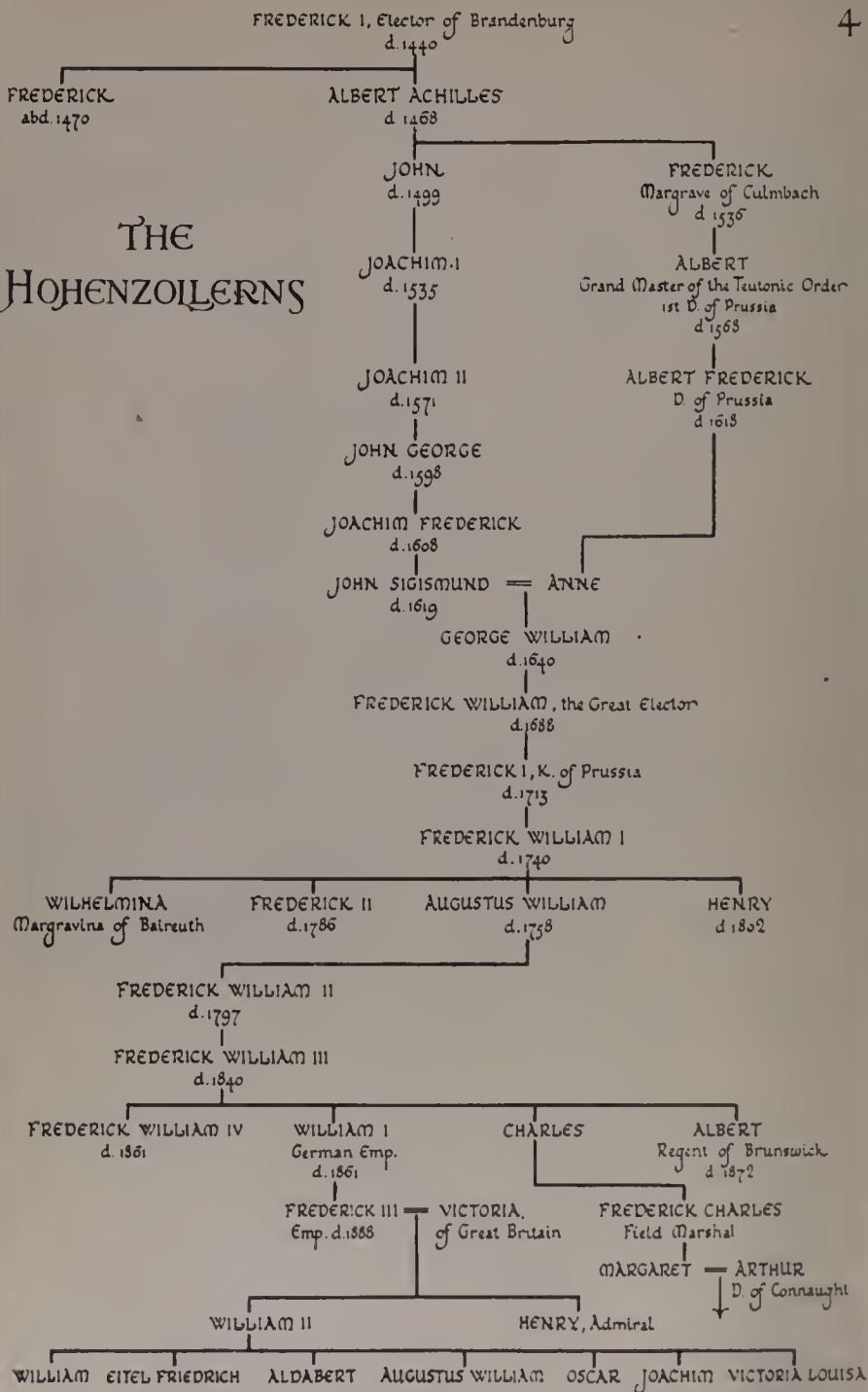
- 1 The British Royal Family, 1485-1714
- 2 The British Royal Family from George I
- 3 The Habsburgs
- 4 The Hohenzollerns
- 5 The Royal Family of France from Charles V
to Henry IV
- 6 The Royal Family of France from Henry IV
- 7 Family of Savoy - Sardinia & Italy
- 8 Spain - Habsburg Line
- 9 Spain - Bourbon Line

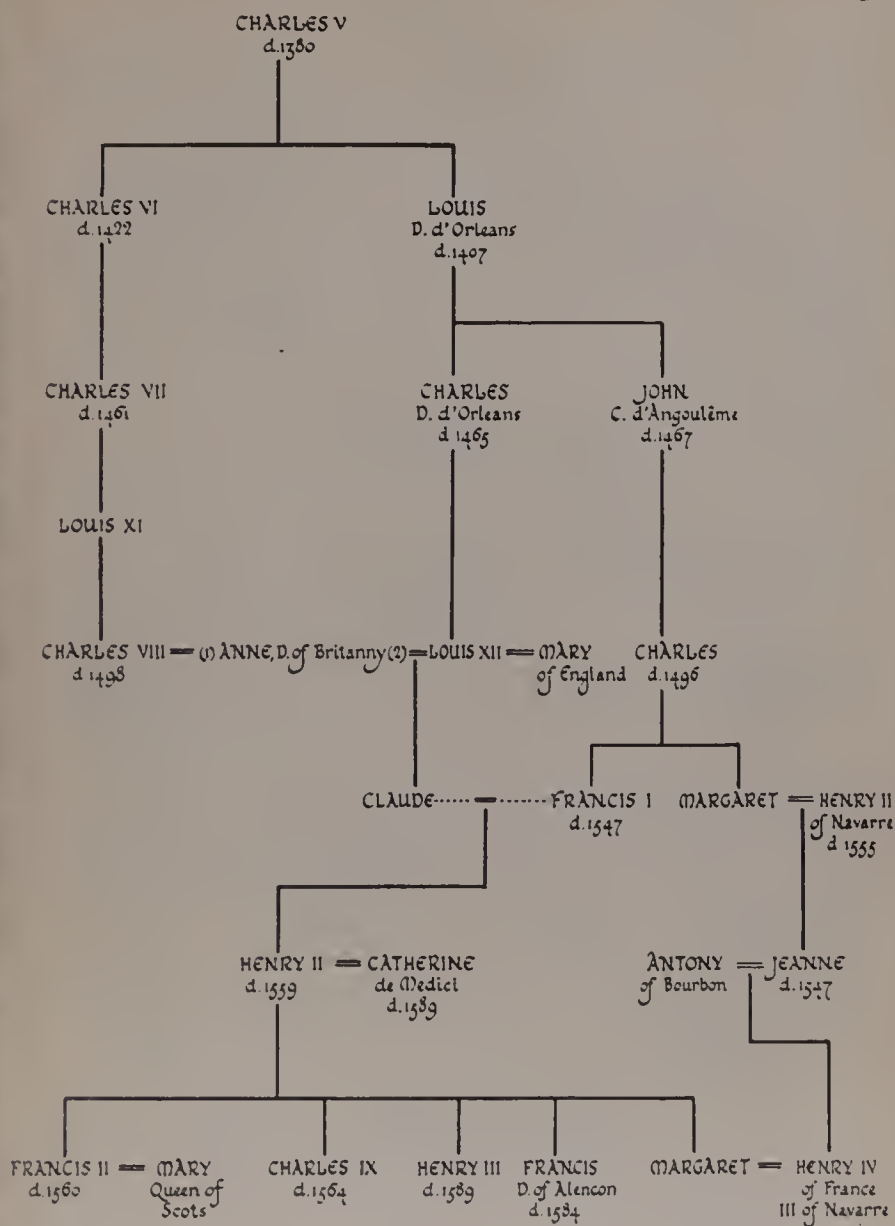


**THE
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FROM GEORGE I**



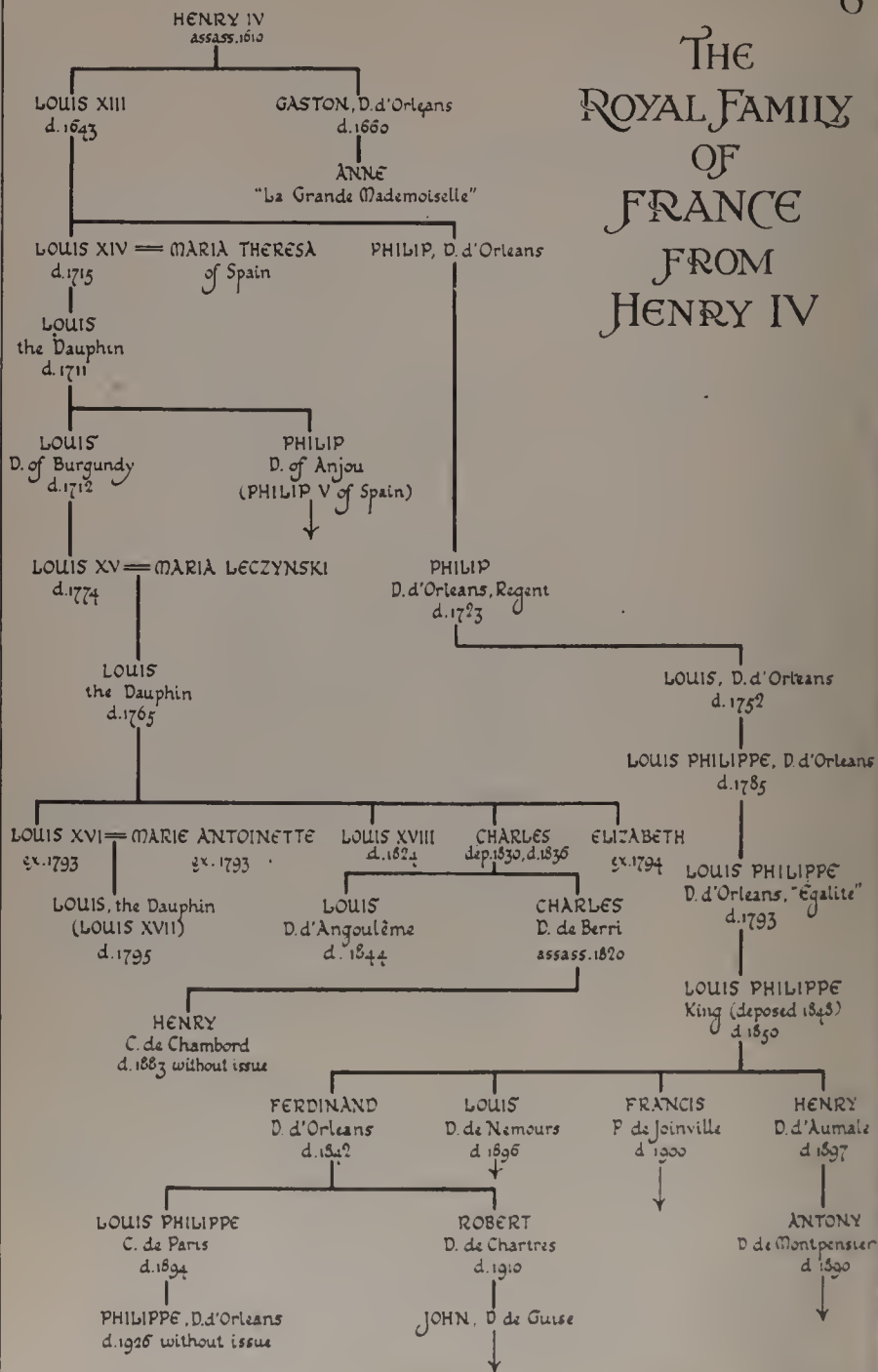
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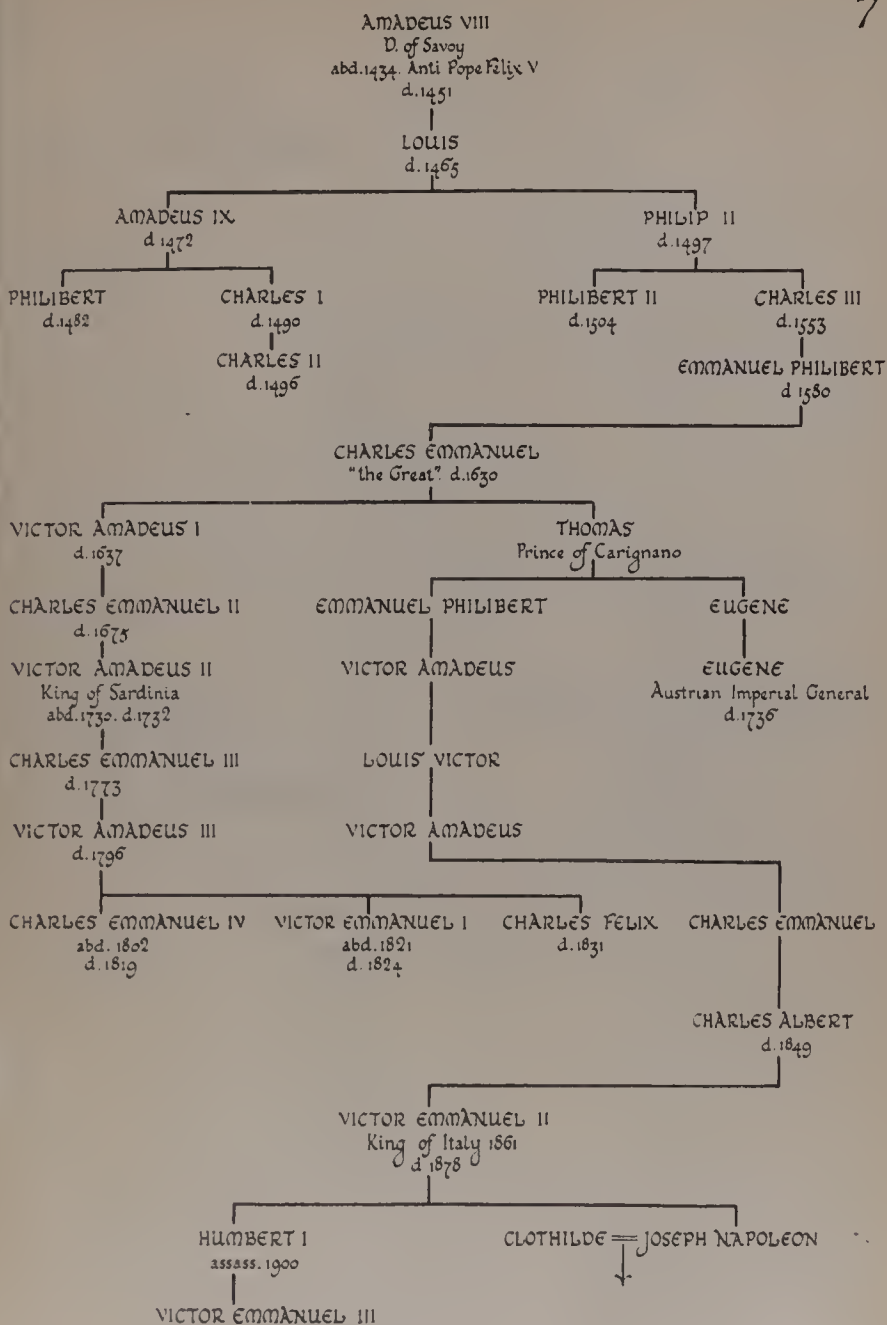




THE ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE
FROM CHARLES V TO HENRY IV

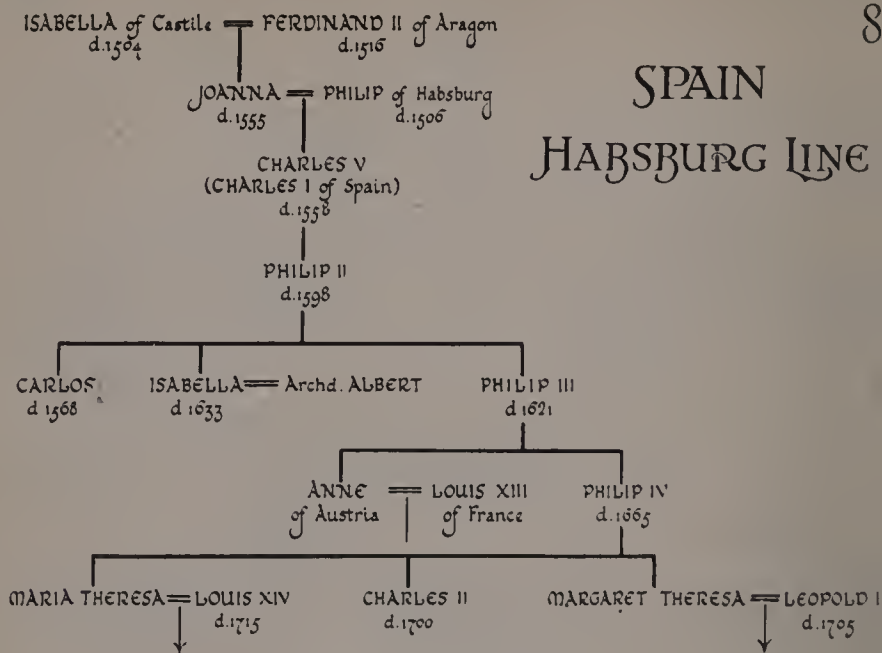
THE ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE FROM HENRY IV



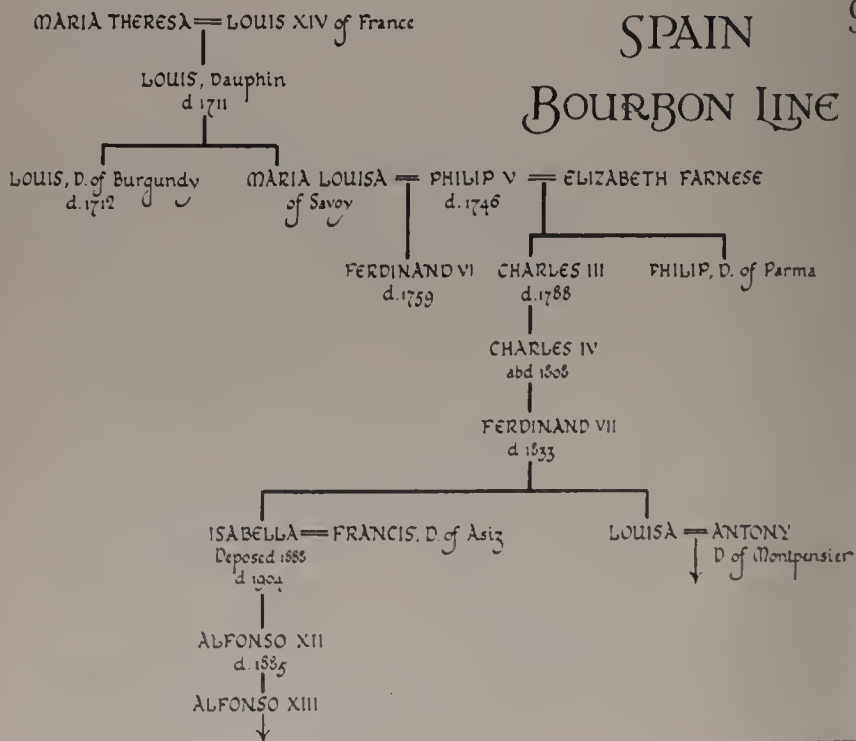


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SPAIN BOURBON LINE



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